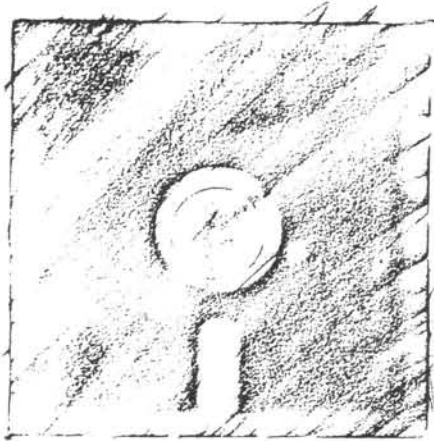


VOLUME 99 • NUMBER 1 • FEBRUARY 1994

# The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION





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by Janice L. Reiff

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160 pp. 1991 ISBN 0-87229-050-6  
\$6.00 AHA Members \$8.00 Non-members

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*The American Historical Review* appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Byrd Press, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: For incomes of \$60,000 and above, \$85.00 annually; \$50,000–\$59,999, \$75.00; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$65.00; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$55.00; \$20,000–\$29,999, \$45.00; below \$20,000, students, and joint memberships \$25.00; associate (nonhistorian) \$35.00; life \$1,200; teachers of K-12 \$70.00, K-12 without *The Review* \$45.00. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is \$17.00. Subscription rates effective for volume 99: Class I, *American Historical Review* only, United States \$52.00, foreign \$60.00. Further information on membership, subscriptions, and the ordering of back issues is contained on the two pages—1(a) and 2(a)—immediately preceding the advertisements.

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Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).

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FOR PERMISSION TO REPRINT:

Contact Sharon K. Tune, Executive Associate, American Historical Association, 400 A ST SE, Washington, DC 20003. Phone (202) 544-2422, fax (202) 544-8307.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices

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## In This Issue

A principal goal of the *American Historical Review* and its parent organization, the American Historical Association, is to sustain and expand the investigation of influences crossing the lines of traditional fields of historical study. Recent AHA presidents have been promoting this goal in their own work. Both the 1994 Presidential Address by Louise A. Tilly and last year's address by Frederic Wakeman, Jr., provide models for the description and analysis of the historical interdependence of people throughout the world. Studies of "Connections" (the title Tilly chose for her address) are what we at the *AHR* seek from our authors but too seldom receive. We are pleased to note that the three essays following Tilly's in this issue likewise investigate topics that unite or compare the experiences of people in different national and cultural arenas.

This year's Presidential Address advises social historians to take a wider view of their subject. **Louise A. Tilly** begins her story of the process of capitalist industrialization of cotton textiles in India and traces the connections between events there and developments in England and France. She illustrates the importance of decisions made in one place for the lives of ordinary people in widely dispersed locales. Choices about investment and production made in one region of the world lead to changes in the economic chances of working people elsewhere and accordingly affect power and gender relations within the families caught in global webs of production and trade. Tilly points to some of key changes in power and gender relations in the three regions under study.

Emily Loveday was a young English woman placed by her father in a French Catholic boarding school in Paris during the early years of the Restoration. When she converted to Catholicism and joined a convent against her father's wishes, her act ignited a series of lawsuits and public discussion of the limits of paternal authority in France. **Caroline Ford** examines the ideological contradictions that the Loveday Affair created in the political Right and Left during the immediate postrevolutionary period, as well as the reasons that these contradictions emerged in terms of gender and religion, and the significance of the issues for principles of parental authority and public order.

The next article contributes to the continuing discussion in the *AHR* of slavery and abolitionism. One of the most controversial aspects of this discussion has been the role of economics in the global transition from slavery to freedom, but the debate has remained limited almost exclusively to events in English-speaking countries. **Seymour Drescher** looks at the case of the Netherlands, employing it as a test of the three current explanations for the linkage between capitalism and antislavery. The evidence in the Dutch case supports none of the three.

Drescher's comparison of the Dutch experience with others leads him to argue for the greater significance of non-economic influences in bringing about abolition.

Looking at a different aspect of slave labor and abolition, **Rebecca J. Scott** explores the transition from slavery to free labor in sugar-producing regions of Louisiana, Cuba, and Brazil and highlights the distinctive patterns in organization of work and access to land that appeared in each country after emancipation. Scott argues that, despite inescapable uniformities in the production of sugar everywhere, former slaves and other cane workers were able to use the circumstances of each locale to reshape labor patterns so as to give greater meaning to their juridical freedom. She also investigates the constraints on worker initiatives inherent in the role of markets, state intervention, and planter strategies.

Historians of the family have stressed the long-term dominance of nuclear family structure in the United States and northwestern Europe. **Steven Ruggles** reassesses this interpretation in light of a new historical database of consistent individual-level census records spanning the period 1850–1900 in the United States. He attributes the apparent stability in family structure to a statistical effect that obscures a dramatic transformation of residential behavior during the past 150 years. Not a nuclear but a stem family pattern predominated in mid-nineteenth-century America: one child ordinarily remained in his or her parental household after reaching adulthood. The stem family pattern then disappeared in the twentieth century, a change that Ruggles argues was less a consequence of economics than of shifting family values.

The representation of the body and of sexuality in medieval Japan exhibited striking differences from that in the Christian West. **Hitomi Tonomura** describes and analyzes gender differences in a set of twelfth-century Japanese tales that use the female body as an object for teaching Buddhist ideas of piety and impermanence. She finds that while the tales do not condemn sexual desire per se, they do regard female sexuality as potentially harmful to men in their quest for enlightenment. The tales, which apply no moral judgments to men's lust or to the many ways it could be satisfied, hold women responsible for inciting male desire and failing to prevent male aggression. At the time the tales were compiled, Japan had no formal institution of marriage, and a tension existed between unresolved sets of sexual values deriving separately from the native belief system (Shinto) and Buddhism.

Underneath the apparent monolithic ideology of Soviet Communism, Russian nationalist ideas long simmered. Although the American public at large has been alerted to these ideas by recent events in Russia, particularly the success of the ultra nationalists in the recent elections, the Russian field has been discussing this

question with increasing intensity since the early 1970s. **David G. Rowley** reviews six of the principal texts published on this issue in the past twenty years and raises questions of the role of Cold War thinking in shaping the debate over the new Russian nationalism. Rowley suggests that Western scholars should be wary of placing this issue in a Cold War frame of reference and instead pay attention to the actual political programs of the various nationalist parties.



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## Connections

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LOUISE A. TILLY

MANY OF US HAVE BEEN MOVED by Edward Thompson's death last August to reflect on his deeply felt social project in history and rededicate ourselves to its principles.<sup>1</sup> Thompson insisted on the agency of ordinary people faced by far-reaching economic and social changes. He expressed passionate concern to rescue working men and women "from the enormous condescension of posterity."<sup>2</sup> Although the Thompson of *The Making of the English Working Class* was dubious about abstract theory, he was much more than an inspired rhetorician. When he spoke of "class as process," relationships among classes, culture as a "way of living" embedded in the material world, and insisted on struggle as the engine of history, he spoke as a Marxist historian, even as he withdrew his support from the party and regimes whose practice he believed betrayed the tradition.

Like most great historians, Thompson had many sides. There was the Thompson who saw history as the discipline of context and argued that looking at the local level was critical to any synthesis.<sup>3</sup> And the Thompson who brilliantly reminded his readers over and over of the connections between apparently disparate forms of collective action—such as eighteenth-century food protest or nineteenth-century Luddite machine-breaking—and the far-reaching structural transition from market to industrial capitalism, shared understandings of political economy and the law, and the networks through which these traditions were communicated.

From the early 1960s, Thompson and others inspired a generation of social historians who challenged conventional historical concepts and methodology and expanded the scope of historical research and writing.<sup>4</sup> Since the mid-1980s, however, historians have increasingly questioned this populist, critical, and realist approach in social history. Local case studies have proved to be interesting and

<sup>1</sup> I first encountered E. P. Thompson when he presented "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," in his own inimitable fashion at Harvard in the spring of 1966; it was published the following year in *Past and Present*, 38 (December 1967): 56–97. *The Making of the English Working Class*, which I read in graduate school a year later, had been published in 1963 (London).

<sup>2</sup> Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Thompson, "Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Context," *Midland History*, 1 (1972): 41–55.

<sup>4</sup> My personal vision of social history owes much as well to several other historians who have been my teachers and colleagues. They are Natalie Zemon Davis, Eric Hobsbawm, David S. Landes, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Joan Wallach Scott, and Charles Tilly. My thanks also to those who commented on earlier versions of this address, including members of the New York Area French History Seminar, Janet Abu-Lughod, Miriam Cohen, Michael Hanagan, Eric Hobsbawm, Ira Katznelson, Ellen Lagemann, Elizabeth Pleck, Abby Scher, Joan Scott, Charles Tilly, and Chris Tilly.

important but difficult to generalize. Social historians encounter stubborn empirical details that cannot be compared simply to cases from other settings or time periods; analyses of processes and structures are only with difficulty connected to detailed cases. Many nevertheless have persisted in social history, fine-tuning or combining new types of sources or interpretation with the old. Others have abandoned efforts to explain, retreated to description, and simply emphasized the complexity of the past. And still others have rejected the very possibility of explanation and adopted a radical skepticism toward any reliable knowledge of the past, or they have borrowed linguistic and literary critical approaches that take them far from the social and economic history that their mentors espoused.

In this epistemological crisis, Thompson can still inspire us, even if we do not completely agree with him. With his work in mind, I wish to present a vision of social history that focuses on connections between structure and action, individuals and processes, the past and the present, and settings distant in space. Before offering some general conclusions, I will illustrate this vision through a discussion of cotton textile industrialization up to the mid-nineteenth century and its effect on workers and their families.

The social history I envision studies past economic, political, and social structures, as well as collectivities—groups defined by class, occupation, sex, family position, geographic location, ethnicity, ideological commitment, religion, and so on. It studies the connections between and among structures, processes of change, and human action. It posits an interdependence of structure and action—human agents produce structures, intentionally or not, even as structures facilitate or constrain human action.<sup>5</sup> Individual actors (or groups) build structures and in turn are affected by structure through institutions such as families, courts, legislatures, churches, schools, firms, employers' associations, labor markets, unions, and the press. And all of these institutions operate within cultural contexts of shared understandings. Social history entails historical realism insofar as it presumes that popular experience is accessible to historical analysis, that this experience is coherent and cumulative, and that human agency makes a historical difference.

Social history gives serious attention to time and place. Narrative is therefore central in describing and interpreting temporal sequences of events. But narrative cannot be a complete explanation, just as causal explanation based on structural analysis cannot tell the whole story. Both are needed to describe past structures and events and to explain their connections; together, they communicate the essence of history.

Epistemologically, social historians argue not that complete or precise knowledge about the past is possible but that we can attain a modest knowledge, based on the evidence we can unearth, critically evaluated. We emphasize systematic variation among cases, not typical ones, and share a belief in an accessible reality. We focus on connections in our explanations of change or continuity. But what kinds of connections?

I have already discussed social history's defining connections, those among

<sup>5</sup> As Christopher Lloyd, *The Structures of History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 193–94, explains, once in place, “structure is relatively autonomous of individual actions and understandings.”



structures, processes, and human agency. Two other sets of connections are also central to our project. These are, first, spatial links between groups, regions, political units connected by trade, production, migration, religion, or political relations. And, second, temporal connections between past and present. Since the present is always becoming the past, and the past constrains or facilitates present action, it is the connections between past and present—continuities or breaks—that matter. I will illustrate these three sets of connections more fully below in historical vignettes on the interplay of textile industrialization and the familial social relations of workers in India, England, and France.<sup>6</sup>

THE INTERACTION OF PRE-FACTORY TEXTILE PRODUCTION in India, England, and France and the outcomes for their hand spinners and weavers of the Industrial Revolution illustrate three forms of connections—spatial, temporal, and those joining structure with people's action—in popular history on a world scale. Although historians sometimes portray such cases as at best parallel experiences distantly linked by an international market, a close examination reveals ongoing interplay among the histories.<sup>7</sup>

I begin in India, whose political, economic, and social histories are multiply connected to those of England, where the first Industrial Revolution took place.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Let me note briefly two other connections that are important in the work of social historians but will not be discussed further here. The first connection is between theory and problems or questions. As the study of past and present—conventionally differentiated as the subjects of historians and social scientists—have converged, historians have become more concerned with posing their questions in systematic ways, informed by theory. They need to be self-conscious about their own theoretical underpinnings and state their problems and questions explicitly. Social historians have been eclectic about their choice of social or political theory, ranging from the old stand-bys like Marx and Weber to contemporary American social-scientific notions of social mobility, political development, economic modernization, demographic determinism, and, more recently, Jürgen Habermas's theories of communicative action and civil society. The second connection is that between past and present historical accounts and the possibilities of a better world. The accumulation of knowledge in local social histories provides an empirical mapping of causal mechanisms in processes of change, explanations, and interpretations of their meaning for individuals and groups. Therein lies the value of social history for understanding the changing world and finding ways to a more egalitarian and just future. I share William H. McNeill's optimistic faith that "our historical myth making and myth breaking is bound to cumulate across time, propagating mythhistories that fit experience better . . . If so, ever-evolving mythhistories will indeed become truer and more adequate to public life . . . so that men and women will know how to act more wisely than is possible for us today." McNeill, "Mythistory, or Truth, Myth, History, and Historians," *AHR*, 91 (February 1986): 9.

<sup>7</sup> The following discussion of the early effects on spinners and weavers of the new technologies and increased scale and concentration in larger units that lay at the heart of the Industrial Revolution are part of an ongoing larger project that looks at capitalist and state-promoted industrialization, growth of the state, and family and gender relations in a world historical perspective, tracing the effects of the English Industrial Revolution and later regional and national industrialization within the world economy as a continuing process linking distant markets and changing opportunities for capitalists and workers, the outcome of which in any given location is dependent on local institutional and historical context. This is a totally reconceptualized revision of my chapter, "Industrialization and Gender Inequality," in Michael Adas, ed., *Islamic and European Expansion: The Forging of a Global Order* (Philadelphia, 1993), 243–310, which compared industrialization in five national states but only superficially examined the connections between and among them.

<sup>8</sup> My continuing investigations into the origins and consequences of the Industrial Revolution have been strongly influenced by the following scholars and works: E. J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (London, 1968); David S. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial*

Politically, of course, India was not a unified polity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although the Mughal empire was the largest political entity in south Asia. Following the Portuguese, who had seized Goa a century before, private Dutch, French, and English trading companies established commercial relations with Indian merchants in port cities during the seventeenth century. Revolts against the Mughal emperor served as a wedge for the British to expand their claims, decisively defeat French, Indian, and Dutch armies in the 1750s and 1760s, and establish direct rule or overlordship in most of India in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Conquest of the rest came in the 1840s, dissolution of the East India Company and direct British rule in the 1860s.

India was at least doubly connected to the English Industrial Revolution and its early manifestation in the cotton textile industry. The first connection runs through a highly specialized long-distance trade from India to Britain organized by commercial capitalists in the seventeenth century, when the importation in Britain of Indian pure cotton textiles spurred an expanding market for these products. In the eighteenth century, regulations prohibiting the importation of Indian cotton were passed. By the end of the century, the English cotton textile industry had successfully substituted home production for imports through revolutionary technologies that interacted cumulatively and through new organizations of production. The second connection, which began in the late eighteenth century, runs through British export of cotton yarn to India; in the course of the nineteenth century, cotton cloth was exported as well. British land policy promoted Indian agriculture, not manufacturing, and India's textile sector was permitted no tariff protection against British imports. Indigenous cotton manufactures declined.

Henry St. George Tucker, who spent years in India for the East India Company, later becoming one of its directors, offered this analysis in 1823: "[C]otton fabrics, which hitherto constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in [England], but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions. India is thus reduced from the state of manufacturing to that of an agricultural country."<sup>9</sup> Such an interpretation was adopted by Indian nationalists at the beginning of this century, but it has been widely debated by Indian and Western historians in the last forty years or so; a closer look at the history of the Indian textile industry is in order.

There were four widely separated major textile manufacturing regions in India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; each had its own specialties, based on

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*Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge, 1969); and Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982).

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Romesh Chunder Dutt, *The Economic History of India under Early British Rule*, Vol. 1: *From the Rise of the British Power in 1757 to the Accession of Queen Victoria in 1837* (1904; New York, 1970), 262. Dutt was an Indian civil servant whose study both reflected and shaped the thinking of the Indian nationalist movement in the period. On nationalist claims, see Bipin Chandra, "Indian Nationalists and the Drain, 1880-1905," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 2 (1965): 103-44; Susan S. Bean, "Gandhi and *Khadi*, the Fabric of Indian Independence," in Annette B. Weiner and Jane Schneider, eds., *Cloth and Human Experience* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 355-76; and, in the same volume, Bernard S. Cohn, "Cloth, Clothes, and Colonialism: India in the Nineteenth Century," 303-53, esp. 338-45.

the tastes of its market region and the availability of different qualities of raw cotton fibers. Weavers in these specialized regions and others dispersed throughout the country who served mostly local markets not only met the home market's demand but also supplied a vigorous long-distance commerce. Exports included the fine light muslin of Dakha (Bengal), "painted" chintzes, and printed calicoes, as well as coarser cloth destined for more humble users, like that traded in the Indonesian islands or transshipped from Europe and the Middle East to Africa in the slave trade and to the Caribbean and North American plantations for the clothing of slaves. West European countries were the chief trading partners of Bengal in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

Contemporary observers and historians alike agree on the fine quality of certain types of Indian cotton cloth. For example, Robert Orme exclaimed hyperbolically in his *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire* (1783):

The women . . . spin the thread designed for the cloths, and then deliver it to the men, who have fingers to model it as exquisitely as these have prepared it. For it is a fact, that the tools which they use are as simple and plain as they can be imagined to be. The rigid, clumsy fingers of an European would scarcely be able to make a piece of canvass, with instruments which are all that an Indian employs in making a piece of cambric.<sup>11</sup>

K. N. Chaudhuri concludes that the "technological superiority of Asian fabrics rested largely on human skills transmitted on the basis of hereditary knowledge." Robert Orme's use of the word cambric to describe the fine Indian cotton suggests another spatial connection; just as the word *calico* carried the name of Calicut (a city in southwestern India) to England and France, the original meaning of cambric (an *English* word) was the fine linen cloth of Cambrai, in northern France. Thus a connection to one of the chief textile-producing regions of France.

Eighteenth-century Indian weavers were specialized skilled craftsmen belonging to castes found in all parts of India. They wove cloth in styles defined by social convention on simple looms; bleaching, printing, glazing, and other finishing processes were done by specialists subcontracted by urban weavers or in rural settings by traders in local markets. Despite their skill (which would appear to put them in a strong economic position), they experienced considerable geographic

<sup>10</sup> John Irwin and P. R. Schwartz, *Studies in Indo-European Textile History* (Ahmedabad, 1966); K. N. Chaudhuri, "The Structure of Indian Textile Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 11 (June–September 1974): 127–82; Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1985); and Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1990). (The latter study looks at the vast land area around the Indian Ocean in a Braudelien analysis of slow-changing structure and material life. It expands Chaudhuri's analysis of textile manufactures in India first reported nearly twenty years earlier but does not differ in explanation.) Also very useful for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are Ahmeeda Hossain, "The Alienation of Weavers: Impact of the Conflict between the Revenue and Commercial Interests of the East India Company, 1750–1800," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 16 (July 1979): 323–45; S. Arasaratnam, "Weavers, Merchants and Company: The Handloom Industry in South-eastern India 1750–1790," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 17 (1980): 257–81; and especially for comparisons with European proto-industrialization in the same period, Frank Perlin, "Proto-Industrialization and Pre-Colonial South Asia," *Past and Present*, 98 (February 1983): 30–95.

<sup>11</sup> Orme quoted in Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe*, 298; Chaudhuri quote on 314. Obviously, there are other interpretations of Orme's text. Here, I accept the literal reading of Chaudhuri, who cites Orme for his admiration for Indian skill and the fine cloth it produced with very simple wheels and looms.

mobility; such mobility was sometimes due to shifting market opportunities, other times to warfare, crop failures, or other natural disasters. Merchants and brokers served as intermediaries between the English East India Company and the weavers.<sup>12</sup>

The system was part of the development of commercial capitalist structures on a world scale. In seventeenth and early eighteenth-century India, textile production was facilitated by an economy-wide division of labor, with a growing agricultural sector keeping pace with the expanding textile manufactures. The Indian system had something in common with European proto-industrialization, if we understand the latter not as the first stage of industrialization but as the commercially controlled expansion of labor-intensive, low-cost production in households or small shops of textiles and other products for distant markets. However, instead of giving weavers yarn with which to produce the desired lengths of fabric and controlling the finishing and marketing of their cloth, Indian brokers made cash advances that covered both purchase of yarn and living expenses for the weaver and his dependents while the cloth was being woven. The system was dynamic and responded to market demand and long-distance trade possibilities, but weavers apparently never had the possibility of accumulating capital and moving into commerce, as they sometimes did in England.<sup>13</sup> Instead, over the eighteenth century, the European trading companies came more and more to dominate the local Indian economies and pull them into an international division of labor with its centers in Western Europe.

The Indian economic and social order was shaken at the end of the eighteenth century by wars and famines, as the weavers' lot became more precarious, especially in the west and south. At times, they turned to agricultural labor; in their own industry, they had by then largely become simple wage laborers. Chaudhuri concludes that the very success of Indian cotton manufactures in international markets and the long-established patterns of specialization and hierarchical control made it difficult for Indian middlemen and producers to change their ways in response to the rising external challenge of English technological innovation.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Chaudhuri, "Structure of the Indian Textile Industry"; *Trade and Civilisation*; and *Asia before Europe*. For a cultural interpretation of the ambiguous social status of weavers in Indian society, see C. A. Bayley, "The Origins of Swadeshi (Home Industry): Cloth and Indian Society, 1700–1930," in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986), 285–321, esp. 293–97. Bayley looks back from the nationalist position of the early twentieth century (which called for support of *swadeshi* and the boycott of imports) to examine the historic role of cloth in Indian society.

<sup>13</sup> On world-scale commercial capitalism, see Perlin, "Proto-Industrialization and Pre-Colonial South Asia"; and Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe*. John K. Walton, "Proto-industrialization and the First Industrial Revolution: The Case of Lancashire," in Pat Hudson, ed., *Regions and Industries: A Perspective on the Industrial Revolution in Britain* (Cambridge, 1989), 41–68, makes the argument that among Lancashire's other advantages as the site for the first Industrial Revolution was its specialization in cotton manufacture. This gave some artisans the chance to move into commerce and, later, introduce technological innovations in the textile production processes.

<sup>14</sup> Chaudhuri, "Structure of Indian Textile Industry"; *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean*; and *Asia before Europe*. Hossain, "Alienation of Weavers," argues similarly that the weavers came to bear more and more of the costs of the English East India Company's efforts to establish stricter quality control at low cost (which lengthened the hierarchical structure between weaver and merchant); and Perlin, "Proto-Industrialization and Pre-Colonial South Asia," emphasizes the failure to invest in



Most scholars agree that, like many European proto-industrial regions, India was not on the verge of an industrial revolution but that its indigenous commercial capitalism was undermined by privileged English competition. The handweaving of cotton fabrics did not disappear in India; over the course of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth, there were crisis periods, some linked with changing demand for the products, others with famines and disease (which killed both weavers and consumers). Coarse fabrics continued to be woven in most areas for local consumption, and the finest specialties also endured; the proletarianization of weavers of coarse cloth continued, but they hung on by reducing their prices and immiserating themselves and their families. According to the 1901 census of India, there were still 5.8 million handloom weavers and only 350,000 workers in mechanized mills. In the same period, Indian mill production accounted for about 11 percent of consumption, handlooms for 23 percent, and imports (largely from Britain) for 66 percent. Handweaving continued to be a source of livelihood for many, but it was no longer the link to the world economy than it had earlier been.<sup>15</sup>

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fixed capital or technological change of the increasingly rigid system erected on low labor costs. See also Tim Dyson, "Indian Historical Demography: Developments and Prospects," in Dyson, ed., *India's Historical Demography: Studies in Famine, Disease and Society* (Riverdale, Md., 1989), 1–15, 8 and following. Drawing on articles on specific regions in the same volume by Roland Lardinois and Simon Commander, Dyson ventures a generalization that India had a "very low, possibly negative, rate of population growth from 1770 to 1820."

<sup>15</sup> The 1901 census cited in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th edn. (1910), 14: 392; material on Indian cloth consumption in 1900–1901 from Peter Harnetty, "'Deindustrialization' Revisited: The Handloom Weavers of the Central Provinces of India, c. 1800–1947," *Modern Asian Studies*, 25 (1991): 508. Harnetty's study looks in detail at the Central Provinces but examines as well evidence for the overall decline of handloom weavers in India. Note that about two-thirds of the cloth produced in India in 1900–1901 was handwoven. In the twentieth century, British officials and nationalists made efforts (for different reasons) to revive handweaving and the consumption of indigenously produced cloth. Only in this period was the flying shuttle finally accepted by hand weavers. See also Konrad Specker, "Madras Handlooms in the Nineteenth Century," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 19 (1989): 132–66; and Sumit Guha, "The Handloom Industry of Central India: 1825–1950," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 26 (1989): 297–318. A good overview of nineteenth-century English writings on the Indian economy to 1858 is available in K. N. Chaudhuri, ed., *The Economic Development of India under the East India Company* (Cambridge, 1971). Basic documents in the contemporary debate over nineteenth-century Indian economic developments include, in the special issue of the *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 5 (March 1968): Morris D. Morris, "Towards a Reinterpretation of Nineteenth-Century Indian Economic History," 1–15 (first published in the *Journal of Economic History*, 23 [1963]: 606–18); Toru Matsui, "On the Nineteenth-Century Indian Economic History—A Review of a 'Reinterpretation,'" 17–33; Bipan Chandra, "Reinterpretation of Nineteenth Century Indian Economic History," 35–75; Tapan Raychaudhuri, "A Re-Interpretation of Nineteenth Century Indian Economic History?" 77–100. Also see Amiya Kumar Bagchi, "De-Industrialization in India in the Nineteenth Century: Some Theoretical Implications," *Journal of Development Studies*, 12 (January 1976): 135–64; and "Deindustrialization in Gangetic Bihar, 1809–1901," in Barun De, ed., *Essays in Honour of Professor Susobhan Chandra Sarkar* (New Delhi, 1976), 499–522; Marika Vicziany, "The Deindustrialization of India in the Nineteenth Century: A Methodological Critique of Amiya Kumar Bagchi," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 16 (April–June 1979): 106–46; Amiya Kumar Bagchi, "A Reply," *ibid.*, 147–61; and Colin Simmons, "'Deindustrialization,' Industrialization and the Indian Economy, c. 1850–1947," *Modern Asian Studies*, 19 (1985): 593–622.

Starting in 1854, entrepreneurs from Bombay imported British machinery and successfully established cotton mills, which at first specialized in spinning, but some by 1862 were weaving as well. An early warning of the future was issued by R. M. Martin in 1862 (when there were four mills in full operation), who wrote that "even the present generation may witness the Lancashire manufacturer beaten by his Hindu competitor." Martin, *The Progress and Present State of British India* (London, 1862), 280–82, quoted in Morris D. Morris, *The Emergence of an Industrial Labor Force in India: A Study of the*

Up to the end of the eighteenth century, hand spinning for commercial weavers, a female occupation permissible in all castes, produced yarn of higher quality than could be produced in contemporary England.<sup>16</sup> But English mule-spun yarn, which became available in the century's last decades, thoroughly undermined the hand-spun Indian product. Dr. Francis Hamilton Buchanan's report of his travels in northern India and Bengal, from 1808 to 1815, describes the parlous condition of women spinners in the early period of English competition.<sup>17</sup> Since these women had often been spinning as members of weavers' households, some doubtless began to spend time at the loom instead of the spinning wheel, or they sought work in agriculture. The cash contribution that spinners could make to their household budgets was severely compromised as hand spinning virtually disappeared in the nineteenth century. (However, women in the households of the remaining hand weavers probably provided them at least some of their yarn.) Widowed spinners who had been rejected by their in-laws were particularly disadvantaged, because they had to support themselves and their children. As these women were losing their means of livelihood, British officials and Indian intellectual modernizers abolished *sati* (widow immolation, a custom most often practiced among upper-caste Hindus) but did nothing for widows displaced by imported, industrially spun yarn.<sup>18</sup> The few women who continued to spin were those who simply had no alternative way to live.<sup>19</sup>

To what extent and in what ways were parent-child and adult gender relations among the common people of India modified by the changing fortunes of its cotton manufactures in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? Putting together sparse evidence about family life, we know that members of both rural and urban families in the period were likely to think in terms of group rather than individual well-being. Agriculturalists and craftspeople depended on cooperation in familial interest, a tendency that was supported culturally by women's marriage at a very young age and the common Hindu joint family form (ideally, three generations but sometimes brothers, their wives, and offspring co-residing). Because daughters would leave their family of origin at marriage, and because of the preference for sons that was the corollary of this custom, girls were often neglected compared to their brothers. Marriages were planned without consultation of the young people involved. And wives were unlikely to

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*Bombay Cotton Mills, 1854-1947* (Berkeley, Calif., 1965), 25. It took much longer than Martin envisioned, but the handwriting was on the wall for the English cotton textile industry, as other countries developed their own mechanized sectors.

<sup>16</sup> Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe*, 316.

<sup>17</sup> Dutt, *Economic History of India*, 1: 223, 235, 236, 238, 241, 245, 248, 252.

<sup>18</sup> On *sati*, see Joanna Liddle and Rama Joshi, *Daughters of Independence: Gender, Caste and Class in India* (London, 1986); and Lata Mani, "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on *Sati* in Colonial India," in Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, eds., *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990), 88-126. British and Indian reformers later turned their attention to laws permitting widows to remarry and raising the age of consent for marital intercourse, as discussed by Vina Mazumdar, "The Social Reform Movement in India—From Ranade to Nehru" (1976), in B. R. Nanda, *Indian Women: From Purdah to Modernity* (New Delhi, 1990), 42-66; the economic problems of poor widows were usually seen as remediable by remarriage, not remunerative work.

<sup>19</sup> Nirmala Banerjee, "Working Women in Colonial Bengal: Modernization and Marginalization," in Sangari and Vaid, *Recasting Women*, 269-301.



develop much sense of independence when they came as child brides (no more than fifteen and often considerably younger) into their husband's extended household and grew up with its expectations and values.<sup>20</sup>

George Forster, an intrepid eighteenth-century world traveler, noted: "The entire system of domestic ordinary and economy of the Hindoos is founded on a firm yet simple basis . . . the wife depends for . . . most of the ordinary accommodations of her life, on the immediate existence of her husband."<sup>21</sup> Although Forster may have based his testimony on observing upper-class families, wives of urban or rural workers living in Hindu joint family households were also dependent on their husband's survival, because they were not permitted to remarry, yet they had few rights as widows living with their in-laws. A wife worked with other women, ate separately from her husband, shared child care with female kin, and saw her husband little. She was subordinate not only to him but to all others in his family of origin.

Indian women became worse off in terms of the family division of labor and resources when they abandoned hand spinning and lost the possibilities for earning that went with it. The agricultural labor available to them was not as well paid and required less skill; it was an alternative source of income, no more, and, at best, probably left gender relations in families unchanged. Women's farm work was in locations removed from the home, while they continued to be responsible (in cooperation with other household women) for food preparation and child care. The females whose lives were most at risk were daughters who were neglected by their birth families or married at excessively young ages and widows whose in-laws had rejected them.

Children also lost their helping role in household spinning and weaving, which meant fewer opportunities to work in or close to their home (although girls continued to share in women's domestic and child-care tasks) and the lower wages brought by agricultural work. Children almost certainly had not received separate wages in household textile production, and even if they were paid individually when they sought agricultural day labor elsewhere, the expectation was that they would contribute their pay to the household. The decline of skilled handwork in Indian manufacturing and the increasing importance of agriculture in the economy did little to modify the expectation that boys and girls, men and women, would all contribute to household economies in whatever way they could; the

<sup>20</sup> Bernard S. Cohn, *India: The Social Anthropology of a Civilization* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971), 119–23. Cohn makes clear that the joint family is not universal in India, and I have greatly oversimplified the issue of family structure. See also Amartya Sen, *Commodities and Capabilities* (Amsterdam, 1985), 80 and following; and Lucy Carroll, "Daughter's Right of Inheritance in India: A Perspective on the Problem of Dowry," *Modern Asian Studies*, 25 (1991): 791–809. V. V. Prakasa Rao and V. Nandini Rao, *Marriage, the Family, and Women in India* (Columbia, Mo., 1982), discusses primarily mid-twentieth-century family patterns. Rao and Rao's brief survey of women's status divides the past into two long periods: the early Vedic (2500–1500 B.C.), for which literary sources prescribe rough equality of men and women, and 1500 B.C. to 1800 A.D., characterized they argue by deterioration of women's status, their subordination in the family, a rise of female seclusion (practiced not only by Muslim conquerors but adopted as well by upper-class Hindus), and diminished access of girls and women to education.

<sup>21</sup> George Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England* (1789), 1: 57, quoted in Kalikinkar Datta, *Survey of India's Social Life and Economic Condition in the Eighteenth Century, 1707–1813*, 2d rev. edn. (New Delhi, 1978).

division of labor was little changed, but life became if anything more precarious. The Hindu cultural preference for male children, the dominance of husbands and fathers in families, and the lack of alternatives for women other than time-consuming household tasks and agricultural labor gave females little opportunity to develop their capabilities or skills; among the poor, simple survival was often all that could be expected.<sup>22</sup>

In sum, the process of English cotton textile industrialization had negative effects on India as a commercial partner and eventual colony. India lost its major export markets for cotton cloth to English industry and its export-oriented products; Indian commercial capitalism was stunted, while England's machine-spun yarn and cloth were protected in Indian markets. Indian hand-produced coarse cotton cloth was restricted to local trade, although the finest specialties continued to be prized by elites throughout the country and sometimes exported; both spinners and weavers were pressed into agricultural labor to survive. These outcomes were shaped by India's previous history, especially the ways in which its specialized and subdivided productive system rigidified as it was forced into dependency, first by the East India Company's commercial capitalist trading system and, later, by British colonial policy. Indian family relations, which included both pressure for cooperation and potential for conflict, changed little. Patriarchal control of children's lives continued unabated, and adult gender relations continued to be structured in ways disadvantageous to females, given their weak position in their birth family, youthful marriage, dependence on the good will of their husband and his family, and lack of rights as widows.

THE ENGLISH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, closely connected to India through Lancashire manufacturers' efforts to compete with Indian products, began in one region, Lancashire and the northeastern part of Cheshire. English cotton textile production (the cloth was woven with linen warps until the late eighteenth century) had localized in Lancashire long before industrialization. By the 1680s, the putting-out (or proto-industrial) organization of production was common in cotton manufactures. Yarn spun by women was bought by merchants or their agents, who distributed it to male weavers and then sold their cloth in distant markets. Both spinners and weavers lived in rural villages and earned a modest

<sup>22</sup> Here, I adopt the concept of Amartya Sen, who writes that "there is a good case for judging individual well-being, neither in terms of commodities consumed nor in terms of the mental metric of utilities, but in terms of the 'capabilities' of persons. This is the perspective of 'freedom' in the *positive* sense: who can *do* what." The capabilities approach, Sen argues, can take account of personal characteristics such as sex and age and not simply the resources to which individuals may have access. Sen, "Economics and the Family," *Asian Development Review*, 1 (1983): 19. See also Jocelyn Kynch and Amartya Sen, "Indian Women: Well-Being and Survival," *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 7 (1983): 363–80. Sen develops his argument there (365) against John Rawls's position that individuals' advantage is based on their possession of widely desired goods like rights, liberties, opportunities, and wealth, and Ronald Dworkin's case for opportunities as the key to advantage. In "What Did you Learn in the World Today?" *American Behavioral Scientist*, 34 (May–June 1991): 530–48, Sen argues that equity (fairness in the distribution of "good things") should be given more weight in evaluating policy than efficiency (referring in part to having *more* "good things"), and he calls for disaggregated internal comparisons as well as cross-national aggregated ones in analyses of inequality.

but respectable living working in their own cottages, unsupervised and paid by the piece, not by time.<sup>23</sup>

In the early eighteenth century, the supply of Indian cotton cloth was temporarily restricted as import regulations (passed under political pressure from woolen manufacturers) first prohibited imports, then imposed heavy tariffs and even sought to forbid the very use of imported chintz. Indian cottons nevertheless continued to be imported indirectly or illegally.

In a first response, Lancashire cotton producers increased yarn production, spun on the old-fashioned wheels, producing one thread at the time, by recruiting more spinners.<sup>24</sup> But, about the same time, enterprising cotton manufacturers introduced and implemented new organizations of production and technologies, first for weaving (the flying shuttle), and later for carding, roving, and spinning yarn strong enough for warps and fine enough for the weft of the popular cotton textiles. Spinners could run the first spinning machines—jennies—in their own cottages; women's wages increased markedly with the higher productivity that the jennies made possible. In the past, wrote an observer of Lancashire in 1780, "the chief support of a poor family arose from the loom. A wife could get comparatively but little on her single spindle . . . [but the jenny made] a prodigious difference" to women's earnings; spinners could sometimes outearn male weavers—for a brief period.<sup>25</sup> The development of new technologies in response to changing consumer demands contrasts markedly to the Indian case, in which labor costs were kept low by the East India Company's increasing domination of the weavers' link to commercial capital and Western merchants' mediation of growing consumer demand.

English innovation continued, moreover, and the search for more and more efficient machines produced the mule, which was heavy enough that animal or water (and, later still, steam) power was needed to run it. The mules, and the sheds or factories in which they were located, were greeted with protest, and sometimes destruction, by displaced workers in household production and their families and neighbors in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Women continued to be employed on the earlier, lighter spinning machines like the water frame, now in factories, but with the spread of mules—which required not only non-human power but also great physical effort from the humans who ran them—most factory spinners were male by the end of eighteenth century. It was now their turn to be held up for public admiration; E. Baines declared in his *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain* (1835) that a mule spinner assisted

<sup>23</sup> Walton, "Proto-industrialization," esp. 42–45, 62–63. The following description of eighteenth-century changes in the Lancashire cotton industry is based on Sidney J. Chapman, *The Lancashire Cotton Industry: A Study in Economic Development* (1904; Clifton, N.J., 1973); Alfred P. Wadsworth and Julia De Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600–1780* (1931; Manchester, 1965); Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850* (1930; London, 1981), and the very full documentation they provide.

<sup>24</sup> Pinchbeck, *Women Workers*, 131, notes the increase in cotton spinners around Manchester and elsewhere in Lancashire, in the mid-eighteenth century.

<sup>25</sup> *Thoughts on the Use of Machines*, 14, quoted in A. P. Wadsworth, "The Lancashire Wage-Earners before the Factory System," Wadsworth and Mann, *Cotton Trade*, bk. 4, 404.

by his children was able to "live more generously, clothe himself and his family better than many of the lower class of tradesmen."<sup>26</sup>

Alongside these technological innovations, there were organizational ones in calico printing, in which women painstakingly patterned printing blocks, or in chintz "printing," where women hand-painted designs on cloth—both processes modeled after those current in India. But the British cotton-printing industry rarely succeeded in producing prints or dyes that satisfied Indian tastes, and most cotton cloth exported to India in the nineteenth century was unprinted.<sup>27</sup>

The abundance of cheap and strong cotton yarn led to both increases in the number of hand weavers producing cotton cloth and efforts to mechanize the weaving process. Women displaced from spinning began to move into several occupations that could be done in their cottages. One was removing stems and dirt from raw cotton to ready it for the factory processes, but workers' wages in this occupation dropped precipitously by the mid-1790s.<sup>28</sup> More attractive to adult women was cotton handweaving, which now involved less heavy lengths of cloth (because of the lighter cotton thread used for warps). Weavers who had previously specialized in wool or linen weaving and migrants from Ireland also flocked into cotton weaving, as demand for the cloth continued to expand. These newcomers, together with the former artisanal weavers, flourished briefly in the industry's expansion in the late 1780s. Writing in 1828, William Radcliffe recalled the period from 1788 to 1803 as a "golden age," in which "the operative weavers on machine yarns . . . might be said to be placed in a higher state of 'wealth, peace and godliness,' by the great demand for, and high price of, their labour, than they had ever before experienced."<sup>29</sup> Some of his contemporaries disagreed: the diary of William Rowbottom, an Oldham fustian (mixed linen and cotton) handloom weaver, reported the "most torturing misery" and the "relentless cruelty of the fustian masters" in 1793. Other products of Oldham weavers included calicoes and checks—both modeled on Indian cotton cloth. A French traveler observed, "The fact is, there are too many labourers, and the only remedy is for a less number of young men to take to the loom."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in Pinchbeck, *Women Workers*, 153.

<sup>27</sup> Maxine Berg, "Women's Work, Mechanization, and the Early Phases of Industrialization in England," in Patrick Joyce, ed., *The Historical Meanings of Work* (Cambridge, 1987), 64–98. Compare the late seventeenth-century comment by a Dutch East India Company agent (D. Havart) on the process of cloth painting in Coromandel quoted in Irwin and Schwartz, *Studies in Indo-European Textile History*, 34–35, with the description in S. D. Chapman and Serge Chassagne, *European Textile Printers in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Peel and Oberkampf* (London, 1981), 95–96 (quoted in Berg, 95–96) of late eighteenth-century English cloth painting. The Indian process was adopted in order to reproduce the desired complex design on English cotton cloth. Harnetty, "Deindustrialization Revisited," 463, n. 22, cites D. A. Farnie, *The English Cotton Industry and the World Market, 1815–1896* (Oxford, 1979), 101, as evidence of the Indian lack of acceptance of English printed cottons. This footnote seems at least partially inconsistent with Harnetty's text on the same page, which indicates that printed English cloth imitating some Central Provinces' textile specialties was well received when it was introduced in the area in the late 1860s.

<sup>28</sup> J. Aiken, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles Round Manchester* (1795), cited in Pinchbeck, *Women Workers*, 152–53.

<sup>29</sup> William Radcliffe quoted in Chapman, *Lancashire Cotton Industry*, 38.

<sup>30</sup> William Rowbottom, "The Chronology or Annals of Oldham" (unpublished manuscript diary), quoted by John Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns* (London, 1974), 35; T. S. Ashton, "The Standard of Life of the Workers in England, 1790–1830," in F. A. Hayek, *Capitalism and the Historians* (London, 1954), 127–59, draws on

Edward Thompson demonstrated the mythic quality of Radcliffe's rosy picture, pointing out that the older artisan weavers were increasingly equated with the flood of newly recruited unskilled weavers. As had happened in India, both artisanal and less-skilled English weavers became dependent on the merchants and agents who distributed yarn and subject to rate cuts; a steady erosion of wages began after 1805, as the weavers' vulnerability became more and more palpable.<sup>31</sup>

Handloom weaving could only be a temporary haven; in the mid-1820s, powerloom weaving spread, providing new factory jobs primarily for women and children. By the 1860s, most handlooms had been replaced by powerlooms. During the long period of decline, women and children in handloom weavers' households—unlike the case of India—could find work in either spinning mills or powerloom weaving factories; adult males were less likely to change occupation, partly at least because "male" jobs were scarce in some areas. One member of the 1840 Parliamentary Commission on the State of the Handloom Weavers wrote that "the wife and children of a weaver in most cases contribute very materially to their own support." Households with a mixed family economy (including both home and factory workers) were better able to earn a livelihood and maintain the dignity of adult male hand weavers.<sup>32</sup> Thus, although the local effects of innovation in England on hand spinners and weavers resembled those in India, manufacturers' readiness to innovate eventually produced new industrial jobs for English former hand workers.

By the mid-nineteenth century, then, cotton textile production—from bales of ginned cotton to sized cloth—was a factory process. Both women and men were factory weavers, and men were mule spinners; each group was assisted by children. (Women also did auxiliary tasks or spun on lighter machines, and some men lingered at handweaving.)

What were the consequences of these changes for family and gender relations? The young people from handloom weavers' households who worked in factories were making vital financial contributions to their families, more important sometimes than those of their fathers. To what extent did this change their relationship to their parents? A demographic study of Preston, Lancashire, in 1850 asks questions about how households allocated resources and decided who

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Rowbottom's diary for a series of retail prices on basic food items in Oldham from 1791 to 1809, showing large swings in the cost of workers' typical diets. L. Simond, *Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1815), quoted in Duncan Bythell, *The Handloom Weavers: A Study in the English Cotton Industry during the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 1969), 107–08. (The observation was made in 1811.)

<sup>31</sup> Chapter 9, "The Weavers," in Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*; Pinchbeck, *Women Workers*, 173; Foster, *Class Struggle*, 37. Foster emphasizes both historical contingencies, such as the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, and structural ones, such as the slowness of mechanization of weaving in his case study of Oldham, where fustian weaving continued but was increasingly miserably paid.

<sup>32</sup> Reports of the Parliamentary Commission on the State of the Handloom Weavers, XXIV, 1840, 556, quoted in Pinchbeck, *Women Workers*, 166. Bythell, *Handloom Weavers*; John S. Lyons, "The Lancashire Cotton Industry and the Introduction of the Power Loom, 1815–50" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1977); and Walton, "Proto-industrialization," 67, also discuss the mixed family economy in hand weaver families. Compare Tessie Liu, *The Weaver's Knot: Contradictions of Class Struggle and Family Solidarity in Western France* (Ithaca, forthcoming), who argues that patriarchal authority and prerogative were little challenged in handloom weavers' families in France.



would work, who would care for the children, and what obligations children had toward their parents. It shows that connections between parents and children, and within a wider web of other kin, were extensive; family and household interdependence did not erode but continued strong. Parents expected that children would contribute economically to the household and be ready to help out in life-cycle crises, such as parents' old age; married couples lived separately from, but often close to, their parents, who could help them with child-care needs if a young mothers' wages were needed for family subsistence.<sup>33</sup>

Changes in adult gender relations in the Lancashire cotton industry were structured and limited by the system of job segregation, which undergirded wage differentials based on sex. Job segregation refers not to spatial segregation as in housing but to the fact that men and women were assigned different jobs, with the wage structure of women's jobs systematically lower than those of similar men's jobs and few opportunities for women's advancement. In the production of cotton, the one task that stands out because of the change in the sex of workers is spinning. There had been a sex division of labor in household production and small-scale manufacturing; industrial capitalists sometimes copied, other times revised, the sex identification of occupations, but they almost always made it more rigid; they were willing either to hire women as cheaper labor or buy men workers' loyalty with privilege and higher wages. Either way, women workers were disadvantaged.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971); "Household Structure and the Industrial Revolution: Preston in Comparative Perspective," in Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, eds., *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge, 1972), 215–35; and "Social History and the Working-Class Family: Smelser Revisited," *Social History*, 3 (October 1976): 317–34. See also M. M. Edwards and R. Lloyd-Jones, "N. J. Smelser and the Cotton Factory Family: A Reassessment," in N. B. Harte and K. G. Ponting, eds., *Textile History and Economic History* (Manchester, 1973), 304–19. In "Sociological History: The Industrial Revolution and the British Working-Class Family," *Journal of Social History*, 1 (Fall 1967): 17–35, and *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago, 1959), Neil J. Smelser argues in contrast that English workers' discontent in the 1830s was linked to their concerns to maintain control over wage-earning children, who once had worked in the household and later in spinning mills under their parents' direct supervision. With heavier and larger mules, fathers found it more difficult to keep their children under their supervision, and the effect of the Factory Act of 1833 (which limited children's but not adults' working hours, thus making impossible common work schedules among parents and children) was further to undermine paternal authority. Smelser concludes that from then until the 1850s, when new Factory Acts delineated uniform working schedules, the politics of the common people in Lancaster were dedicated to reconstituting the family. Smelser's structural-functional approach was one of Thompson's targets in the preface to *Making of the English Working Class*.

<sup>34</sup> A debate about the gender meaning of the continuing dominance of males as mule spinners may be traced through Heidi Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex," *Signs*, 1 (1976), Part 2: 137–69; William Lazonick, "Industrial Relations and Technical Change: The Case of the Self-Acting Mule," *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 3 (1979): 231–62; Mary Freifeld, "Technological Change and the 'Self-Acting' Mule: A Study of Skill and the Sexual Division of Labour," *Social History*, 11 (October 1986): 319–43; William Lazonick, *Competitive Advantage on the Shop Floor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), chap. 3, "Minders, Piecers, and Self-Acting Mules," esp. 88–93; Mariana Valverde, "'Giving the Female a Domestic Turn': The Legal, Social and Moral Regulation of Women's Work in British Cotton Mills, 1820–1850," *Journal of Social History*, 21 (1988): 619–34; Ellen Jordan, "The Exclusion of Women from Industry in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31 (April 1989): 273–96; Robert Gray, "Factory Legislation and the Gendering of Jobs in the North of England, 1830–1860," *Gender and History*, 5 (Spring 1993): 56–80; Colin Creighton, "Richard Oastler, Factory Legislation and the Working-Class Family," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 5 (September 1992): 292–320; and Carol E. Morgan, "Women, Work and



In sum, in Lancashire, household production became untenable, and men eventually followed women and children first into the spinning mills and, later, into weaving factories. The process was neither linear nor easy for working-class families, given the cycles of boom and bust that accompanied the uneven process of mechanization and the entrepreneurial risks of a period of rapid innovation. But, compared to contemporary changes in India, Lancashire's position in the forefront of industrialization offered its displaced workers, both male and female, better opportunities for wage earning.

By about mid-century, despite the huge structural changes in Lancashire industry, its workers' family relations had changed relatively little. As in India, families were one of the few resources available to the poor, even though relationships within families could be exploitative as well as cooperative, and any collective gains were likely to be unevenly distributed among family members. Men received better-paying jobs than women. As adult male wage earners, they had first claim on family resources; children were pressed to submit to parental expectations; wives and mothers were expected to accept full responsibility for the domestic economy yet also to earn wages when needed. Those individuals who rejected familial cooperation in Lancashire were, by all accounts, much better off than children or women on their own in India. Their lives would be tough, but the rising economy and the less rigid prescriptions of English family relations eventually produced tolerable, though gender-unequal, conditions.

LIKE ENGLAND, FRANCE WAS AN IMPORTER OF INDIAN COTTONS in the seventeenth century, as suggested by the words *calicot* and *indienne* (a lightweight printed cotton cloth), which linger in the French vocabulary to this day. At the end of the seventeenth century, a Norman merchant from Rouen developed a light cotton cloth woven with linen warps (called *siamoise*, perhaps an effort to suggest another exotic origin of the cloth that it imitated, which was surely Indian); the *siamoises* were explicitly developed to compete with the Indian imports that were favored in France as they were in England. Rouen's textile manufactures boomed in the eighteenth century; so, too, did parallel non-guild-regulated production in the pays de Caux, an agricultural region to the east of the city, where cheap labor was to be found. The *siamoises* were woven in red or blue-striped or checked white cloth, or solid red, blue, or white, sold to peasants, urban workers, or exported to the colonies to clothe slaves. (Both the patterns and markets were the same as those of Indian cloth.) In the rural sector, adult female and child carders and spinners worked more intensively in textile production than did male weavers, who alternated with agricultural labor.<sup>35</sup>

The first Norman cotton spinning mills (using animal-powered or water-powered machines) were built in the 1780s borrowing English technology, but the

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Consciousness in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century English Cotton Industry," *Social History*, 17 (January 1992): 23–41.

<sup>35</sup> This description of cottage industry in the pays de Caux is derived from Gay Gullickson, *Spinners and Weavers of Auffay: Rural Industry and the Sexual Division of Labor in a French Village, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 1986).

region's economy was shaken by the Eden Treaty of 1786, which opened French markets to English machine-spun yarns.<sup>36</sup> Machine spinning, first on jennies run by women in their cottages, then in mills (located in areas distant from the Cauchois, where hand spinning had been concentrated) expanded production during the first decade of the century, suffered from British competition after 1810, and resumed growth in the 1820s and 1830s.

Normandy, like Lancashire, combined mechanical spinning and handweaving put out to rural weavers, but the system lingered much longer in France, into the 1870s. As in other areas where the mechanization of weaving came slowly, wages were low and workers vulnerable to the frequent commercial crises. In the pays de Caux, women who could no longer sell their hand-spun yarn moved into handloom weaving, where workers were in great demand to transform the new machine-spun yarns into cloth. Isidore Mars, a Cauchois weaver, described the household division of labor in that period:

Adolescents, the father and the mother wove: and one heard only the regular sound of the shuttle which passed and repassed through the threads, and the beat of the loom . . . and it was often the children of the family who were obliged to take care of the demands of commercial affairs and the agricultural work. They . . . took the cloth [to the merchants], and worked the land, planting and harvesting the crops.<sup>37</sup>

Although both adults in this family wove, they were not weaving the same type of cloth.

A division of labor by sex assigned heavy fabrics to men and lighter weight cottons (which were later printed) to women. A weaver explained this difference in terms of women's lack of "physical strength and their inferior intelligence" and men's "natural" inclination to textiles that were "more laborious and difficult because they procure higher benefits." It turned out, however, that the products of the women's branch were the more popular, and they came to dominate the market. Wages for both women and men weavers fell, the women's because they had no alternative occupation and the men's because they were competing with lower-paid women. (Even though men's wages were low, they continued to be higher than women's.) And, as in England, handweaving with machine-spun yarn was simply a transitional phase that lasted only as long as poorly paid women weavers kept the cloth competitive with imports. Powerloom weaving factories built close to Rouen starting as early as the 1820s forced the country weavers of the Caux out of business by the 1860s; the region became more fully agricultural, and out-migration to the cities expanded.<sup>38</sup> Thus many hand spinners and weavers in the pays de Caux lost their means of subsistence, which had developed in the course of competition with Indian cotton imports, and were constrained,

<sup>36</sup> Landes, *Unbound Prometheus*, supplies an excellent overview of cotton textile industrialization in the three French regions where it was dominant.

<sup>37</sup> Isidore Mars, *Derniers souvenirs du bon vieux temps d'Auffay depuis 1793 jusqu'à 1840 environ* (Dieppe, 1876), 3, as translated and quoted in Gullickson, *Spinners and Weavers*, 109. (I have made some minor modifications in Gullickson's translation.)

<sup>38</sup> Charles Noiret, *Mémoires d'un ouvrier rouennais* (Rouen, 1836), 33, translated and quoted in Gullickson, *Spinners and Weavers*, 110.

like Indian workers, to turn to agriculture or to migrate cityward with the cotton industry.

The Rouennais was one of three French regions that developed cotton yarn and textiles as major products; the others were Alsace (the region around Mulhouse) and the Lille region. There, Roubaix was the headquarters of cotton, linen, and woolen putters-out competing with its urbane neighbor Lille's manufactures. Pierre Deyon argues that the "bitter competition between the two cities was for the Roubaisiens an ongoing school of initiative and creative imagination."<sup>39</sup> The definitive end to guild controls in 1791 gave Roubaix entrepreneurs free rein; although the revolution and Napoleonic wars (in which the English were the implacable enemy) slowed down developments, the first spinning mills (using English machines) were installed in the brief interlude of peace during the Napoleonic period, the first steam-driven mill in the 1820s. Weaving changed more slowly; the flying shuttle was not fully adopted until 1820, and put-out handweaving in rural cottages using the machine-spun yarn from Roubaix's factories lingered until the 1870s. Meanwhile, the city's archivist gushed in 1864, Roubaix was the "French Manchester."<sup>40</sup>

Roubaisien patterns of merchant capitalist-sponsored proto-industrial household production resembled those in India, Lancashire, and Normandy, in their employment of all family members, including children, in some aspect of cloth production. In the 1820 census of Roubaix, for example, all boys and girls twelve or over in weavers' households were designated as weavers or helpers. The situation in Roubaix and its hinterland resembled England more than did that in Normandy or India, however, for, with time, northern households were more and more completely cut off from agriculture. In the Norman pays de Caux, in contrast, men especially continued to be involved in agricultural labor while women were the specialists in spinning and, later, weaving.

What were the implications of these developments for parent-child and gender relations? In the proto-industrial period in the pays de Caux, women married late and had relatively few children. They were important contributors to the household budget both as daughters and as wives. The late marriage pattern of the Cauchois suggests that children were discouraged by parents from youthful marriage because of their importance as family wage earners. There is little evidence of equality between adult men and women despite women's importance as wage earners. Their spinning wages were lower than those of weavers in the early period, and when they took up handloom weaving, they worked on smaller looms with lighter yarn for lower piece rates as well. Gay Gullickson points out that women spinners' sociability took place during the evenings when they gathered *to spin* in each other's cottages, while men gathered in cafés to talk, drink, and play dominoes. And even this female work-oriented sociability disappeared

<sup>39</sup> Pierre Deyon, "Un modele à l'épreuve, le developpement industriel de Roubaix de 1762 à la fin du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle," *Revue du Nord*, 63 (special issue, *Aux origines de la Révolution industrielle*) (January-March 1981): 59.

<sup>40</sup> Théodore Leuridan, *Histoire de la fabrique de Roubaix* (Roubaix, 1864), 156.

when they took to the bulky, immovable loom or spinning mill instead of the portable spinning wheel or distaff and spindle.<sup>41</sup>

In industrial Roubaix in the 1860s and 1870s, there were heavy family pressures on children to earn wages. In the 1872 census, very high proportions of children age ten to fourteen (38.9 percent of girls and 36.5 percent of boys) were listed as having occupations (mostly spinners' helpers).<sup>42</sup> The vast majority of adult children of both sexes lived with their parents until they married, even when they had jobs. In Roubaix, as in Preston, there were successful family efforts to keep children (who were obviously important as wage earners) in the household, working for the family wage fund. In the nineteenth century, married women were less likely to work than single women, men, and children—not surprisingly, since they had many children. Wives who worked in textiles were burdened with children, while those with older children in the household earning wages dropped out of the labor force, for wives had full responsibility for household and reproductive labor—cooking, laundry, and raising children.

The occupational segregation by sex seen in industrial Lancashire had its equivalent in Roubaix. Women were most often auxiliary workers, helpers, or spinners on the lighter outdated machines or, less often, weavers; they were excluded from mulespinning. Wages for women's occupations ran systematically lower than men's; their workplace disadvantage rigidified with industrialization.<sup>43</sup>

In sum, French industrialists emulated those of England; industrialization came later, delayed by less favorable conditions for technological innovation and capital accumulation but also disrupted by the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The Norman and Roubaisien cotton areas had distinctive patterns, based on their earlier histories. Roubaix and the pays de Caux resembled each other as sites of rural putting-out in competition with guild-regulated cities but proceeded in quite different directions, depending on the connection between agriculture and manufactures. The Roubaisien experiences resembled those of Lancashire, in that opportunities for factory work were located in the same areas in which earlier industry or manufactures were produced, so the transitions from hand spinning and handloom weaving to factories did not require relocation of populations. This was less true in Normandy, because proto-industrial spinners and weavers either lived in households involved in agriculture or were themselves part-time agriculturalists; the consequence for the pays de Caux was, as in India, a break from the eighteenth-century pattern of textile manufactures linked to the world commercial capitalist economy.

<sup>41</sup> Gullickson, *Spinners and Weavers*, 84–85, 149–52. See also Gullickson, "Love and Power in the Proto-Industrial Family," in Maxine Berg, ed., *Markets and Manufacture in Early Industrial Europe* (London, 1990), 205–26; and Liu, *Weaver's Knot*, makes an interesting argument about interfamilial inequality between sons and daughters as well as between husbands and wives.

<sup>42</sup> The following material is reported in Louise A. Tilly, "Occupational Structure, Women's Work, and Demographic Change in Two French Industrial Cities, Anzin and Roubaix, 1872–1906," in Jan Sundin and Erik Söderlund, eds., *Time, Space and Man* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1979), 107–32; "Individual Lives and Family Strategies in the French Proletariat," *Journal of Family History*, 4 (Summer 1979): 137–52; and "The Family Wage Economy of a French Textile City: Roubaix, 1875–1906," *Journal of Family History*, 4 (Winter 1979): 381–94.

<sup>43</sup> Louise A. Tilly, "Gender and Jobs in Early Twentieth-Century French Industry," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 43 (1993): 31–47.

In both French regions, patterns of household interdependence between parents and children and a sex division of labor for adults in the workplace carried over from manufactures to factory industry, leaving children little autonomy and women disadvantaged at work and in the family because of their dual responsibilities: earning wages and caring for husband and children. As in England, displacement occurred, but the process of transition did not have the severe consequences for workers that the loss of textile export markets in Europe and British colonial policy produced in India.

A WEB OF CONNECTIONS links the structures, geographic locations, processes of change, and actors of this history. The structures of the world economy and interregional trade of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were modified by the development of industrial capitalism in England with effects on economies as distant as India and as close as France; capitalist industrialization critically affected the ways in which spinners and weavers earned their livelihood in all three settings. In England and France, one the origin of the capitalist industrializing thrust, the other a wealthy and independent state in which indigenous capitalists borrowed English technology early on and built a competitive textile industry, the transformation of the cotton textile industry brought hard times over the medium run for many workers. The break-up of household production brought more and more men, women, and children into workplaces governed by worker-employer relations, not those of kinship. Male workers sometimes found themselves in competition with women or children; as the arbiters of workplace relations, employers played a major role in establishing the division of labor by sex, setting up a hierarchy of inequality to discipline their work force.

English and French industrialization, proceeding in the same regions as was the elimination of hand spinning and weaving, made alternative forms of work available to displaced workers. The loss of ways of work and living and the fact that new jobs were often exploitative and alienating led to collective protest and resistance to change. Here, the chain of collective actions so lovingly documented by Edward Thompson joins the 1867 turnout of male spinners in Roubaix against their employers' demand that they each mind two looms. In India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, weavers' proletarianization also induced less well-documented efforts to resist the process.<sup>44</sup> These reactions were connected, not through mutual knowledge but through common processes entailing group loss of control over production in the development of commercial, then industrial, capitalist structures with worldwide ramifications.

Early struggles having been lost, workers in all three countries set to building new connections among themselves, at the local level. This was facilitated by the mid-nineteenth-century prosperity of England and France. In India, the more convention-bound weavers and indigenous commercial capitalism were first drawn by the East India Company into an increasingly dependent trading system,

<sup>44</sup> For the eighteenth century, Chaudhuri, "Structure"; *Asia before Europe*; and, for the later period, Harnetty, "Deindustrialization Revisited."



then subjected to British colonial policies that effectively prevented any self-determined economic or social outcome in the first half of the nineteenth century. Indian men and women craftworkers experienced enormous moral and material losses.

Just as similar worker responses to proletarianization accompanied the development of commercial capitalism and industrialization, so common responses occurred in families that became critical resources to be drawn on by workers facing displacement and far-reaching change. Parents and children continued to be interdependent. Wives, husbands, and kin needed, and drew on, each other for support, in ways that were sometimes cooperative, sometimes conflictual, and other times exploitative. Any account of how men and women navigated the large-scale structural changes through which they were living must consider the family household power balance and bargaining between husbands and wives, parents and children, as well as labor market conditions. The historically sculpted connections between structure and action operated through the power balance and bargaining situation in labor markets (between capitalists and workers) and those in families (between husbands and wives, parents and children). Together, these shaped social relations for cotton workers in India, England, and France during the Industrial Revolution.

THIS ANALYSIS HAS FOLLOWED ONLY ONE STRAND OF connections in the process that launched the Industrial Revolution. Unexplored connections abound, such as those to northern Ireland, where cotton spinning and handloom weaving were destroyed; to plantation slavery in the Caribbean and the United States; to industrialization in North America when the Napoleonic Wars cut off trade with England; to other textile industrializations, such as that of silk, in which one set of connections would go from China, India, and Italy to the French Lyonnais to Japan and Paterson, New Jersey; to railroad building, which was closely connected to late nineteenth-century factory industrialization in India; to competition for empire in the search for markets; to the development of new printing, metallurgical, and machine technologies, related to the emergence of newly militant workers ready to organize in their own interests (embedded in, but not fully determined by, their structural position); to the growing demand for reform and social and economic rights in east and west, and so on. This web of connections is also multiply related to possibilities for change in family and gender relations; in the period discussed here, such change was limited, but it later became more salient as fertility declined, popular education was instituted, and women involved themselves in movements for reform, for labor's rights in the workplace, and for their own political and social rights.

Social historians who follow Edward Thompson in their focus on intensive case studies on a local scale can only benefit by expanding the context of their work, taking into account the connections of these histories to large structures and world processes of change, to far-off peoples in the global economy, and to the past, which is constantly shaping the present.



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## Private Lives and Public Order in Restoration France: The Seduction of Emily Loveday

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CAROLINE FORD

IN DECEMBER 1821, DOUGLAS CHARLES LOVEDAY, a Protestant Englishman who owned property in France, presented a petition to the French government protesting the conversion of his eldest daughter to Catholicism while she was in a boarding school in Paris.<sup>1</sup> Loveday's private outrage over his daughter's repudiation of her Protestant faith and her subsequent flight to a convent was soon transformed into international melodrama with far-reaching implications when 12,000 copies of his petition were printed in pamphlet form in January 1822 and when the French and British reading publics learned that he had accused the female head of the school of the crime of "rapt de séduction," or kidnapping by seduction. Until then, this charge had been exclusively reserved for the circumstances of an amorous elopement. By the spring of 1822, Loveday's petition had become the subject of angry parliamentary invective, while Paris and London publishers stoked the fire that the political debates ignited by issuing pamphlet versions of his daughter's response to the petition, the schoolteacher's reply to his accusations, family letters, and readers' commentaries on the affair.<sup>2</sup>

Among the many people who have kindly commented on earlier versions of this article, I owe special thanks to David Blackburn, Suzanne Desan, Ellen Fitzpatrick, Dan Gordon, Ruth Harris, Margaret Higonnet, Olwen Hufton, Jann Matlock, Alex Owen, and Steven Ozment. I also gratefully acknowledge the suggestions and comments made by David Ransel, Lynn Hunt, and the four anonymous readers of this article.

<sup>1</sup> *Pétition à la Chambre des Pairs par M. Douglas Loveday, anglais et protestant, se plaignant du rapt de séduction opéré sur ses deux filles et sur sa nièce dans une maison d'éducation où il les avait placées à Paris* (Paris, 1821); 2d edn. (Paris, 1822); and *Pétition ampliative à la Chambre des Députés, par M. Douglas Loveday, anglais et protestant, avec les pièces justificatives de son contenu et des observations additionnelles* (Paris, 1822). The original handwritten version of the petition is in the Archives Nationales (hereafter, AN), CC432. For a discussion of the Loveday Affair, see Achille de Vaulabelle, *Histoire des deux restaurations jusqu'à l'avènement de Louis Philippe (de janvier 1813 à octobre 1830)*, 4th edn. (Paris, 1858), 6: 174; J.-A. Dulaure, *Histoire de la Restauration* (Paris, 1870), 3: 187–88; and Louis Grimaud, *Histoire de la liberté d'enseignement en France*, Vol. 5: *La Restauration* (Paris, 1956), 533, 546–47. The affair was introduced to the British public in newspapers and through the publication of a pamphlet containing one of the stories used to convert the Loveday children. *The Miraculous Host Tortured by the Jew under the Reign of Philip the Fair in 1290, Being One of the Legends Which Converted the Daughter and Niece of Douglas Loveday under the Reign of Louis XVIII in 1820, with Mr. Loveday's Narrative*, 2d edn. (London, 1822). The affair also received extensive coverage in the *London Times* and other British newspapers.

<sup>2</sup> Douglas Loveday's petition led to the publication of no fewer than twenty pamphlets on the affair in France, some of which went through several editions; some pamphlets were translated into Alsatian. *Bittschrift an den Deputierten-Kammer von Herrn. Douglas Loveday* (Strasbourg, 1822); *Réponse à la pétition de M. Loveday par un des rédacteurs de "La Quotidienne"* (Paris, 1822); *Réflexions sur la réponse d'un rédacteur de "La Quotidienne" à la pétition de M. Douglas Loveday* (Paris, 1822); *Lettre du majeur Loveday, gouverneur de Benarès, à son frère Douglas Loveday* (Paris, 1822); *Lettre de Sir Williams C. . . à M.*

The defenders and detractors of Douglas Loveday and his daughter drew battle lines that were in large part political. Clerical monarchists intent on restoring the authority of the Catholic church in the aftermath of the French Revolution championed his daughter's right to convert to Catholicism, while a growing anticlerical liberal opposition rallied to Douglas Loveday's cause in order to stem the ominous counterrevolutionary tide that swept the country in the early 1820s. Indeed, trouble in the Loveday family erupted in the midst of a clerical backlash and on the eve of a political debacle over the reestablishment of female religious communities, which had been abolished during the French Revolution. Like the tragic and far more celebrated Calas Affair of 1762, the private drama of the Loveday family placed the political power of the Catholic church at center stage.<sup>3</sup>

The case of Loveday and his daughter was not an isolated one. The archives of the legal courts as well as of the Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs are replete with complaints and petitions concerning the spiritual seduction, flight, and sequestration of women in religious convents between the 1820s and 1880s. The long-term implications of such cases must not be underestimated. The nineteenth century witnessed a veritable explosion in the numbers of women who entered religious life—a “feminization of religion,” as historians have come to describe it. The numbers of these women increased from 12,300 in 1808 to 135,000 in 1878 (excluding Alsace-Lorraine).<sup>4</sup> The many cases involving women who entered religious communities without parental consent resulted in demands for legislation limiting the property rights of “women religious,” who had the right to equal inheritance under the Napoleonic Civil Code, and fanned the flames of anticlericalism throughout the nineteenth century.

While the Loveday family drama provides a fascinating prism through which to examine patterns of national stereotyping, the narrative strategies of the affair's

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*Loveday* (Paris, 1822); *Lettre d'un ministre protestant à un ministre de la même religion habitant en France, à l'occasion de la pétition de M. Loveday* (Paris, 1822); *Examen d'une pétition présentée aux Chambres par M. Loveday* (Paris, 1st, 2d, 3d edns., 1822); *Considérations à l'appui de la pétition présentée à la Chambre des Pairs par M. Douglas Loveday, par Michel (du Var)* (Paris, 1822); *Beweisstücke und Bemerkungen sur Bittschrift* (Paris, 1822); *Réponse de Miss Emily Loveday à la pétition présentée au nom de son père, à la Chambre des Pairs* (Paris, 1822); *Réponse de Mlle. Reboul aux imputations dirigées contre elle dans une pétition présentée aux deux Chambres par M. Loveday* (Paris, 1822); *Réfutation du mémoire justificatif de Mlle. Ernestine Reboul, suivie de considérations sur l'abus du prosélytisme par M. Ferdinand X . . .* (Paris, 1822); *Le bon sens, ou entretiens d'un fermier avec ses enfants, sur Miss Emily Loveday par M. Ferdinand S. L.* (Paris, 1822); *Instruction paternelle du docteur Dxxx, ministre de la religion anglicane* (Paris, 1822); *Réflexions préjudicielles sur la pétition du sieur Loveday, par M. de Bonald* (Paris, 1822); *Réponse des ministres de la religion catholique à la pétition ampliative de M. Douglas Loveday à la Chambre des Députés* (Paris, 1822); *Nouvelle réponse de Mlle. Reboul, provoquée par la pétition ampliative de M. Loveday* (Paris, 1822); *Quelques mots clairs et distincts adressés à Mlle. Reboul par M. Loveday fils, protestant éclairé à l'âge de dix-sept ans* (Paris, 1822); *Lettre d'une mère qui pardonne à sa fille* (Paris, 1822).

<sup>3</sup> The parlement of Languedoc sentenced Jean Calas, a Protestant from Toulouse, to a gruesome death for allegedly murdering his son in order to prevent him from converting to Catholicism. Calas's name was ultimately rehabilitated in 1765 after Voltaire took up his cause. See Marc Chassaigne, *L'affaire Calas* (Paris, 1929); David Bien, *The Calas Affair: Persecution, Toleration and Heresy in Eighteenth-Century Toulouse* (Princeton, N.J., 1960); and Edna Dixon, *Voltaire and the Calas Case* (New York, 1961).

<sup>4</sup> The census of 1861, by contrast, counted only 18,000 men in religious communities. Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789–1914* (London, 1989), 105–08. See also Claude Langlois, *Le catholicisme au féminin: Les congrégations françaises à supérieure générale au XIX siècle* (Paris, 1984).

participants, the role of the state in adjudicating family conflict, and the civil status of women in postrevolutionary France, this essay focuses on the ideological contradictions that the affair created for the Right and the Left in the immediate postrevolutionary period; on why these contradictions emerged in discussions of gender and religion; and on the significance of these contradictions for the principles of paternal authority and public order, which were embodied in postrevolutionary French law.

The Loveday Affair would normally have been a matter for the law courts, since it centered on a legal dispute over child custody and the civil rights of a foreign subject residing in France. However, the case was never given formal legal consideration because the child in question, Emily Loveday, was twenty-one years old and had therefore reached the age of majority as defined by France's civil code. The legal issues that the case broached nonetheless presented a conundrum for both the critics and supporters of Emily Loveday because all shared a fundamental belief in the principle of paternal authority as a basis for political and social order.

In abolishing the corporate order of the Old Regime, the French Revolution created a state that was infinitely more powerful than its prerevolutionary predecessor. But the sources and loci of the state's authority remained bitterly contested throughout the nineteenth century. While the Right claimed that this authority resided in religion and in France's monarchical past, the Left claimed that it resided in the principles of the revolution itself. Both viewed the family as a microcosm of the state and argued that paternal authority served as a foundation for social and political order.<sup>5</sup> The ultraroyalist comte de Bonald, who had defended the inviolability of the family while a vituperative opponent of revolutionary divorce laws in 1816, summarized the consensus on this matter when he declared before the Chamber of Peers, "Divided on political questions, we are unanimous in our feelings of respect for our families and of tenderness for our children, and what kind of person is he among us who would have the unfortunate daring to come immolate the Loveday family at our tribune and entertain all of Europe with this scandalous debate."<sup>6</sup> While Catholic royalists claimed that paternal authority, which provided the basis for public order in society, was established by God, liberals argued that that same authority was derived from nature.<sup>7</sup> Ultraroyalists upheld the sanctity of the patriarchal family as a means of reconstituting the prerevolutionary social order, whereas liberals saw it as "the protector of private property" and as "the guarantor of a barrier against the encroachments of the state."<sup>8</sup> Both the Left and the Right supported

<sup>5</sup> Lynn Hunt has recently argued that in eighteenth-century France, political societies were viewed as "families writ large" and that French political culture was "structured by narratives of family relations." Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), xiii–xiv. This was no less true of the early nineteenth century, when family relations remained a keystone of political theory among figures as diverse as Bonald and Proudhon.

<sup>6</sup> M. de Bonald, *Réflexion préjudicielle sur la pétition du sieur Loveday* (Paris, 1822), 12.

<sup>7</sup> M. A. T. Desquiron wrote in 1821, for example, that paternal authority was derived from nature itself, and that nature, "stronger than law," would maintain this authority in spite of all efforts to get rid of it. Desquiron, *La puissance paternelle en France mise en rapport avec les intérêts de la société* (Paris, 1821), 14.

<sup>8</sup> Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, Robert Hurley, trans. (London, 1980), 5.

the principle of paternal authority but for different reasons. Throughout the nineteenth century, the bitterest of political enemies defended the principle of paternal authority over both public and private life, whether it was founded in religion or in natural law, by arguing that the "good order of families" was "the first condition and the surest guarantee of good order in the state."<sup>9</sup>

During debates over the affair, ultraroyalists, who ardently defended the principle of paternal authority and the patriarchal family, ironically relinquished that principle because the interests of the Catholic church were at stake, and they paradoxically used a liberal language of individual rights to justify that sacrifice. The comte de Bonald argued during the debates in the Chamber of Deputies that Emily Loveday was no longer a minor and was "in consequence, mistress of her religious beliefs as well as her civil actions."<sup>10</sup> Although religion provided the basis for a stable social order and the justification for paternal authority for the Right, in the context of the feminization of Catholicism in nineteenth-century France, the Loveday Affair revealed how difficult it was to argue that paternal authority was grounded in religion. Moreover, liberals like Benjamin Constant, though passionate defenders of individual rights and liberties, were ready to put their most cherished principles aside when the power of the Catholic church was at issue. In essence, while all sides agreed on the fundamental social and political importance of the principle of paternal authority, the Loveday Affair tested the coherence of the political ideology of liberals and ultraroyalists by raising uncomfortable questions about the limits of that authority, the civil rights of women, and the autonomy of daughters, wives, mothers, and sisters in postrevolutionary French law.

Postrevolutionary law was a product of new inventions and reinvented traditions. It fulfilled some of the fundamental demands of the French Revolution by establishing a single uniform legal code and the principle of juridical equality. When it came to women, however, particularly those who were married, France's civil and penal codes roundly dismissed that principle of equality.<sup>11</sup> Paternal authority was strengthened immeasurably in postrevolutionary civil and criminal jurisprudence. Although women were accorded a civil status, it was unequal, and they were denied any political rights, in spite of the universalistic political language of the French Revolution. Indeed, that very language ironically supplied the basis for the exclusion of women from the public space of politics and bolstered the legal authority of husbands and fathers in the name of virtue and public order.<sup>12</sup> Although historians have explored the paradoxes of liberal theory

<sup>9</sup> Philippe-Auguste Paget, *De la puissance paternelle dans le droit romain et le droit français* (Paris, 1869), 144.

<sup>10</sup> Bonald, *Réflexion préjudicielle*, 10.

<sup>11</sup> James F. Traer, *Marriage and Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), 191.

<sup>12</sup> "Women's personal virtue (virtue = chastity) is equated with political virtue (virtue = putting state above personal interests), like Brutus, who executed his sons when they attempted to betray the Roman republic. The continuum between the two senses carries a whole series of messages: that female chastity is the prerequisite for political innovation undertaken in the name of universal will . . . 'Virtue' was in fact a two-edged word, which bisected the apparently universalistic terminology of *le souverain* [souverain] into two distinct political destinies, one male and the other female." Dorinda Outram, "Le langage mâle de la vertu," in *The Social History of Language*, Peter Burke and Roy Porter, eds. (Cambridge, 1987), 125. See Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988); Joan Wallach Scott, "French Feminists and the Rights of 'Man':

in this regard in order to illuminate the history of women's demands for political rights, women's civil and property rights in postrevolutionary France have not received the same close attention.<sup>13</sup> The Loveday Affair brings into bold relief one significant dimension of women's civil status: the rights of women in the domain of religious expression, vocation, and conscience. Although the Civil Code sharply curtailed women's rights, in successfully winning her case, Emily Loveday and the many young women who fled "la maison paternelle" without parental consent in the nineteenth century inadvertently challenged the juridical construction of paternal authority that the Napoleonic Civil Code enshrined.

"I AM A FOREIGNER," DOUGLAS LOVEDAY BEGAN HIS 1821 petition to the Chamber of Peers, "I came to France on the faith of treaties, and under the protection of the law of nations. I have faithfully observed the laws of the country; and yet my most sacred rights and dearest affections have been violated: and amidst this misfortune that overwhelms me, I find no authority to which I can turn for protection. I am reduced to the necessity of appealing to the first body of the State—to the Deputies of the French nation—to obtain the satisfaction to which I am entitled."<sup>14</sup>

Douglas Loveday was an Englishman who, in the immediate aftermath of the French Revolution, bought property in Auteuil, a fashionable town on the outskirts of Paris. Although Loveday retained his British citizenship, Louis XVIII, king of the newly established Restoration monarchy, granted him civil rights as a Frenchman by royal decree on December 3, 1817. Loveday's troubles in France began two years later, in the summer of 1819, when he placed his two daughters and his niece in a Parisian boarding school run by Ernestine Reboul, an unmarried secular schoolteacher. His eldest daughter, Emily-Mary, was nineteen years of age, her sister Matilda-Susan was eighteen, and his young niece Mary was twelve. Loveday alleged that one of the conditions of the boarding arrangement was that his daughters and niece, who were minors, would only be instructed in the arts of music, sewing, and etiquette and would not participate in the religious activities of the house. After the young charges were delivered to Reboul's care, Douglas Loveday and his wife made their way back to Britain. While we know that, two years later, all three girls converted to Catholicism, that they were returned to Loveday, that Emily Loveday fled her father's house, and that she took refuge in a convent, the circumstances of the girls' conversion and the

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Olympe de Gouges's Declarations," *History Workshop*, 28 (Autumn 1989): 1–21; and Scott, "A Woman Who Has Only Paradoxes to Offer": Olympe de Gouges Claims Rights for Women," in *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, Sara E. Melzer and Leslie Rabine, eds. (Oxford, 1992), 102–20.

<sup>13</sup> Genéviève Fraisse makes a similar observation in "Natural Law and the Origins of Nineteenth-Century Feminist Thought in France," in Judith Friedlander, *et al.*, *Women in Culture and Politics* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 318–29. The subject of women's civil and property rights has attracted more attention among historians of Britain and America. See, for example, Susan Staves, *Married Women's Separate Property in England, 1600–1833* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); and Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986).

<sup>14</sup> *Pétition à la Chambre des Pairs par M. Douglas Loveday*, 1.



motives and reasons for her flight were bitterly contested by the affair's principal protagonists, the press, and by the reading public.

Loveday attributed no formal blame or responsibility to his daughter, whose agency he denied, arguing that she had fallen prey to a seductive plot perpetrated by Reboul, the owner and director of the boarding establishment. Not only had she stolen his daughter, but Reboul had corrupted her morals by teaching her the art of dissimulation through which Emily Loveday initially concealed her new-fangled religious beliefs. In short, to hear Douglas Loveday tell it, Reboul "seduced my family, usurped the rights that religion, nature and law gave me over it . . . shocking me at the idea of so cruel a violation" of one's most sacred rights.<sup>15</sup> For Douglas Loveday, the seduction of his daughters was evidence of a larger problem of fanaticism in France, the cause of much domestic strife and discord.

Upon learning of their conversion, Douglas Loveday brought the children home and claimed that he succeeded in winning back the souls of the younger, Matilda, who was now twenty, and his niece, who was fourteen. Emily, his eldest daughter, remained steadfast in her newfound faith, however, and one week later she secretly left her father's house. Soon after, Douglas Loveday claimed to have received a letter postmarked from Amiens indicating that Emily had allegedly taken refuge in La Maternité, a foundling institution run by a religious community. Emily Loveday confessed in her response to her father's petition that she stayed in Amiens a month to await documentation from England that would prove her majority (in order to be free from parental control).<sup>16</sup>

In the meantime, Douglas Loveday appealed to the police and the English ambassador to intervene on his behalf and soon learned that his daughter had moved into the house of an English Catholic gentleman by the name of Jerningham and that she was still in contact with her former teacher, Ernestine Reboul. Jerningham ultimately turned Emily over to her father, but in less than twenty-four hours she again fled Douglas Loveday's house. Although her father claimed that he knew that she had taken refuge with the nuns of the Notre Dame community at Number 106, rue de Sèvres in Paris, according to Douglas Loveday's account, the nuns belonging to this establishment initially denied her existence. Loveday then made several unsuccessful attempts to regain custody of his daughter. On one highly publicized occasion, he tried to force her into a hired carriage with the help of another man while she was out for a walk near Montparnasse with two nuns of Notre Dame.

After having entreated the public authorities and the English ambassador in France to aid him in his efforts to regain his daughter, Douglas Loveday took the unusual step of petitioning the Chamber of Peers on December 28, 1821. According to the Civil Code, children remained under their parents' formal authority until the age of majority or emancipation. While Matilda and Mary had not reached the age of majority, Emily had just turned twenty-one and was therefore not legally bound to submit to all of her father's commands under the

<sup>15</sup> *Pétition à la Chambre des Pairs par M. Douglas Loveday*, 4.

<sup>16</sup> This explanation was provided by the duc de Saint-Aignan in his review of the case before the Chamber of Peers. *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860, recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des chambres françaises*, 2<sup>ème</sup> série (1800–1860), vol. 34, January 26, 1822 (Paris, 1876), 209.

Civil Code. Douglas Loveday, however, attempted to get around this fact by arguing that Emily had converted to Catholicism *before* she had reached the age of majority and that her conversion had been the result of "rapt de séduction," a criminal act perpetrated by Ernestine Reboul.

ALTHOUGH LOVEDAY'S PETITION RESEMBLED MANY OF THE DIVERSE PLEAS (for pensions, pardon, or property) that have found their way into the dusty corners of governmental archives, it bore a greater similarity to the *mémoire judiciaire*, the published version of a lawyer's defense of his client, which was originally intended for the eyes of judges alone.<sup>17</sup> During the eighteenth century, such *mémoires* were increasingly published in celebrated cases, particularly after the Calas Affair, and thus became the "main bridge between the courtroom and the street."<sup>18</sup> Their often sensational and titillating content soon made them into a popular form of pamphlet literature by the beginning of the French Revolution. During the early Restoration, *mémoires judiciaires* reappeared, galvanizing public opinion on behalf of either plaintiff or defendant, and were soon supplemented by the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, a newspaper that reported on cases and court decisions throughout France for the legal community and general public.

The author of Loveday's petition was none other than the renowned Restoration jurist, André Dupin (1783–1865), who worked to narrate the "circumstances and feelings of Mr. Loveday in a manner calculated to produce the strongest sensation, especially as the Princes of the Blood and the Archbishop of Paris are charged with being parties to the abduction."<sup>19</sup> As a supporter of constitutional monarchy who also came to play a prominent role in the Revolution of 1830, which toppled the Restoration regime, Dupin often defended liberal causes.<sup>20</sup>

Douglas Loveday's petition and charge soon brought responses from Emily

<sup>17</sup> Sarah Maza, "Domestic Melodrama as Political Ideology: The Case of the Comte de Sanois," *AHR*, 94 (December 1989): 1249–64. Maza has argued that such cases played an important role in the construction of a "public" and "public opinion" that transcended the corporate order during the *ancien régime*. See Maza, "Le tribunal de la nation: Les mémoires judiciaires et l'opinion publique à la fin de l'ancien régime," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 42 (January 1987): 75–90.

<sup>18</sup> Maza, "Domestic Melodrama as Political Ideology," 1253.

<sup>19</sup> The only record of Dupin's authorship is contained in the English translation of Loveday's pamphlet that was published in London in 1822. The anonymous introductory note to the translation claims that Loveday "caused M. Dupin, a celebrated French advocate, to draw up a petition, stating the case to the French Chamber of Deputies"; *Miraculous Host Tortured by the Jew*, 17. Born in a well-to-do legal family six years before the outbreak of the French Revolution, Dupin had clients who included figures as diverse as the executors of Napoleon's will in 1821 and the duc d'Orléans in the affair of the Théâtre-Français in 1818. The elder brother of social statistician Charles Dupin, he was a respected member of the bar and no stranger to political controversy. Dupin pleaded 4,000 civil cases between the time he was admitted to the bar and the time he entered political life as a deputy following the July Revolution of 1830. André Dupin, *Mémoires*, Vol. 1: *Souvenirs du barreau* (Paris, 1855), 247–48. Also see Donald R. Kelley, *Historians and the Law in Postrevolutionary France* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 56–60.

<sup>20</sup> On a number of occasions, Dupin acted as lawyer on behalf of *Le constitutionnel*, which took Douglas Loveday's side, against the attempts of the monarchy to shut down political opposition by muzzling the press. See, for example, André Dupin, *Mémoire pour les rédacteurs du Constitutionnel, en réponse de l'acte d'accusation en tendance sur la question de savoir si les ordres religieux peuvent s'introduire ou se maintenir sans loi qui les institue* (Paris, 1825); and Dupin, *Défense du Constitutionnel prononcé à l'audience de la cour royale, du 17 juillet 1827* (Paris, 1827).

Loveday and the schoolteacher whom he accused of “rapt de séduction.” Like the original petition to the Chamber of Peers, these responses resembled *mémoires judiciaires*. Reboul’s was signed by Reboul herself and by two lawyers, Billecocq and Hennequin. Since Emily Loveday’s statement was written in the third person, she evidently received similar, albeit anonymous, help.

Ernestine Reboul and Emily Loveday refuted Douglas Loveday’s representation of fact and intention in their telling of the story of Emily’s conversion. These refutations focused on three issues: the nature of Emily’s conversion, her motives in fleeing her father’s house, and Reboul’s role in the conversion. Both women contended that the conversion was made freely, that Emily Loveday had not been the object of any form of coercion, and that, as she was over the age of twenty-one, she was responsible for her actions. Both portrayed her flight from her father’s house as an act of fear (that Douglas Loveday would return her to England and forbid her from practicing her faith) rather than one of insubordination.

Voice and the appearance of authenticity were central to the narrative strategies of father, daughter, and teacher. For this reason, like many of the eighteenth-century *mémoires judiciaires*, Douglas Loveday’s December 1821 petition and his expanded version of February 1822 were written in the first person, as were Reboul’s first and second responses. The first-person voice lent their stories an immediacy and personal pathos that a third-person account lacked. The participants allegedly spoke in their own words, without any formal mediation that would temper the emotion that they evidently felt. Lawyers involved in the case were well aware of the power of the first-person account. Indeed, the question of authorship in the petition and the responses to it was repeatedly raised in order to cast doubt on the veracity of the conflicting accounts of the conversion. For example, Douglas Loveday faulted Reboul for having had to resort to legal counsel to draft her response and suggested that she was in need of the artifice of lawyers, while he was not.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, Emily Loveday and Reboul claimed that Douglas Loveday’s petition was “written for him” and suggested that his was more polemic than truth.<sup>22</sup>

In making their cases, Ernestine Reboul and Emily Loveday had to be wary of appearing too independent. The voice that each assumed was inevitably shaped by their vulnerable legal status as women under postrevolutionary law. Unable to bear witness and afforded none of the rights that the head of a family could claim, each made strategic use of her vulnerability by appealing to truth, virtue, and nature, rather than law in making her case. Reboul admitted that the “contest” between herself and Douglas Loveday was “unequal”: “I do not challenge the authority of the head of a family who asks for an account of his children. I also quite understand that in this sad debate, the contest is unequal” because “M. Loveday is a father, I am a schoolteacher. Trust must privilege him . . . but

<sup>21</sup> “Par prudence, elle s’est associé deux jurisconsultes, elle eût eu trop de peine à répondre elle-même. Il fallait un certain art: elle a eu recours à ceux qui le possédaient.” *Pétition ampliative à la Chambre des Députés, par M. Douglas Loveday*, 48.

<sup>22</sup> *Réponse de Miss Emily Loveday à la pétition présentée, au nom de son père, à la Chambre des Pairs*, 5.





"Portrait de Miss Emily Loveday," a frontispiece to one of the many pamphlets published at the time of the Loveday Affair. This pamphlet was titled *Le bon sens ou entretien d'un fermier avec ses enfans sur Miss Emily Loveday*, par Ferdinand S.-L. (Paris, 1822). She is shown reading "Oeuvres de Bossuet." Courtesy of the Service Photographique, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

there is something more commanding and even more respectable: that is the truth!"<sup>23</sup>

Like her teacher, Emily Loveday and her lawyers were careful not to repudiate the claims of paternal authority. She declared in the opening lines of her response that she was "torn between two sacred obligations," that of the "free exercise of religion" and "a father's will."<sup>24</sup> "Ignorant of the law," she declined to discuss legal considerations, "which appalled her filial piety." Instead, she only sought to "reestablish factual truth distorted [*dénaturé*] in the petition of her father."<sup>25</sup> Representing herself as submissive, she claimed not to respond to her father but to speak in the name of her religion and, like Reboul, "to avenge innocence and calumniated virtue."<sup>26</sup>

The different stories told by Douglas Loveday, Ernestine Reboul, and Emily Loveday all revealed a family gone awry. Douglas Loveday portrayed a daughter whose natural filial affection had been so corrupted that she willfully ignored the claims of paternal authority. He told the peers and deputies that when police officials expelled him from the convent of Notre Dame as he tried to gain access to his daughter, Emily had smiled with malevolent satisfaction.<sup>27</sup> In contrast, Emily Loveday painted a picture of a violent father, duped by "perfidious counselors," who used his expression of "paternal grief" to launch a political diatribe.<sup>28</sup> Reboul saw in Mr. and Mrs. Loveday absent or despotic parents and a family in which discord reigned. She went so far as to assert that the disorder in the Loveday family was the root cause of their children's conversion. In so doing, she turned the tables and put Douglas Loveday under attack.

Reboul cast herself in the role of a virtuous daughter and sister, rather than an independent, unmarried schoolteacher. Her indictment of the Lovedays as parents was preceded by a short autobiographical statement written, according to her lawyers, by her alone, to emphasize the veracity of her account. It began, "Raised by a father whose memory will always be venerated by his family, and whose solicitude was seconded by the most virtuous mother, I have never left the [paternal] family home." She tended her sick father, who later died, and established a school to provide for her mother as well as for her married sister, who had two children and who had been suddenly left without means of support by an accident. She asked the readers of her response to consider why she would "unnecessarily compromise the growing prosperity of our establishment" (and her livelihood) by effecting the conversion in the circumstances Douglas Loveday described.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast to her family's loyalty and affection, Reboul asserted that the relationships between parents and children in the Loveday family were strained and that Douglas Loveday concealed important facts in making his case. It was Mrs. Loveday, she claimed (who appeared in none of the three editions of

<sup>23</sup> *Réponse de Mlle. Reboul*, 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Réponse de Miss Emily Loveday*, 5.

<sup>25</sup> *Réponse de Miss Emily Loveday*, 7.

<sup>26</sup> *Réponse de Miss Emily Loveday*, 6.

<sup>27</sup> *Pétition ampliative . . . par M. Douglas Loveday*, 29.

<sup>28</sup> *Réponse de Miss Emily Loveday*, 5.

<sup>29</sup> *Nouvelle réponse de Mlle. Reboul provoquée par la pétition ampliative de M. Loveday*, 18, 21.



Loveday's petition), and not Mr. Loveday who first placed Emily, Matilda, and Mary in her boarding school. Mrs. Loveday then allegedly lived in a pavilion attached to the school for some time afterward and had ample opportunity to observe the establishment.

Reboul claimed to have been struck by Emily Loveday's sad and sickly demeanor as well as by her distinguished manner. When Emily and her sisters first arrived at the school, Emily was in a state of suffering, requiring a great deal of attention. Reboul worried about her health and came to observe an unhappy relationship between mother and daughters that ultimately resulted in Mrs. Loveday moving out of the pavilion, with the full knowledge and approbation of Mr. Loveday.

According to Reboul, the Lovedays were, moreover, indifferent to the religious education of their daughters. Reboul claimed that she hesitated to admit the Loveday sisters to her establishment because of their religion but that Douglas Loveday had insisted on his belief that one religion was as good as another. On one occasion, Reboul noted, he gave her a painting entitled "Christ on the Cross" for her chapel, whose existence he now denied. When Douglas Loveday did see his daughters on Sunday outings, Reboul claimed, he preferred to take them to the Tuileries rather than to a Protestant service held at the residence of the British ambassador.

Reboul asserted that the Lovedays were largely absent from their daughters' lives for three years, and she soon suspected deeper familial problems on learning of "the pain and worries that the two unhappy daughters of Mrs. Loveday experienced." For example, when Douglas Loveday took his daughters to see the festivities in honor of the birth of the duc de Bordeaux (in 1820), they returned in a "state of affliction," confiding their "secret" as to the cause and repeating "a thousand times that they had no one but us [the Reboul sisters] in the world."<sup>30</sup> Ernestine Reboul did not reveal the young girls' "secret" but suggested that it was sufficiently troubling to cause her concern. Ultimately, Reboul attested, she and her sister, who lived at the school, came to be the "veritable mothers" of the children, who shied away from the conflict and disorder of their real family. After Emily Loveday was returned to her father following her conversion, Reboul allegedly received letters from Emily's seventeen-year-old brother which disclosed that Emily had been repeatedly assailed by verbal abuse. Reboul thus concluded her response to Douglas Loveday's allegation by asserting that the conversion of the Loveday sisters was the direct result of parental neglect and domestic strife: "Undoubtedly, before comparing the catechisms of her beliefs, Emily compared the calm that she enjoyed in my house with the storms of the paternal home! Yes . . . Mr. and Mrs. Loveday are the true authors of their daughters' conversion . . . If the two sisters had found in their parents the examples and consolations that they had a right to expect, they might never have thought of this change in religion."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Nouvelle réponse de Mlle. Reboul*, 12–13.

<sup>31</sup> *Nouvelle réponse de Mlle. Reboul*, 13.

WHILE PROTAGONISTS IN THE LOVEDAY AFFAIR gave different accounts and interpretations of the circumstances of Emily Loveday's conversion, the French public asked, more specifically, whether she had the right to renounce her Protestant faith, convert to Catholicism, and leave her father's house. For the historian, however, the Loveday Affair raises questions about the nature and limits of paternal authority in postrevolutionary French society. The Loveday Affair captured the imagination of contemporaries because of the large number of petitions and cases that surfaced involving the conversion and abduction of children in Protestant and Jewish communities between the Old Regime and the Restoration. One of the most celebrated prerevolutionary cases was that of a young Protestant man in 1762, the son of Jean Calas. The most highly publicized case of the early nineteenth century was that of a young woman, Emily Loveday.

When the Loveday case came before the Chamber of Peers, the duc de Saint-Aignan first presented a report of a committee's investigation into the affair. He concluded the report with the recommendation that it be rejected. The duc de Saint-Aignan reasoned that Douglas Loveday had willingly placed his daughters in a Catholic establishment and cited Loveday's unruly behavior to illustrate his bad faith. He recalled Loveday's actions in the convent and on the rue de Montparnasse, where he tried to force his daughter into a carriage. Despite protests by the liberal peers, the ultraroyalist Chamber of Peers voted 80 to 57 to reject the claim.

Douglas Loveday did not stop there, however. He submitted a revised petition to the Chamber of Deputies, and the debate that took place there several months later became a public sensation. Its sessions, unlike those of the Peers, were open to the public, and reporters of all political stripes were on hand to observe the proceedings held on April 11, 1822. The *Journal des débats* reported that at dawn spectators were camped out on the steps leading to the public entrance to the gallery of the Chamber of Deputies and that crowds of people waited outside the reserved seating section. From nine in the morning, swarms of people filled the streets surrounding the Chamber of Deputies, and, when the doors of the gallery were opened at half past one in the afternoon, the room was immediately packed with spectators, among whom were foreign visitors, "some of the most distinguished ladies," and a larger number of deputies than was the norm, especially to the right of the chamber.<sup>32</sup> As the available seats and standing area of the Chamber of Deputies filled, the previous day's proceedings were read but barely heard by a "public eager with emotion and [sensing] scandal."<sup>33</sup>

The debate over the rights of Douglas and Emily Loveday in the Chamber of Deputies was preceded by a discussion of two lesser-known cases, one of which concerned Claudine Salles, an artisan's daughter from Nîmes, and the other involving a silver thief's daughter from La Rochelle. The case of Claudine Salles was brought to the legislative chambers after her father had appealed to legal authorities. Although she had been returned to her father by magistrates, Claudine had repeatedly run away from home. Her father thus petitioned the

<sup>32</sup> *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, April 12, 1822, 1; and *Gazette de France*, April 12, 1822, 1. The debate was also reported in the clerical *Tablettes du clergé et des amis de la religion* (Paris, 1822), 310.

<sup>33</sup> *Journal des débats*, April 12, 1822, 1.

state to protest the conversion of his eighteen-year-old daughter to Catholicism following a stay in a Catholic hospice and demanded that she be returned to her father's house. Like Emily Loveday, Claudine Salles fled her father's house several times, first taking refuge with the *soeurs grises* and then with a seamstress in Aix-en-Provence. Claudine Salles pleaded for the state's protection, claiming that her parents had vowed to kill her and that they had physically abused her in the past. As a result of these circumstances, the chamber did not decide in favor of her father.<sup>34</sup>

In the Salles case, a father's paternal authority was matched against a daughter's freedom of conscience and right to protection from alleged physical abuse. Other issues, however, entered into the case of a silver thief from Bordeaux, who also petitioned for the return of his daughter. He alleged that his six-year-old daughter had been carried off by a Sister of Charity and claimed that the nun then refused to allow him to see her; he petitioned the peers for her release. Whereas the silver thief's daughter had not formally converted to Catholicism, this case centered on the conditions under which a father might be deprived of his civil and paternal rights over his children. The peers were quick to point to the many dangers of restricting the authority of fathers in the domestic sphere. When the chamber refused to act on the silver thief's case because of the father's "paternité redoutable,"<sup>35</sup> one deputy strenuously protested that a "father can have faults; these faults must be punished when they assume the form of crimes."<sup>36</sup> However, "as much as the law can occupy itself with these faults," it was impossible to claim on the basis of this that a father be deprived of his paternal rights over his child. This deputy concluded by asking, "who is going to protect paternal power if it is not the legislator who instituted it?"<sup>37</sup> General Maximilien Foy warned that one could go too far in arguing that a father's delinquency removed his right to paternal authority. He asked, "And who is to say that there will not come a day when paternal authority would be removed from the hands of the political prisoner?"<sup>38</sup>

After voting against the silver thief's petition, the deputies considered Douglas Loveday's. When the deputies were asked to weigh a father's authority against a daughter's right to free conscience and the liberty to choose her domicile, their consideration of the problem was largely determined by party politics. Ultraroyalist conservatives defended the religious rights of Emily Loveday, and liberals championed the paternal claims of her father. But political divisions did not prevent opposing sides from stressing the importance of the principle of paternal authority for the maintenance of public order. In making their cases for and against Emily Loveday and her father, liberals and ultraroyalists frequently found themselves contradicting their most revered principles.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Archives parlementaires, Chambre des Députés*, April 11, 1822, vol. 36, 218–20. Also see AN, BB<sup>30</sup> 194 for an investigation into the Salles case.

<sup>35</sup> *Archives parlementaires, Chambre des Députés*, April 11, 1822, vol. 36, 218.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 219–20.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Crane Brinton has made a similar argument in his analysis of illegitimacy in revolutionary and Napoleonic law. Debates on illegitimacy soon revealed "the clash between competing ideas and emotions in the same set of men." Brinton, *French Revolutionary Legislation on Illegitimacy, 1789–1804* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 4.

For Douglas Loveday and many of his supporters in the two chambers, what was at issue in the affair was the preeminence of paternal authority in face of the claims of religion. "If one could tolerate, in France, a violation as unworthy of all that men hold to be the dearest and most sacred, all foreigners will flee . . . [V]ainly would she [France] display before their eyes artistic marvels and all her titles for the admiration of nations; a man, understanding his dignity, would never stop in a land where the rights of paternal authority would be trampled under foot, where fanaticism would penetrate the bosom of families to disturb the peace, where conscience would have stopped being an inviolable sanctuary!"<sup>40</sup> Paradoxically, Douglas Loveday and even his opponents argued that paternal authority was founded in religion. Loveday asserted that "the respect for paternal authority is linked to the respect for Divinity; filial piety is a cult . . . this language is that of all times, of all places, of all beliefs."<sup>41</sup>

Since the abolition of the revolutionary family tribunal and the introduction of the Napoleonic civil and criminal legal codes, the reassertion of the principle of paternal authority was a central concern in political, academic, and legal circles. In 1801, an essay competition sponsored by the Institut de France focused on "the extent and limits of paternal authority in a well-constituted republic," and one of the successful aspirants argued that "paternal authority must be propagated" for reasons of state.<sup>42</sup> Like the philosophe Montesquieu, a number of jurists argued that paternal authority was "of great use towards the preservation of morals," and it was particularly important in life decisions taken by daughters and sons alike.<sup>43</sup> The Napoleonic Civil Code stipulated that daughters required paternal consent to be married up to the end of their twenty-first year, counsel being required thereafter, and sons were bound to seek paternal consent up to the age of twenty-five, the age of majority notwithstanding. Because all male and female religious orders had been abolished in 1791 and had no legal status, the code was silent on the question of consent required for religious vows.

The comte Daru had claimed before the Chamber of Peers in January of 1822 that Emily's actions thus posed a threat to public order, which provided the very basis of French civil law. Could a twenty-one-year-old girl, who required parental consent to be married, have the right to leave her paternal house to live where she wanted and how she wanted? The fact that Emily Loveday had been "seduced" by religion did not make her actions less serious an offense for her father's

<sup>40</sup> *Pétition à la Chambre des Députés, par M. Douglas Loveday*, 19–20.

<sup>41</sup> *Pétition ampliative à la Chambre des Députés, par M. Douglas Loveday*, 33–34.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Alain Cabantous, "La fin des patriarches," in *Histoire des pères et la paternité*, Jean Delumeau and Daniel Roche, eds. (Paris, 1990), 335. For a discussion of the importance of the principle of paternal authority in French society and law in the immediate aftermath of the French Revolution, see R. Dénél, *Une image de la famille et de la société sous la Restauration* (Paris, 1965); Jacques Mulliez, "La volonté d'un homme," in *Histoire des pères*, 279–312; Mulliez, "Pater is est . . . la source juridique de la puissance paternelle du droit révolutionnaire au code civil," in *La famille, la loi, l'état de la Révolution au Code Civil*, Irène Théry and Christian Biet, eds. (Paris, 1989), 412–31. For a discussion of the eighteenth century and the use of *lettres de cachet*, see Arlette Farge and Michel Foucault, *Les désordres des familles* (Paris, 1982).

<sup>43</sup> Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, T. Nugent, trans. (New York, 1949), book 5, chap. 7, and book 23, chaps. 7 and 8. Montesquieu argued that paternal consent was probably more important in French law than in British law because children in Catholic France, particularly girls, could choose between marriage and a religious vocation.

supporters. It appeared to make them worse. If condoned, her actions suggested that women could behave independently in a variety of different contexts: "Take note that if she has the right to shut herself up in a religious house, she has the right to go anywhere."<sup>44</sup> The social consequences of Emily's alleged insubordination were all too clear and summarized in an anonymous pamphlet: "If one tried to justify the behavior of Miss Loveday . . . tomorrow, all [kinds of] romantic young women, urged by their desires, will listen to the voice of a seducer more than ready to give a false appearance to an escapade with fair words inspired by the heavens, the voice of God, whom none should resist."<sup>45</sup> Fathers and families were warned to take heed. Emily Loveday may have been seduced by God, but an independent daughter could easily be seduced by a more tangible lover, which would inevitably destroy the honor of fathers and the fabric of society.

While it was not unexpected for an ultraroyalist political body to defend religion and the interests of the church, it was surprising to see an ultraroyalist such as Bonald appear to sacrifice the principle of paternal authority, which he had successfully used to attack the Civil Code's divorce law in 1816 and to which the interests of the Catholic church were closely linked. Bonald had argued in his *Du divorce considéré au XIX siècle, relativement à l'état domestique et à l'état public de la société* that "husband, wife, and children are indissolubly united . . . because natural law makes it a duty, and because universal reason, from which it emanates, has founded society on a basis less fragile than the affections of man."<sup>46</sup> In short, he held that "the child is minor or subject in the family even when he has reached majority" within the state because "public society" does not destroy or alter familial relationships.<sup>47</sup>

What made it possible for men like Bonald to defend Emily Loveday's right to independence in blatant contradiction with his most cherished principles and to stress the importance of paternal authority at one and the same time? A rather weak invocation of paternal responsibility. In this regard, Emily Loveday's defenders answered Douglas Loveday's claim of paternal authority with the charge that he had been delinquent in his paternal duty. They thus shifted the focus of the debate from a young woman and her schoolteacher to the alleged delinquency of her father. Bonald asked the Chamber of Peers, "If the father of a family complained to the Chamber of Deputies that, having placed his daughters in the Opera conservatory for lessons, [he learned] that they had acquired a taste for the theater, and that their teachers or companions seduced them and urged them to embrace the theatrical profession against their parents' will, with what contempt, or rather with what a sentiment of pity would the Chamber of Deputies rebuff such a foolish complaint?"<sup>48</sup> Bonald emphasized the fact that Douglas Loveday had willingly and knowingly placed his daughters in Reboul's care. Although fathers had the right and duty of guardianship, surveil-

<sup>44</sup> *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860, recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des chambres françaises*, deuxième série (1800–1860), vol. 34 (Paris, 1876), 212.

<sup>45</sup> *Réfutation du mémoire justificatif de Mlle. Ernestine Reboul, suivie de considérations sur l'abus du prosélytisme . . . par M. Ferdinand S . . . L . . .* (Paris, 1822), 4.

<sup>46</sup> Bonald, 3d edn. in *Oeuvres de M. de Bonald*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1818), 69.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>48</sup> Bonald, *Réflexions préjudicielles sur la pétition du sieur Loveday*, 1.



lance, and education under the Civil Code, that duty in practice had been handed to Ernestine Reboul. Interestingly enough, an English reader who followed the affair in magazines and newspapers in London, and who made references to the much-maligned figure of the governess, concurred in this argument but drew different conclusions: "As a mother who values the immortal interests of her children above all other things, I declare that worlds should not tempt me to entrust the education of my daughters to a French governess." She went on to attribute the Loveday scandal not to Douglas Loveday's actions but to those of his wife, to the "present race of thoughtless and fashionable mothers, who in their imprudent zeal for insubstantial accomplishments sacrifice the best interests of their children."<sup>49</sup>

It is no accident that Douglas Loveday's petition became a major political scandal during a period marked by a clerical resurgence that culminated in the 1825 law of sacrilege. The growing power of the Catholic church could be seen everywhere. The amount of state money filling church coffers and feeding clerical vocations, immortalized in Stendhal's Restoration novel *Le rouge et le noir*, increased significantly. The Restoration monarchy had also put its political muscle behind a series of missions that targeted the provincial cities soon after the reestablishment of the monarchy, which generated strident opposition in liberal circles. While such initiatives encouraged the religious revivalism of the 1820s, they also spawned fears that the monarchy intended to return to the Old Regime. For a liberal minority within the Restoration chambers, the Loveday Affair was emblematic of the religious extremism that threatened to undermine the social and political gains of the French Revolution.<sup>50</sup>

The outcome of the Loveday Affair was largely shaped by this political context, but Emily Loveday's age, family relations, and the fact that she had taken refuge in a convent also influenced the final determination. It is hardly surprising, then, that the largely ultraroyalist Chamber of Deputies ultimately dismissed Douglas Loveday's claim, as did their counterparts in the Chamber of Peers, despite protests from liberals like Benjamin Constant. Douglas Loveday's request for the custody of his daughter was denied, and Emily Loveday was allowed to remain in the convent of the Sisters of Notre Dame in Paris.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* (February 1822): 135. It is noteworthy that this English reader focused on the role of Emily Loveday's mother in the affair, when French commentaries largely ignored the mother's existence. For a discussion of the unease that the nineteenth-century governess aroused in British society, see Mary Poovey, "The Governess and Jane Eyre," in her *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Chicago, 1988), 126–63. The figure of the morally compromised governess reemerged in the scandal surrounding the murder of the duchess of Choiseul-Praslin by her husband in 1847. I wish to thank Jann Matlock, who is preparing a study of the Choiseul-Praslin Affair, for this observation.

<sup>50</sup> For the political climate of the early 1820s, see de Vaulabelle, *Histoire des deux restaurations*, vol. 5; Alan Spitzer, *Old Hatreds and Young Hopes: The French Carbonari against the Bourbon Restoration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); and Spitzer, *The French Generation of 1820* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 35–70.

<sup>51</sup> While Emily Loveday disappeared from public record after 1821, her father became the center of considerable attention sixteen years later when the celebrated musician Nicol  Paganini threatened to sue Douglas Loveday for his failure to pay for piano lessons that Paganini allegedly gave another of Loveday's daughters, Clara Loveday. *Gazette des Salons, Journal des Dames et des Modes*, July 25, 1838, 641–44. The *Gazette des Salons* commented on the extraordinary talent of the eighteen-year-old girl, whom it compared to Chopin and Liszt. *Gazette des Salons*, March 10, 1838, 216–17. Also see *Lettres authentiques sur les diff rends entre Paganini et M. Loveday* (Paris, 1838).

ALTHOUGH A CENTRAL ISSUE that the Chambers of Peers and Deputies considered in the affair concerned paternal rights and responsibilities as weighed against the political power of the Catholic church—and, by implication, the state—Emily Loveday's conversion posed larger questions about the nature of women's civil rights and agency and about what a religious vocation might mean for family strategies and authority more generally in the postrevolutionary period. Emily resolutely declared that her conversion was free and voluntary and boldly argued that religion always took precedence over paternal authority: "Religion is a natural right that no law, that no power can touch, that all nations that are the least bit enlightened respect, and before which paternal authority, as powerful as it is through the natural sanction that God gave it, must bend."<sup>52</sup> She based her arguments against the omnipotence of paternal authority in both religion and natural law.

The question of agency and right to which Emily Loveday laid claim was the subject of intense discussion in the press and legislative chambers during the spring of 1822 because of the unusual nature of the criminal charge of "rapt de séduction" brought against Ernestine Reboul. In his 1782 dictionary of judicial terms, the jurist Guyot traced "rapt" to the Justinian code, and he defined it broadly as a crime committed by a man who abducts a woman or a girl to corrupt, rape, or marry her, or a combination of the three.<sup>53</sup> He also applied the term to the abduction of a minor (son or daughter) for the purposes of marriage without the consent of his or her family.<sup>54</sup> He went on to make a distinction between two forms of "rapt," one committed through violence and the other through seduction. While the former in effect constituted rape, the latter, "rapt de séduction," implied a degree of consent on the part of the victim and the removal of the victim from his or her family. According to another jurist, "rapt de séduction" was more dangerous because it was more difficult to resist, particularly when it was perpetrated by the "weaker sex."<sup>55</sup> Whereas Guyot drew a distinction between rape and seduction, Fournel in his 1781 *Traité de la séduction*, published ten years later, defined "rapt de séduction" more narrowly as a "crime against the authority of parents, which has as its object the contracting of a marriage advantageous [to the perpetrator] against the wishes of the family."<sup>56</sup> He also made a distinction between simple seduction and a "rapt de séduction": "seduction is an injury done to the person seduced, rather than to the family," but "rapt de séduction" is an injury that "strikes the family, whose authority it harms."<sup>57</sup> By implication, a child without a family is by definition not subject to the crime of "rapt de séduction," for

<sup>52</sup> *Réponse de Miss Emily Loveday*, 6–7.

<sup>53</sup> Guyot, *Répertoire universel et raisonné de jurisprudence civile, criminelle, canonique et bénéficiale* (Paris, 1782), 548.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* Fournel cites a 1602 case in which a woman was charged with "rapt de séduction" for marrying a minor without his family's consent. M. Fournel, *Traité de la séduction considérée dans l'ordre judiciaire* (Paris, 1781), 311. On "rapt," also see Claude-Joseph de Ferrière, *Dictionnaire de droit et de politique* (Toulouse, 1787), 2: 537–40.

<sup>55</sup> Ferrière, *Dictionnaire de droit*, 540.

<sup>56</sup> Fournel, *Traité de la séduction*, 305.

<sup>57</sup> Fournel, *Traité de la séduction*, 306.

the only object of the law on this matter is "the chastity of women, the honor of families and the parent's choice of marriage partners."<sup>58</sup>

During the Old Regime, "rapt de séduction" was a capital crime, although, in practice, the severity of punishments was determined by the social and corporate status of the perpetrator. The lower the station of the *ravisser* and the higher the station of the victim of the crime, the harsher the punishment, since the intent of the law was to prevent "marriages rendered unworthy by the corruption of morals and even more so by the inequality of [social] conditions."<sup>59</sup> In short, while a rape or "simple seduction" was a crime committed against the individual, "rapt de séduction" was a crime against the family, state, and society as a whole, and its punishment was designed to protect the property and lineage of aristocratic families and to ensure the stability of the corporate order of a society predicated on privilege.

For this reason, it is perhaps not surprising that the charge of "rapt de séduction" disappeared from France's criminal code during the French Revolution, which eradicated titles of nobility and the corporate society of the Old Regime. The charge was not resurrected in postrevolutionary law. It was replaced by a law governing the abduction and sexual abuse of minors. The Napoleonic penal code drew a distinction between abduction through the use of violence and through the use of fraud. Under revolutionary and postrevolutionary law, the severity of punishment was no longer determined by the social status of the victim and the accused but rather by the age and sex of the victim.<sup>60</sup>

Although "rapt de séduction" was not a part of the postrevolutionary civil and penal codes in France, the term nonetheless continued to be used in legal treatises and commentaries. It gradually disappeared from legal commentary only toward the end of the nineteenth century. Whereas the 1845 edition of Dalloz's *Jurisprudence générale, table analytique des vingt-deux années du recueil périodique (1845–1867)* contains references to "rapt," which appear under entries devoted to the kidnapping of minors, such references cannot be found in the subsequent edition.<sup>61</sup> Writing in 1869, one jurist maintained that the law did not "punish the act of what our older authors called *rapt de séduction*" if the victim of this offense was not a girl under the age of sixteen.<sup>62</sup> In postrevolutionary France, gender and age replaced corporate privilege and social status as a basis for punishing such sexual crimes.

What was so extraordinary about the Loveday Affair was not that Douglas Loveday used the language of prerevolutionary law but that the abduction charge

<sup>58</sup> Fournel, *Traité de la séduction*, 335–36.

<sup>59</sup> Ferrière, *Dictionnaire de droit*, 540. For a discussion of the evolution of marriage law in early modern France, see Sarah Hanley, "Family and State in Early Modern France: The Marriage Pact," in *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present*, Marilyn Boxer and Jean Quataert, eds. (New York, 1987), 53–63.

<sup>60</sup> *Code criminel et correctionnel ou recueil chronologique des lois . . .* (Paris, 1805), 1: 66; and M. Carnot, *Commentaire sur le code pénal*, 2d edn. (Paris, 1836), 2: 162–63. According to Article 356 of the penal code, if the girl were under the age of sixteen and consented to her abduction and the accused had not reached the age of majority, the latter would be imprisoned for three to five years. If the accused were over the age of twenty-one, he would be subject to hard labor for life.

<sup>61</sup> Dalloz, *Jurisprudence générale* (Paris, 1877).

<sup>62</sup> Paget, *De la puissance paternelle dans le droit romain et le droit français*, 144, emphasis in the original.

did not involve a clandestine elopement or abduction for sexual purposes and the perpetrator of the alleged crime was not a man but rather an unmarried female schoolteacher. The charge "rapt de séduction" had effectively been transferred from the domain of sexual and marital relations to that of religious behavior, from the body to the spirit, and it is this transfer that in part contributed to the public sensation surrounding the affair.<sup>63</sup>

By January 1822, Douglas Loveday's petition and the responses that Emily Loveday and Ernestine Reboul made to the allegations therein had generated a lively public commentary in the Restoration's two principal opposition newspapers, *La quotidienne* and *Le constitutionnel*. This journalistic commentary was in turn followed by a spate of pamphlets on the subject, newly expanded and documented accounts by Douglas Loveday and Reboul of the events that led up to Emily Loveday's conversion, and reprinted family letters. These letters, some obviously fake, were published in pamphlet form and purchased for as little as 40 centimes.<sup>64</sup> They included a letter to Emily Loveday from her mother, letters to her father from her uncle and her self-professed husband-to-be, and a letter to Reboul from her seventeen-year-old brother.

Readers who commented on the Loveday Affair supplied several competing explanations of Emily Loveday's conversion to Catholicism and ultimate flight to the Sisters of Notre Dame. Many of these melodramatic narratives were already inscribed in the rich claustral literature of eighteenth-century France, whose most celebrated example was Denis Diderot's novel *La religieuse*.<sup>65</sup> Emily Loveday's

<sup>63</sup> Carnot, for example, remarked on the unusual nature of this case in his 1836 commentary on crimes against children in the penal code. Carnot, *Commentaire sur le code pénal*, 2d edn., 2: 150–51.

<sup>64</sup> For example, the letter allegedly written to Douglas Loveday by his brother (father of the young Mary) was obviously a fake. It consisted of a barely veiled attack on Douglas for exposing his family to publicity. See *Lettre du majeur Loveday . . . à son frère* (Paris, 1822).

<sup>65</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between this claustral literature and the emergence of melodrama, see Peter Brooks' pathbreaking book on the functions of melodrama, *The Melodramatic Imagination*: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess (New Haven, Conn., 1976); and Robert Shackleton, "The Cloister Theme in French Preromanticism," in *The French Mind: Studies in Honor of Gustave Rudler*, Will Moore, Rhoda Sutherland, and Enid Starkie, eds. (Oxford, 1952). Also see Jeanne Ponton, *La religieuse dans la littérature française* (Quebec, 1969), 382–86. During the French Revolution, a large number of plays were written on convent life. See, for example, Louis-Carrogis Carmontelle, *Le couvent des religieuses, comédie en un acte*, 1789, Ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, f.f. 9326; Maurin de Pompigny, *La bonne sœur, ou elle en avait besoin* (Paris, Ambigu-Comique, December 17, 1789); Anonymous, *Le couvent, drame* (Paris, Théâtre de la Nation, April 1790); Joseph Fiévée, *Les rigueurs du cloître* (Paris, Les comédiens italiens ordinaires du Roi, August 23, 1790); Olympe de Gouges, *Le couvent, ou les vœux forcés* (Paris, Théâtre Français, October 1790); and Pierre Laujon, *Le couvent, ou les fruits du caractère et de l'éducation* (Paris, Théâtre de la Nation, April 16, 1790); Anonymous, *La religieuse danoise, ou la communauté de Copenhague* (Paris, Théâtre de Montansier, 1791); Bertin d'Antilly, *La communauté de Copenhague ou les religieuses danoises* (1791); Boutet de Monvel, *Les victimes cloîtrées* (Paris, Théâtre de la Nation, March 29, 1791); Carbon de Flins, *Le mari directeur, ou le démantèlement du couvent* (Paris, Théâtre de la Nation, February 25, 1791); Pujoulx, *Amélie, ou le couvent* (Paris, Théâtre Feydeau, February 28, 1791); Jacques-Benoît Demautort, *Le petit sacristain* (Paris, Théâtre de la Vaudeville, March 13, 1792); Desprez et Rouget de Lisle, *Les deux couvents* (Paris, Opéra-Comique, January 16, 1792); Louis-Benoît Picard, *Les visitandines* (Paris, Théâtre Feydeau, August 7, 1792); Prévost-Monfort, *Les sœurs de pot, ou le double rendez-vous* (Paris, Ambigu-Comique, September 30, 1792). Among the many works published on the subject between 1800 and 1821, see Baronne de Méré, *L'abbaye de Saint-Rémy, ou la fille de l'abbesse*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1807); Eusèbe Salverte, *Nélie, ou les sermens*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1812); Mme. Perin de Grandenstein, *La dame grise, ou histoire de la maison de Beauchamp* (Paris, 1816); Abel Dufresne, *Le monde et la retraite, ou correspondance de deux jeunes amies*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1817); Mme. de M. . . , *L'abbaye de Saint-Aure, ou encore victime de l'amour*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1818); Baronne de Méré, *La sœur grise, ou mémoires de Mme de Canès*,

flight to a convent was turned into a story of abduction and incarceration. It is perhaps ironic that these narratives tended to focus on the cloistered convent, because the majority of women who entered religious life in the nineteenth century entered active *congrégations* that lived in secular society and provided social and medical services. Indeed, by 1880, the members of active *congrégations* comprised four-fifths of the female religious.<sup>66</sup> According to the many commentaries, Emily Loveday was not only being held against her father's will but also against her own. To this extent, the affair was portrayed by some observers less as seduction than as mental rape, which had profound consequences for Emily Loveday's role as a woman. Many readers suggested that this form of seduction or rape was all the more repugnant because it was religious and threatened to destroy her natural vocation as a future wife and mother. Many accounts of the affair made much of the fact that Emily Loveday was extraordinarily beautiful, which some commentators believed made her situation all the more tragic.<sup>67</sup> One explicitly equated her departure from the family home to a decision to throw herself into the arms of a lover, even if that lover happened to be God.<sup>68</sup> For a Protestant minister who had known Emily Loveday since childhood, her actions represented a renunciation of all possibility of enjoying the fruits of earthly life, particularly that of wife and mother: "Condemned by a deathly vow to an eternal celibacy, you will never be a wife or mother . . . you will grow old before your time."<sup>69</sup> Another commentator, who remarked on her beauty, suggested, in contrast, that impending motherhood drove her to the foundling hospital in Amiens, and this person held Reboul responsible for Emily Loveday's supposed plight. Douglas Loveday's claim that his daughter took refuge in La Maternité in Amiens gave rise to this speculation, and his allegation allowed Ernestine Reboul and her defenders to fault Douglas Loveday and his lawyer for encouraging such innuendo, exposing Emily Loveday to public scandal and destroying her reputation. While Douglas himself resolutely refused to support the suggestion that Emily was pregnant, his defenders used the language of courtship to explain her conversion: "it is not a question of marriage in the affair of Mademoiselle Loveday; but love often does not go with marriage . . . here it is a question of love of God, it is true."<sup>70</sup>

Other narratives suggested less visible reasons for Emily Loveday's conversion and flight in alluding vaguely to trysts, secret entanglements, and romantic attachments. The publication of a letter from Sir William C——, in particular, raised the question of whether Douglas Loveday's anger at Emily Loveday's

3 vols. (Paris, 1819); Jeanne-Edme Paccard, *L'abbaye de la Trappe, ou les révélations nocturnes*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1821).

<sup>66</sup> Gibson, *Social History of French Catholicism*, 106–07.

<sup>67</sup> Dulaure noted in his account of the affair that the eldest of the Loveday sisters was "strikingly beautiful." Dulaure, *Histoire de la Restauration*, 3: 187.

<sup>68</sup> *Réfutation du mémoire justificatif de Mlle. Ernestine Reboul*, 3.

<sup>69</sup> *Instruction paternelle du docteur Dxxx, ministre de la religion anglicane*, 18. In trying to convince her to go back on her decision, he asked, "What rank would you hold in society where you would always be a stranger? You could not go back into the world [from the convent] despite your name's renown" (p. 17). Emily Loveday, however, never indicated her desire to assume the veil.

<sup>70</sup> *Réfutation du mémoire justificatif de Mlle. Ernestine Reboul*, 3–4.



conversion and her hasty departures from her father's home could be explained by her implicit repudiation of the marriage and future that her father appears to have planned for her. Alternatively, Reboul's response to Douglas Loveday's petition, in which she claimed that the Loveday daughters were unhappy and had returned from an outing with their father in a "state of affliction," suggested troubling motives—possibly mental or physical abuse—for Emily Loveday's attempt to escape her father.

Charges concerning the spiritual seduction of daughters, their entry into religious communities without parental consent, or their forced sequestration were not confined to the Loveday Affair or to the early years of the Restoration. They grew in number during the course of the nineteenth century, and many of them provide glimpses of poverty, parental discord, and physical violence from which young women fled. These petitions came from rich and poor alike, and although many of these cases found their way into the law courts, a large number of complaints were submitted to the state by plaintiffs who were unwilling or unable to seek formal legal action.<sup>71</sup> While the circumstances and scripts of these cases were each unique, and the petitioners dealt with vastly different political bodies in a century that witnessed the rise and fall of six different political regimes, each case raised anew questions concerning agency, the civil rights of daughters, and the relationship between private lives and public order. They revealed telling contradictions in the ideology and practices of Left and Right alike. While the church was a bulwark of public order, the story of Emily Loveday's seduction ironically revealed to many a commentator the danger that the church posed for good order in the family and for women's "natural" role as wives and mothers.

DESPITE THE VOTE BY THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES to reject Douglas Loveday's claim, the larger issues of the Loveday Affair remained unresolved. Throughout the nineteenth century, it posed troubling questions for the politicians and legists and gave rise to fears about the power that the church exercised over the minds of French women. These fears were given tangible form in the image of men deserting church pews in greater and greater numbers while women by and large remained loyal to the Catholic church. By 1820, France also began to witness the dramatic explosion in the number of women entering religious communities. The "feminization of religion" had important implications for politics, property, and family relationships, all of which were at the center of the Loveday scandal. Historians have argued that one of the most important consequences of this change was the perception of French women as a potential political threat to the revolutionary settlement. As they were increasingly subject to the influence of the priests, women were branded as the agents of counterrevolution.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, historians have long argued that this was one of the reasons that women failed to win the vote in France until well after their West European counterparts.

<sup>71</sup> A large sample of these petitions can be found in the archives of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Paris.

<sup>72</sup> Olwen Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto, 1991).

The feminization of Catholicism also had consequences for the principles of paternal authority, patrimony, and the unity of the family. The debates in 1824 and 1825 over the legal reestablishment of female religious communities revealed significant opposition to the potential economic power that such communities might wield and the devastation that they could bring to family wealth. An 1825 law authorizing the establishment of female communities reflected these concerns but did not put an end to them.<sup>73</sup> Throughout the nineteenth century, petitions continued to demand that the legal age of women entering religious communities without parental consent be raised, and legislatures continued to discuss laws that would limit the amount of property women could bring to them. Marriage vows were compared with religious vows.

The emotions that the Loveday Affair stirred in the French public reflected far deeper concerns, however, which were revealed in many of the narrative plots of Emily Loveday's conversion and flight. Postrevolutionary law and public order were predicated on the principle of paternal authority. That principle could be challenged by religion in the Loveday Affair, even though religion was invoked as a justification for paternal authority by the conservative Right. The larger implications of that challenge are perhaps best illustrated in a book by the historian Jules Michelet in 1845, *Le prêtre, la femme, et la famille*, or *The Priest, the Woman, and the Family*, which was reprinted at least eight times by 1875.<sup>74</sup> It consisted of a diatribe against the institution of the confessional for sowing discord in the family and undermining the authority of husbands and fathers. The sexual language of seduction, which was an inherent part of the Loveday Affair, resurfaced in Michelet's prose, in which seduction did not assume the gentlest of forms: he argued that the priest "always has the stick of authority in his dealings with the woman, he beats her, submissive and docile, with spiritual rods. There is no seduction comparable to this."<sup>75</sup> Michelet went on to assert that religion merely served to undermine the natural harmony of the family and to construct an invisible wall between husbands and wives, fathers and daughters. The Loveday Affair also revealed the extent to which religion could be a source of familial strife and conflict that challenged a father's as well as a husband's authority. Although Michelet (and many other anticlerical writers) lambasted the priest, particularly if he were a Jesuit in the confessional, he was far more wary of the mother superior in a religious community consisting of women. In a contest between the Jesuit confessor and the mother superior, Michelet declared himself to be on the side of the confessor: "Priest, monk, Jesuit, I am here, on his side," when faced with the "Jesuitess, a great converted lady, who believes herself born for government with a sword of Bonaparte among a troop of trembling women."<sup>76</sup>

What was the significance of the charge of "rapt de séduction," which had disappeared from France's criminal code, and its transfer from the domain of marriage and the body to that of the spirit during the postrevolutionary period?

<sup>73</sup> M. L.-L. Charrier, *Commentaire de la loi des congrégations religieuses de femmes* (Paris, 1825).

<sup>74</sup> Theodore Zeldin, "The Conflict of Moralities: Confession, Sin and Pleasure in the Nineteenth Century," in *Conflicts in French Society: Anticlericalism, Education, and Morals in the Nineteenth Century*, Theodore Zeldin, ed. (London, 1970), 14.

<sup>75</sup> Quoted in Zeldin, "Conflict of Moralities," 15.

<sup>76</sup> Jules Michelet, *Le prêtre, la femme et la famille*, 7th edn. (Paris, 1861), 242–43.

The charge leveled against Ernestine Reboul by Douglas Loveday represented more than a sensational rhetorical device intended to attract the attention of the French public. The growing importance of religious vocations in the lives of French women during the nineteenth century was just as direct a danger to property, patrimony, and the principle of paternal authority as elopement and clandestine marriage among ruling elites—in whose interests the legal charge of “rapt de séduction” was written—during the Old Regime. Female religious communities potentially threatened family, state, and the principle of paternal authority, on which the postrevolutionary civil order was based. In contrast to Protestant Britain, women in Catholic France increasingly chose religious celibacy as a way of life, creating the possibility of a “separate identity and organization for women in religious life.”<sup>77</sup> A separate identity was championed in the private, familial sphere. Indeed, throughout the nineteenth century, anticlerical men sought or, in some cases, tolerated a religious education that inculcated or reinforced that identity in their daughters. While a separate identity and organization for women within the church certainly did not call existing gender roles into question, it implicitly undermined public order by destabilizing the juridical notion of paternal authority on which that order was based, until new laws governing female religious communities in 1880 and 1901 heralded their legal demise.

<sup>77</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, “City Women and Religious Change,” in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), 95.

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# The Long Goodbye: Dutch Capitalism and Antislavery in Comparative Perspective

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SEYMOUR DRESCHER

"Is there any other point to which you would wish to draw my attention?"

"To the curious incident of the dog in the night-time."

"The dog did nothing in the night-time."

"That was the curious incident," remarked Sherlock Holmes.

(Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventure of Silver Blaze,"  
*The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* [New York, 1893]).

"If the world were to come to an end, I would go to Holland, where everything happens fifty years later." Pieter Emmer opens his discussion of Dutch abolition with this apocryphal aphorism (ascribed to Heinrich Heine). Of all the northern European imperial powers, the Dutch were the last to legislate colonial slave emancipation, thirty years after their British counterparts across the North Sea.<sup>1</sup> They perfunctorily abolished slavery in 1863, after their Swedish, Danish, and French neighbors. Historians of slavery seem to have repeated the procrastination. They have been equally slow to view the Dutch case as a valuable opportunity for comparative analysis.

The relationship between capitalism and antislavery has primarily been debated by historians of Anglo-American slavery. For almost a century and a half after abolitionism assaulted the slave systems of the Atlantic economy, the historiography of Anglo-American antislavery was solidly embedded in what has come to be

For their critical judgment and helpful comments, I owe thanks to Robin Blackburn, Natalie Z. Davis, David Eltis, Pieter C. Emmer, Stanley L. Engerman, William W. Freehling, P. W. Klein, Gert Oostindie, and Robert L. Paquette; to the Seminar on Caribbean Societies at the University of London's Institute of Commonwealth Studies; to the Workshop on Migration and Missionary Activities at the international conference on the interaction between the Low Countries and the Americas, 1492–1992 (Leiden and Amsterdam, June 1992); to the participants at the Conference on the Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion at Hamilton College (Clinton, New York, October 1992); and to the participants in the conference on Dutch Capitalism and Antislavery at the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology KITLV (Leiden, October 1993). Many suggestions that could not be incorporated into this article will appear in forthcoming versions to be published in *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion*, Robert L. Paquette and Stanley L. Engerman, eds.; and *Dutch Capitalism, Colonial Slavery and Antislavery*, Gert Oostindie, ed.

<sup>1</sup> P. C. Emmer, "Anti-Slavery and the Dutch: Abolition without Reform," in Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher, eds., *Anti-Slavery, Religion, and Reform: Essays in Memory of Roger Anstey* (Folkstone, Eng., 1980), 80–98; and Gert Oostindie, "The Enlightenment, Christianity, and the Suriname Slave," esp. p. 14, unpublished ms., kindly provided by the author.

called the Progressive or Whig interpretation of history. Historians assumed that the ending of chattel slavery reflected the modern development of civilized behavior, led by the English-speaking world. Slavery constituted a moral and material fetter, which antislavery shattered in one area after another. The process moved from the most progressive areas toward the most backward, from the Somerset decision of 1772 in England to Brazil's "Golden Law" of emancipation in 1888, and then on to the termination of coerced labor in Africa and Asia.

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the historiography of abolition since World War II has been the new prominence accorded to economically based motives, forces, and conflicts in accounting for the transition from slavery to freedom. In this linkage of economic development to slavery, Eric Williams' *Capitalism and Slavery* was but a forerunner.<sup>2</sup> For more than a generation, the historical debate over abolition in Anglo-America has been centered on a bedrock economic question: Was abolition facilitated by the decline of slave economies or the rise of capitalist industrial systems, and how did economic and non-economic considerations figure in this process?

It is now clear that, in at least one important sense, slavery was no peculiar institution. The slave trade was an "uncommon market," to use Henry Gemery and Jan Hogendorn's terms, only in that its commodities and capital were human beings, not because buyers, or sellers, or users of slaves and their products behaved differently from those in other markets. Since economically grounded models plausibly account for the establishment and growth of slave systems, many historians were tempted to explain the destruction process by similar economically generated forces. Williams explained abolition in terms of an economically induced decline of British slavery and rise of industrialism in the wake of the American Revolution. Historians of slavery in the United States, the British empire, and elsewhere also explained abolition by recourse to a variety of internal economic contradictions and uncontrollable world market forces.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In addition to Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1944), chaps. 6–10, see Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492–1969* (New York, 1970), chap. 17. For reviews of the historiographical trends, see S. Drescher, "Trends in der Historiographie des Abolitionismus," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* (special issue on *Sklaverei in der modernen Geschichte*), 16 (1990): 187–211; Stanley L. Engerman, "Slavery and Emancipation in Comparative Perspective: A Look at Some Recent Debates," *Journal of Economic History*, 46 (1986): 317–39.

<sup>3</sup> On free labor as the peculiar institution, see M. I. Finley, "A Peculiar Institution?" *Times Literary Supplement*, 3877 (July 2, 1976): 819; and Seymour Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective* (New York, 1986), x, 17–18. On the economics of the slave trade, see Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, eds., *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1979). Although Williams' initial work focused specifically on the destruction of the British slave system by British capitalists, he later extended his thesis to claim that the hostility of metropolitan capitalism in general was a major factor in the abolition of the other northern imperial slave systems, including the Dutch; Williams, *From Columbus to Castro*, 280–90. The economic argument for the abolition of slavery took two basic forms. The first was that slavery became increasingly unprofitable. The second was that, whether or not it remained profitable, it became decreasingly important economically in the various political systems to which it was attached. In addition to the references in note 2, see, among others, S. Drescher, "Le declin du système esclavagiste britannique et l'abolition de la traite," *Annales: E.S.C.*, 31 (1976): 414–35; *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1977); Howard Temperley, "Capitalism, Slavery and Ideology," *Past and Present*, 75 (1977): 94–118; David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1987), chap. 1; Barbara L. Solow and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams* (New York, 1987); Robert W. Fogel, et al., *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery*, 4 vols. (New



A generation of research on the various slave economies in the Americas has increasingly shown, however, that slavery was economically viable throughout the age of emancipation, even while it was being hobbled and destroyed in one entity after another. Political processes unraveled economically viable systems of production, often at the peak of their significance to the world market. Slave labor productivity was, in short, not economically regressive or inferior, a fact that challenged abolitionist conceptions of progress and abolition.<sup>4</sup>

If no inherent weakness in slave labor led to the rise and triumph of antislavery, how else might an economic causal relationship be established? A number of historians emphasized the declining value of the colonies to the imperial metropolis. Some have hypothesized that capitalist elites and intellectuals were so impressed by the economic performance of their own dynamic free labor societies that they simply dismissed equally compelling evidence of dynamism in slave labor economies and assumed that a transformation to free labor could only accelerate growth and prosperity everywhere.<sup>5</sup> Others have reformulated the connection in terms of a transformation within metropolitan class relationships during the early industrial revolution. Capitalist industrialization required a new free labor discipline, a discipline widely resisted by working people still rooted in an older moral economy. The pioneers of Anglo-American antislavery legitimized the new discipline by denouncing antithetical labor systems, especially the institution of chattel slavery.<sup>6</sup> In this perspective, abolition validated both ruling class and capitalist hegemony during a period of severe social and military threats—the period of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Abolitionism acted as a screening device, which simultaneously underwrote the old British aristocratic political order and the new industrial order.<sup>7</sup>

All of these accounts stress what has been called the “free labor ideology.”

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York, 1989–92), 1: chap. 3; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (1966; rev. edn., New York, 1988), 153 and following; and David Eltis, “Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery in the Americas: An Interpretation,” *AHR*, 98 (December 1993): 1399–1423.

<sup>4</sup> See Drescher, *Econocide*, chap. 10; Eltis, *Economic Growth*, chap. 1; Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, 2 vols. (1974; rpt. edn., New York, 1989); Fogel, *Without Consent*, chap. 10; Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, 153 and following; David Brion Davis, “The Significance of Excluding Slavery from the Old Northwest in 1787,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, 84 (March 1988): 75–89; Gavin Wright, “What Was Slavery,” *Social Concept*, 6 (1991): 29–51.

<sup>5</sup> Temperley, “Capitalism,” 117–18; Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 17–28, 102–06. There is a general assumption that “it is no historical accident that the rise of the ‘bourgeois state,’ with its belief in ‘possessive individualism’ should have led to an attack on various systems of forced labor, such as slavery and serfdom”; Stanley L. Engerman, “Coerced and Free Labor: Property Rights and the Development of the Labor Force,” *Explorations in Economic History*, 29 (1992): 1–29, quote on 3. Engerman, however, notes the tension between moral and economic arguments in the attack.

<sup>6</sup> David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), chaps. 5, 8, and 9, esp. 453–68 (henceforth, *Slavery in Revolution*). See also Thomas C. Holt, “Explaining Abolition,” a review essay in *Journal of Social History*, 24 (1990): 371–78; and Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore, Md., 1992), chap. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Holt, “Explaining Abolition,” 373. Davis also noted that antislavery could appeal to “various aspiring groups, including skilled workers.” He restricts his emphasis on the hegemonic antislavery of industrial capitalists and political elites to the early industrial period in Britain. See “The Perils of Doing History by Ahistorical Abstraction: A Reply to Thomas L. Haskell’s *AHR Forum Reply*,” in Thomas Bender, ed., *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 290–309.

Spokesmen for antislavery targeted slavery or coerced labor as inferior in efficiency, motivation, or ease of discipline to wage labor. Metropolitan abolitionism promised the universal superiority of free labor. Thus the antislavery movement, like Adam Smith's transformation of political economy, "reflected the needs and values of the emerging capitalist order."<sup>8</sup>

The free labor ideology, however, is not the only economically based link that has been forged between capitalism and antislavery. In another conceptualization of the connection, capitalism stimulated antislavery not through its relationship to free labor superiority or to class interests but through the impact of market activity on values and perceptions, yielding a new "cognitive style in Europe."<sup>9</sup> Humanitarianism in general and British abolitionism in particular arose from the interplay of market-fostered values, not through the dialectic of class conflict.<sup>10</sup>

But, while historians' focus on the relationship between capitalism and antislavery inside the English-speaking world intensified, the potential value of other national experiences has become increasingly apparent. Similar or divergent outcomes could clarify the nature of the interaction between "one of the most palpable realities of Western economic history [slavery] and one of the slipperiest abstractions of the Western intellectual heritage [capitalism]."<sup>11</sup> The history of the Netherlands is of particular comparative value for a number of reasons. If the pattern of Dutch economic and political development was not precisely that of Britain and France, the Dutch did anticipate and share with Britain a relative economic precocity and economic expansion overseas during the first three quarters of the seventeenth century. After a further century of relative prosperity but slackened growth, the Dutch standard of living in the 1770s still remained among the highest in Europe. Socially and politically, Dutch society was dominated by a bourgeois oligarchy that had broken decisively with the aristocratic landholding ethos of neighboring societies. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Netherlands was a republic dominated by a narrow political class and characterized by a high degree of provincial autonomy.

By contrast, more in the manner of France than Britain, the Netherlands entered three decades of acute economic distress, overseas disasters, and political

<sup>8</sup> See Davis, *Slavery in Revolution*, 350; and John Ashworth, "Capitalism, Class, and Antislavery," in Bender, *Antislavery Debate*, 263–89.

<sup>9</sup> See Thomas L. Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility," in Bender, *Antislavery Debate*, 107–60; and the subsequent discussion by Davis, Ashworth, and Haskell, *ibid.*, 161 and following. Haskell's two-part essay was first published in the *AHR*, 90 (April–June 1985): 339–61; 547–66. See also S. Drescher, "Review Essay: Thomas Bender ed. *The Antislavery Debate, Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation*," *History and Theory*, 32 (1993): 311–29.

<sup>10</sup> For further explorations of the relationship between British capitalism and slavery, see Solow and Engerman, *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery*, esp. parts 2, 3, and 4; Eltis, *Economic Growth*, chap. 2; and Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London, 1988).

<sup>11</sup> Gavin Wright, "Capitalism and Slavery on the Islands: A Lesson from the Mainland," in Solow and Engerman, *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery*, 283–302. For other international comparisons, see, among others, Bolt and Drescher, *Anti-Slavery, Religion, and Reform*, part 1; David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (New York, 1984), parts 2 and 3; Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery*, chap. 3; S. Drescher, "Brazilian Abolition in Comparative Perspective," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 68 (August 1988): 429–60; Fogel, *Without Consent*, part 1; Thomas Holt, "An Empire over the Mind: Emancipation, Race and Ideology in the British West Indies and the American South," in J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, eds., *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward* (New York, 1982).

upheaval between the 1780s and the fall of Napoleon. A discernably new period began with the creation of a kingdom of the Netherlands in 1814 and with the partial restoration of the Dutch overseas empire. The Netherlands now diverged in its economic, political, and imperial history from Britain and France. For more than half a century, it lagged behind its near neighbors in economic growth, political democratization, revolutionary challenges, and imperial expansion. It is this "third" Dutch period, coinciding with the final dismantling of the British, French, and Dutch overseas slave systems, that has been the primary focus of what little comparative use of the Netherlands does appear in the literature of antislavery.

Yet a historiography focused solely on the nineteenth-century Netherlands risks the loss of extraordinarily fruitful comparisons that can be drawn from outside the conventional temporal frame of reference. Presumably, given a market model, a "strong antislavery movement should have emerged in Holland, which was certainly involved in mercantile capitalism, in long-distance commerce, in world markets, and in complex banking and credit. Surely, the Dutch learned to attend to the remote consequences of their actions, and there must have been as many potential humanitarians per capita in the Dutch population as in Britain or the United States. Yet, despite repeated prodding from British abolitionists, the Dutch remained stolidly indifferent to the whole abolitionist campaign."<sup>12</sup> Even as abolitionism was reaching its peak of intensity in Anglo-America, only the faintest echo could be heard in the Netherlands.<sup>13</sup>

The point is critical because the market was more significant in the fifteenth-century Mediterranean economy ("the birth place of modern plantation slavery") than it was in many areas of nineteenth-century rural and abolitionist America. And, in the Dutch case, the *early* modern Netherlands fully met the market criteria for a capitalist, non-abolitionist, counter example. For the century of its primacy in world trade, Holland exemplified a "market-oriented society, whose members continued to see slavery as nothing worse than a necessary evil."<sup>14</sup> Seventeenth-century Holland, with the largest overseas trade per capita of any nation in the world, was the envy of much larger monarchical states. It had a substantial stake in the Atlantic slave system. It possessed a highly diversified economy, tied to the needs of its commercial hegemony and nourished by the

<sup>12</sup> David Brion Davis, "Reflections on Abolitionism and Ideological Hegemony," in Bender, *Antislavery Debate*, 161–79.

<sup>13</sup> Ironically, the "decline" of Dutch slavery correlates much more closely with the rise of *British* abolitionism. See below, note 41, and compare Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815* (Cambridge, 1990), 215, 275, 284–303, with Drescher, *Econocide*, chap. 3.

<sup>14</sup> See Thomas L. Haskell, "Convention and Hegemonic Interest in the Debate over Antislavery," in Bender, *Antislavery Debate*, 200–59, esp. 233–34; and Davis, "Perils," 294. Haskell's argument, connecting the economic insignificance of slavery with the propensity to abolish it, recalls the opposite formulation by Adam Smith. In *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), Smith commented wryly: "The late resolution of the Quakers in Pennsylvania to set at liberty all their negro slaves, may satisfy us that their number cannot be very great. Had they made any considerable part of their property, such a resolution could never have been agreed" (New York, 1937 edn.), 366. Smith, and a sizable number of later historians, including economic historians, considered the economic insignificance of slavery to be the relevant factor in ensuring an early and rapid Quaker abolition. Haskell links slavery's economic insignificance to a *delay* in Dutch abolition. Neither Smith's nor Haskell's arguments work easily for both the Pennsylvania Quakers and the Dutch.

most complex banking and market institutions of its time. Its wage levels and standard of living were the highest in Europe for well over a century.<sup>15</sup>

Moreover, in terms of humanitarian sensibility, Holland was internationally noted for its institutions of charity. It experienced no shortage of moral and ideological attacks on the improper accumulation and use of wealth—what Simon Schama has called “the embarrassment of riches.” The Netherlands’ religious spokesmen offered an unbroken criticism of the potential immoralities of commerce. Even more pointedly, the Dutch began their seventeenth-century transatlantic slaving venture with occasional moral doubts about the propriety of trading in human beings and with legal inhibitions on slave owning at home. Masters understood that when they brought slaves to the Netherlands they implicitly manumitted them. Yet, for two centuries, Holland nurtured few antislavery arguments and no abolitionist movement whatever.<sup>16</sup>

ONE MIGHT USEFULLY DISTINGUISH THREE PERIODS of the Dutch case: generations of expanding capitalism in the seventeenth century, the turbulent decades around the time of the French Revolution, and the nineteenth century. More telling than the virtual absence of abolitionism in the stagnant post-Napoleonic Dutch economy, even with its diminishing dependence on slavery, is the fact that Dutch abolitionism failed to emerge either in the seventeenth century, when the Netherlands was at or near its peak of economic dynamism, or in the early eighteenth century, when the slave system was an important and growing branch of Dutch trade. Between the end of the Thirty Years’ War (1648) and the end of the War of the Spanish Succession (1713), the Afro-Caribbean trade was one of the Netherlands’ three principal “rich trades.” For six more decades, a growing Dutch slave trade and an expanding plantation system no more stimulated the emergence of abolitionism during the eighteenth century than it had during the seventeenth.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See Karel Davids and Leo Noordegraaf, eds., *The Dutch Economy in the Golden Age* (Amsterdam, 1993); and note 25 below.

<sup>16</sup> See Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York, 1987), chap. 5; Davis, “Perils,” 295. On implicit metropolitan manumission, see Robert Ross, “The Last Years of the Slave Trade to the Cape Colony,” *Slavery and Abolition*, 9 (1988): 209–19, citing J. A. van der Chijs, ed., *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek: 1602–1811*, 17 vols. (Batavia and the Hague, 1885–1900), 4: 57; and Robert Ross, *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa* (London, 1983), 73–74. According to some historians, slaves were legally free on arrival in the Netherlands. See James C. Armstrong and Nigel A. Worden, “The Slave, 1652–1834,” in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1840*, Richard Elphick and Herman Giliomee, eds. (Middletown, Conn., 1988), 109–83, 116; and Richard Elphick and Robert Shell, “Intergroup Relations: Khoikoi, Settlers, Slaves and Free Blacks, 1653–1795,” in *ibid.*, 210–11. Other historians assert that the Dutch legal system never reached an unambiguous position on the question. All agree that slavery’s status within the metropolis was problematical. See Gert Oostindie, “Prelude to the Exodus: Surinamers in the Netherlands, 1667–1960s,” in *Resistance and Rebellion in Suriname: Old and New*, Gary Brana-Shute, ed. (Williamsburg, Va., 1990), 231–58, esp. 232–33.

<sup>17</sup> See Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740* (Oxford, 1989), chaps. 6–7, esp. 296. The Dutch seaborne empire, the first fully global empire of trade, was also “the first to combine trade hegemony with great power status on land as well as sea, a pattern again subsequently repeated in the case of eighteenth-century Britain”; Israel, *Empires and Entrepreneurs: The Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy, and the Jews, 1585–1713* (London, 1990), x. On slave trade figures, see Postma, *Dutch in the*

If abolitionism was a market-linked phenomenon, one could dismiss the Dutch case only by employing a "Goldilocks model" of capitalism and antislavery. Before the American Revolution, Dutch slavery was "too big" to be attacked in the Netherlands. After Napoleon, it was "too small" to be noticed. (We will have more to say about the revolutionary and Napoleonic interregnum.) Apparently, only in Anglo-America was the salience of slavery "just right" for capitalist-inspired antislavery in the age of abolition.

If the Dutch case undermines the "market model" of abolitionism, it also challenges the industrial "free labor ideology" model, whose supporters should "find it puzzling that the Dutch bourgeoisie passed up the opportunity to legitimize wage labor, accumulate moral capital, and bolster its own self-esteem by attacking slavery."<sup>18</sup> This puzzle has led some historians to make a sharp distinction between mercantilist and industrial capitalism as the stimulating economic context for antislavery. The linkage is more precisely located in the new social world created when merchant capitalism was being transformed by industrialization: "The Netherlands, for all of its precocity in merchant capitalism fell well behind even Belgium in industrialization. It was the difference in the timing of industrialization that most sharply distinguished the British from the Dutch economy." Is a vital clue to be discovered in the fact that Holland's "anemic antislavery voices coincided with the country's delayed industrialization"? Significant industrialization came late to the Netherlands, long after industrial capitalist surges in Britain, France, Belgium, and the United States.<sup>19</sup>

Industrial capitalism remains the most plausible general context in which to link economic growth with abolition. If antislavery "reflected the needs and values of an emerging capitalist order" in Britain,<sup>20</sup> the Dutch case might also be used to test the early *industrial* capitalist model of antislavery. However, the distinction between an early industrializing Britain in the eighteenth century and a late industrializing Netherlands in the nineteenth century is not the only relevant comparison. The Netherlands' first period of rapid industrial growth anticipated rather than followed Great Britain's. In the mid-seventeenth century, at the time when the Dutch West India Company was integrating Afro-Caribbean slavery into Holland's economic empire, the town of Leiden was having its greatest impact on the European textile industry.<sup>21</sup> Around 1650, Dutch industry attained a margin of superiority in the production of fabrics that was maintained until the eighteenth century. At the peak of Dutch economic growth, in the generation

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*Atlantic Slave Trade*, esp. 250–51, 280–303, 308–61. Up to the 1770s, the Dutch slave system remained a significant component of the imperial economy; 280–83.

<sup>18</sup> Haskell, "Convention," 233, replying to Davis. In a modified form, Eltis adopted Haskell's approach ("Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery," 1416–17, 1420–21).

<sup>19</sup> Davis, "Perils," 296, 308–09; Oostindie, "Enlightenment," 5. For one Dutch historian, it was self-evident that the ending of Dutch slavery "was caused by the industrial revolution"; Cornelis Ch. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in Surinam 1791/5–1942* (Assen, 1990), 265. On the limits of Dutch economic development, see Frederick Krantz and Paul M. Hohenberg, eds., *Failed Transitions to Modern Industrial Society: Renaissance Italy and Seventeenth Century Holland* (Montreal, 1975).

<sup>20</sup> Davis, *Slavery in Revolution*, 350; David Brion Davis, "Capitalism, Abolitionism and Hegemony," in Solow and Engerman, *British Capitalism*, 209–27, esp. 221; and the studies of Temperley, Eltis, and Ashworth cited above.

<sup>21</sup> Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, 260.



after 1650, the cloth industry made a vastly greater contribution to Holland's overseas commerce than during any previous phase of its economy.<sup>22</sup> Dutch machinery was a technological pacesetter in the competitive international textile trade. Leiden and other interior inland towns were actually the source of much of the start-up capital for the Dutch West India Company. In general, Dutch industries, geared to export, expanded and grew even more competitive during the last third of the seventeenth century.<sup>23</sup>

This rising tide of Dutch industrialization has important consequences for any hypothesis that links abolitionism to rising industrial capitalism. In seventeenth-century Europe, the Dutch Republic was not only the leading center of commercial capitalism, it was also the first European country to have a large urban proletariat and "the first in which the urban proletariat formed a large proportion of the total work-force." Even excluding those who worked at sea, well over 100,000 people were employed in the main urban industries. The "proletariat" in the broadest sense was larger still.<sup>24</sup>

The Dutch Republic remained the world's economic leader for most of the seventeenth century. In 1700, its per capita income was half again as high as Great Britain's. Only 40 percent of the Dutch labor force was agricultural, compared with 60 percent in Britain. The Netherlands' international trade was as large as Britain's, with a population only one-fifth as large. Its costs were comparatively low because of its efficient canal system. Its capitalist manufacturing sector was as important a source of Dutch profits then as at present. In 1700, the Dutch economy had a higher proportion of its labor force in industry than the British economy did 120 years later. Even with the fastest-growing economy in Europe, eighteenth-century Britain did not surpass Holland's seventeenth-century performance in income per head.

The Netherlands anticipated Europe's age of industrialization in a number of other ways. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Dutch rural economy had acquired characteristics often identified by economic historians as prerequisites for general economic growth. One-third of the residents of the Netherlands were urbanized, a percentage not reached by Great Britain a century later. England alone, while far more populous than the Dutch Republic, did not have a greater urban population, even in absolute numbers, before the eighteenth century. The enormous outflow of men into the overseas trades and the high mortality of seamen in the Dutch East and West Indies stimulated a heavy rural and foreign influx. In relation to other highly mobile areas of preindustrial Europe, Dutch

<sup>22</sup> Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, 260.

<sup>23</sup> Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, 348.

<sup>24</sup> Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, 355. For the view of seafarers as a "proletarian" work force under conditions of early modern capitalism, see Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge, 1987), chaps. 2–4. On seamen as among the vanguard of British working-class antislavery sympathizers, see Eltis, "Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery," 1421. In the early eighteenth century, the Dutch economy employed 50,000 sailors in the merchant marine, the ocean fisheries, the Atlantic, and the East Indies. Some recent studies highlight the long-term tensions in class relations between workers and capitalists in a variety of Dutch industries between 1650 and 1800. See, for example, two papers presented at the AHA annual meeting on December 28, 1992: Joyce M. Mastboom, "Guild or Union? A Case Study of Rural Dutch Weavers, 1682–1750"; and Karel A. Davids, "Artisans, Urban Governments, and Industrial Decline in Holland, 1670–1800."

cities were extraordinary magnets. More than a quarter of all persons marrying in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Amsterdam had been born outside the Dutch Republic.<sup>25</sup>

Dutch urban industrial growth also exhibited a number of other characteristics that were later repeated in the British case. Women and girls, who made up about 30 percent of Leiden's labor force, worked harder and for lower wages than the average male laborer. In the more crowded industrial towns, "night piecework was necessary to make up a living wage for a household."<sup>26</sup> Such centers would seem to have provided an urban context analogous to those areas of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain that became centers of abolitionism. The Dutch case is relevant to the social stress model of capitalist abolition. Many Dutch social problems, including alcoholism, urban crime, unemployment, and resistance to falling wages, appeared likewise a century later in other nascent capitalist societies. Dutch ideologues also offered similar rationalizations and solace for Dutch social problems.

Other supposed preconditions for the emergence of abolitionism in early nineteenth-century Britain prevailed in the late seventeenth-century Netherlands. A plethora of Dutch publications delineated the mutual obligations between rich and poor within an idealized framework of natural harmony. The Dutch Revolt of the sixteenth century had already generated an ideology that affirmed the inseparability of freedom of conscience, political liberty, and personal freedom: freedom of body, goods, and mind. Influential writers like Johan van Beverwijck, Jakob Cats, Hugo Grotius, and other inventors of the national tradition expounded Dutch culture in terms of a patriotic liberation covenant. These writers abundantly exploited "the Exodus metaphor (from southern fleshpots to northern freedom)." In that trope, the Dutch people were "the old/new Batavians, guardians of the *waare vrijheid* [true liberty]. They were the reborn Hebrews, children of the Covenant. Where had they come from? From slavery and idolatry, through ordeal, to freedom and godliness." When the Dutch launched the most expansive slave trade of the early seventeenth century in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, they had only recently achieved political independence and developed a tradition of individual freedom and God-fearing righteousness. Although slave trading and slavery had been sanctioned by the Dutch East India Company as early as the 1620s, doubts about the morality of the trade existed at the very start of the Dutch West India Company and lingered on after the company increased its involvement in African slavery in the 1630s. Thus the working conditions and the ideological arsenal accessible to the seventeenth-

<sup>25</sup> See Angus Maddison, *Phases of Capitalist Development* (Oxford, 1982), 29–35; Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 39, 210–12, 361 n. 15. In 1675, the population of the Netherlands was more than 45 percent urban, its peak before the abolition of Dutch slavery. See Jan de Vries, "Problems in the Measurement, Description, and Analysis of Historical Urbanization," in *Urbanization in History: A Process of Dynamic Interactions*, A. D. van der Woude, et al., eds. (Oxford, 1990), 43–60, 47, table 3.2. See also de Vries, "An Inquiry into the Behavior of Wages in the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands from 1580 to 1800," in *Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism*, Maurice Aymard, ed. (Cambridge, 1982), 37–61, 44; and de Vries, *The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500–1700* (New Haven, Conn., 1974), chap. 7.

<sup>26</sup> Schama, *Embarrassment*, 168. A. T. Van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, Maarten Ultee, trans. (Cambridge, 1991), 8–9, 17–20.

century Dutch seem congruent enough with those of late eighteenth-century Britain that the complete absence of any abolitionist movement or hegemonic displacement process whatsoever may offer a significant counterfactual condition for testing scenarios linking early capitalist industrialization to antislavery.<sup>27</sup>

WHY WAS THE RESERVOIR OF DISTASTE FOR SLAVERY in the Dutch metropolis not tapped by Dutch capitalism? Why was there no utilization of abolition of the slave trade between 1672 and 1713 as an ideological device for a beleaguered and war-weary populace? Why did a critical mass of Dutch libertarian symbolism, industrialization, economic crisis, proletarianization, and military threat not anticipate some major parallel to abolitionism? Abolition could have served the beleaguered Dutch as well against the enslaving "Pharaoh," Louis XIV of France, as it served the British against Napoleon after his victories at Jena and Auerstädt. Indeed, this "patriotic" dimension (so important to some recent accounts of the hegemonic function of British slave trade abolition) could have been of service during the entire half-century of Dutch eminence in the slave trade.<sup>28</sup> The desperate Dutch needed every source of patriotic solidarity they could muster at many moments between the 1640s and the early 1700s.

Remarkably, even after the British had apparently demonstrated abolition's hegemonic potential, Dutch slave trade abolition in 1814 was not used to create any domestic ideological advantage for the restored House of Orange. The only recorded reaction to Dutch abolition was an internal memo to the king by an unknown author displeased with the royal decree. The government's subsequent moves toward slave emancipation came in hesitant responses to the British, French, Swedish, and Danish emancipations between 1833 and 1848, in the form of cautious administrative and parliamentary proposals.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555–1590* (Cambridge, 1992), 119, 142, 161, 257–58; Schama, *Embarrassment*, 45, 68, and chap. 2, sec. 2, "Scripture." It should be emphasized that *waare vrijheid* was a political concept with no particular meaning in regard to labor relations. (My thanks to Professor P. W. Klein for this clarification.) See also Ernest van den Boogaart and Pieter C. Emmer, "The Dutch Participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1596–1650," in Gemery and Hogendorn, *Uncommon Market*, 353–75; Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 10–14; J. Fox, "'For Good and Sufficient Reasons': An Examination of Early Dutch East India Company Ordinances on Slaves and Slavery," in Anthony Reid, ed., *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (New York, 1983), 246–62. The "patriotic" dimension of antislavery is of some importance in Davis's account of British slave trade abolition. Davis, *Slavery in Revolution*, 449–50. See also David Turley, *The Culture of English Antislavery, 1780–1860* (London, 1991), 178–81.

<sup>28</sup> Schama, *Embarrassment*, 53, 220, 27–77.

<sup>29</sup> See Pieter C. Emmer, "Abolition of the Slave Trade and the Mixed Courts," in *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, Davis Eltis and James Walvin, eds. (Madison, Wis., 1981), 177–90; and Goslinga, *The Dutch*, chap. 7. After the passage of British abolition, Holland was taunted by English poets for having failed, in an excess of capitalist greed, to extend its own liberties abroad. The result was Dutch degeneration—moral, economic, and political. See James Montgomery, "The West Indies," and Elizabeth Bengier, "A Poem Occasioned by the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1806" [sic], in *Poems on the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London, 1809), 18, 130. Gert Oostindie suggests that slave trade abolition might have been resented as a humiliating condition imposed by Britain. Therefore, slave trade abolition could not easily have been used to hegemonic advantage after 1814. In any event, the day of slave emancipation in the Netherlands passed with as little public agitation or celebration in 1863 as had slave trade abolition forty-nine years before. See J. M. Van Winter, "Public Opinion in the Netherlands on the Abolition of Slavery," in *Dutch Authors on West Indian History: A Historiographical Selection*, M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, ed. (The Hague, 1982), 100–28.

Since the relatively more rapid industrialization of Belgium has also been alluded to in relation to the Dutch case, it may be heuristically useful to speculate about the fate of abolition in the Netherlands had Belgium remained part of a united kingdom after 1830. One might begin by noting that the Habsburg Netherlands became one of the last European entrants into the Atlantic slave system. The merchants of Ostend eagerly seized the opportunity afforded to them as neutrals in the American war of independence to gain a foothold in the slave trade. Belgian capital flowed into the French slave system.<sup>30</sup>

In its brief political union with the Dutch provinces after 1814, the southern Netherlands had an opportunity to display its attitude toward the abolitionist process. Four years after the royal prohibition of the slave trade, legislation was requested from the States-General to establish penal sanctions against merchants who might be tempted to continue the trade. After a brief debate, the vote was taken. Every one of the small minority of five who voted against the legislation was a representative from the southern provinces. While it would be hazardous to tie their votes exclusively to their economic orientation, it is significant that they all opposed the motion on capitalist grounds. They were disturbed by the fact that convicted violators would be deprived for life of their *patente*, or license to trade. The opponents of the law regarded this penalty as an attack on the industrious segment ("l'homme industriel") of the nation.<sup>31</sup>

It is clear that Belgians did not stimulate any antislavery movement until 1830. It might be argued that Belgium's industrial "take-off" did not occur until after independence. The incipient dynamism of the south was less evident until then. In 1830, the north was 40 percent urban, the south still only 25 percent, and population was increasing more rapidly in the north. The steady expansion of the Belgian metallurgical and textile industries was most apparent after the postrevolutionary turmoil.<sup>32</sup>

It seems unlikely that even continued unity would have produced an acceleration of slave emancipation in the generation after 1830. As late as the 1880s, Belgians showed scant interest in their monarch's acquisition of a vast area of the slave-ridden Congo basin for his imperial new "Free State" in Africa. When Cardinal Lavigerie visited Brussels in 1888, on behalf of an international Catholic movement against the African slave trade, his sermon berated the Belgian nation "for not supporting her king's great humanitarian work in Africa." The idea for an international congress in Brussels to end the slave trade originated in Britain. The Congress met in Brussels because of British fears that an invitation to London would be viewed as still one more hegemonic gambit.<sup>33</sup> As late as 1903, the initial public reaction in Belgium to charges from Britain that the "Free State" had developed a vast and violent new system of coerced labor offers little encouragement for any inference that the industrializing southern Netherlands

<sup>30</sup> Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery*, 170–71.

<sup>31</sup> *Verslag des Handelinger van de Tweede Kamer der Staaten-Generaal, Gedurende de Zitting van 1818–1819, Gehouden te Brussel* ('s Gravenhage, 1861), 9th Sitting, November 12, 1818, 16–24. (My thanks to Pieter Emmer for calling this debate to my attention.)

<sup>32</sup> See Joel Mokyr, *Industrialization in the Low Countries, 1795–1850* (New Haven, Conn., 1976), chap. 2; E. H. Kossmann, *The Low Countries, 1780–1940* (Oxford, 1978), 129–35, 210–16.

<sup>33</sup> Suzanne Miers, *Britain and the Ending of the Slave Trade* (New York, 1975), 205–07. On the role of Anglophobia in the abolition process, see note 68 below.

would have generated more action against slavery in either hemisphere than its northern neighbors manifested.<sup>34</sup>

The profile of Dutch antislavery, whether during the Netherlands' economic primacy around 1650, or at the peak of its African slave-trading traffic around 1760, or in its economically retarded phase after 1800, remained closer to its Danish, French, Swedish, and Spanish counterparts than to that of the Anglo-Americans. Nowhere on the European continent was abolitionism a durable mass movement, and nowhere was the enactment of antislavery legislation used to legitimize the claims of either traditional political elites or new industrial ones.

INCORPORATING THE NETHERLANDS INTO A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE is fruitful in testing another general theoretical framework that links capitalism to antislavery. In a recent history of the ending of colonial slavery, Robin Blackburn attempted to relate the rise and triumph of abolitionism to the dynamics of emerging European bourgeois society. Blackburn rejects the hypothesis that capitalist development directly triggered antislavery, since slavery neither collapsed economically in the Americas nor was destroyed by rival metropolitan economic interests. Rather, "slave systems were overthrown in stormy class struggles in both colonies and metropolis." In this sense, the capitalist order created new class struggles and political crises that implicated and destroyed slavery.<sup>35</sup>

Blackburn's principal nominees for what he terms increased "dynamic density" in bourgeois society are Britain (at various moments between 1788 and 1838) and France (during the French Revolution and again in the 1840s). In Blackburn's account, the Franco-Caribbean explosion of 1789–1804 was the turning point in the history of the antislavery movement, emerging from an unparalleled metropolitan political crisis and the most successful slave uprising in history.

France in the early 1790s admirably fulfills Blackburn's optimal conditions for the acceleration and triumph of antislavery. The alleged turning point of Caribbean slave revolution in St. Domingue coincided with the climax of the radical French Revolution in Paris, in which all remaining feudal rights and non-capitalist forms of property were being swept away in an environment hostile to both inequality and great commercial interests. The Jacobins gave slave emancipation their own hegemonic twist, sacrificing a distant and precarious colonial interest to consolidate popular opinion at home. (The British, with "proto-revolutionary" situations in the 1790s and 1830s, are classified along with France as a zone of bourgeois capitalist expansion, class conflict, and abolitionism.)<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See William Roger Louis and Jean Stengers, eds., *E. D. Morel's History of the Congo Reform Movement* (Oxford, 1968), 149 and following.

<sup>35</sup> Blackburn, *Overthrow*, 520. Thomas Holt uses a similar frame of reference. His crucial connection between capitalism and antislavery is located in "the emerging bourgeois social relations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." A bourgeois movement and ideology, rooted in the Enlightenment, then assaulted slavery in a dual revolution: "The political upheavals inspired by the French revolution set the destruction of slavery in motion; the ideology thrown up by Britain's free labor economy provided the model for what should replace slavery." Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, xxii, 3–9, 21–26.

<sup>36</sup> Blackburn, *Overthrow*, chaps. 5, 6, 519–20.



What of the Netherlands' place in this more populist model of capitalist antislavery? Blackburn's *Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* categorizes the Netherlands alongside Spain and Denmark in the column of non-starters—societies that failed to develop antislavery movements and that experienced a retarded development of their industrial bourgeois capitalist order. Blackburn offers no comment on Holland's precocious seventeenth-century industrialization or on its lead over France in urban, industrial, commercial, and bourgeois development throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many historians have, of course, questioned even France's proximity to an industrial capitalist order in 1789.

Blackburn's most salient criterion, however, is the catalyst of political rupture and class conflict, occurring in circumstances in which the voice of the slave holders was marginalized. Here, the Netherlands probably fits his prescription for bourgeois democratic abolition far better than Britain and, in some respects, for far longer than revolutionary France as well. Blackburn emphasizes the impact of the American Revolution on the rise of British abolitionism. Yet how much greater was the impact of that conflict on the Netherlands as a result of the fourth Anglo-Dutch war (1780–1784)? The entire Dutch slaving fleet was captured by the British, a loss from which the Dutch only partially recovered. The war was a disaster for Holland's entire merchant marine and for its free port colonies.<sup>37</sup> The conflict had scarcely ended when the Netherlands experienced its deepest political crisis in a century.

Recent historians of the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic have discovered a number of other relevant parallels between the contemporary Dutch and British cases. In the republic, as in Britain, there was an upsurge in popular mobilization. "In the 1780s . . . there was petitioning in the republic on a scale never seen before," signature-gathering by the thousands, and a link of Enlightenment participatory politics and aggressive nationalism. "Just as in Britain during the latter decades of the century, the link also existed in the Dutch Republic between political radicalism and what we may describe as an industrial vision." Josiah Wedgwood, the Staffordshire industrialist who furnished the British with the image of the African in chains that symbolized the abolitionist movement, also supplied the Patriots and Orangists with images of their heroes. Wedgwood, the exemplar of the industrial abolitionist in Britain, was himself the model for Patriot revolutionaries across the North Sea. There was a conjuncture between the Dutch "industrial vision" of the late eighteenth century and attraction to the Patriot cause.<sup>38</sup> The Orangist-Patriot civil conflict and the abortive revolution that ensued were settled in 1787 only by the intervention of foreign troops.

All this conflict was but the harbinger of a generation of national upheavals to

<sup>37</sup> Blackburn, *Overthrow*, 133–34, 158 n.; Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 165, 284–85. The annual average of transported slaves fell to less than one-fifth of the 1770–1779 level in the period 1780–1803. Postma, 295.

<sup>38</sup> On Dutch revolutionary mobilization and industrial progressivism, see Nicolaas C. F. van Sas, "The Patriot Revolution: New Perspectives," and Margaret C. Jacob, "Radicalism in the Dutch Enlightenment," in *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century: Decline, Enlightenment, and Revolution*, Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 91–119 and 224–40. On the significance of Wedgwood as an abolitionist industrialist, see Davis, *Slavery in Revolution*, 460–61.

come. The next three decades brought one disaster after another: war, invasion, revolution, occupation, naval blockade, levies of tribute, mass conscriptions into foreign armies, and outright annexation into Napoleon's empire. Finally, the revolutions of 1830 entailed yet another crisis and one more national humiliation. The seceding Belgian provinces had been compensation for Dutch acquiescence in British demands for the abolition of the Dutch African slave trade in 1814 and for the surrender of important overseas colonies to the British. Between 1780 and 1830, the Netherlands therefore experienced as much military defeat, economic distress, and political turmoil as any colonial metropole except France.<sup>39</sup>

As for the marginalization of the colonial planter class, so important to Blackburn's model, before the French Revolution the Dutch slave Caribbean had already afforded more evidence of decline than any other European plantation system. Between 1770 and 1789, the Dutch colonial share of North Atlantic sugar imports shrank more rapidly than any other sector of the plantation Americas. The relative decline of the Dutch colonies continued into the early nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Even in peacetime, the disastrous collapse of Surinam's speculative boom in the early 1770s meant that its exports could no longer pay the interest on the colony's loans, let alone repay the principal. The West Indies' negative trade balance accounted for much of the reduction in the Dutch slave trade at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>41</sup>

After 1795, the parallel occupations of the Netherlands by the French and of the Dutch colonies by the British served to isolate the colonial planters from the metropolis. The long separation probably helps explain the relative indifference in the Netherlands to the abolition of the slave trade that accompanied the restoration of 1814. "The country's largest slave-worked colony mattered little to Dutch industry and trade." There was no collective protest against abolition even by the sugar refiners of Amsterdam. Their imports came from a far wider range of plantations than the Dutch West Indies.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, the threat of collective slave resistance, which plays a large role in Blackburn's model, was at least as prominent in the Dutch case as anywhere else. In 1763, a slave uprising in Berbice nearly engulfed the whole colony of more

<sup>39</sup> See Simon Schama, *Patriots and Liberators: Revolution in the Netherlands, 1780–1813* (New York, 1977), *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> Drescher, *Econocide*, 48, 77. The Danish, with the only other relatively declining system between 1770 and 1789, had a share-loss less than half as great as the Dutch. The Dutch colonies' share of the Caribbean slave population fell from 9.6 percent in 1750 to 4.6 percent in 1830. Only the French, with the loss of Haiti, had a greater relative loss during the same period. On population trends, see Stanley L. Engerman and B. W. Higman, "The Demographic Structure of the Caribbean Slave Societies in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *UNESCO General History of the Caribbean*, vol. 3, chap. 2, table 1, in Franklin W. Knight, ed. (forthcoming). (My thanks to Stanley Engerman for making this chapter available.)

<sup>41</sup> P. C. Emmer, "The Dutch and the Making of the Second Atlantic System," in *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*, Barbara L. Solow, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 75–96, esp. 93. On the Dutch East India Company, see S. Abeyaserkere, "Slaves in Batavia: Insights from a Slave Register," in Reid, *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, 286–311. Much of the literature of the period after the early 1770s reflects an increasingly pessimistic mood about Dutch plantation slavery, continuing until slave emancipation in 1863. See Gert Oostindie, "The Economics of Suriname Slavery," in *Economic and Social History of the Netherlands* (forthcoming), 3 and n. 7. (My thanks to Professor Oostindie for making this article available.)

<sup>42</sup> Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 78.

than 4,000 slaves. It was probably the largest, the longest, and most successful slave revolt in the Caribbean before the St. Domingue uprising of 1791. The Dutch took a year and a half to suppress the Berbice revolt, and many plantations were not rebuilt.<sup>43</sup>

The Netherlands therefore meets all of Blackburn's criteria for abolition: political conflict, economic decline, and slave unrest. It even meets one of Eric Williams' major prerequisites for the abolitionist take-off in Britain—relative imperial insignificance. There was no need to search for an imagined "swing" of interest to the east in the Netherlands after the 1770s, because for more than a century the Dutch had regarded the East Indies as their prime overseas enterprise. If relative colonial economic decline could be said to have eased the path to abolition anywhere in Europe, Dutch antislavery should have been "overdetermined" during the last generation of the eighteenth century.<sup>44</sup>

THE COMPLETE ABSENCE OF THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC from Blackburn's account of the "bourgeois democratic" revolutions is a noticeable gap in his history of antislavery. The reason is clear. The prerevolutionary period in the Netherlands produced only the faintest echoes of hostility toward slavery in the form of Latin treatises, anonymous poems, and occasional polemics. These were "isolated expressions hardly noticed by the general public."<sup>45</sup> In 1791, almost three years after the first abolition debates in the British Parliament and two years into the French Revolution, the Dutch States-General formally announced (in a regulation designed to stimulate the Dutch slave trade) that "as long as no one had thought of a method to provide the colonies with the necessary hands to do the labor the 'Negro trade' cannot be separated from the growth and prosperity of these colonies, as well as the commerce which results from them."<sup>46</sup>

The climactic Dutch political crisis occurred in 1794–1795. The Batavian Republic was the first and the most important of the "sister" republics sponsored by the French revolutionaries. It was a model for other French satellites and the first regime (including that of France) to adopt "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" as its official motto. The Dutch Revolution was an extension of the Patriot movement of the 1780s, supported by a broad middle stratum of classes, from journeymen to members of the social elite. Dutch "Jacobins" were eager to abolish privileges and to establish a "revolutionary government."<sup>47</sup>

In January 1795, the French seized Amsterdam and the Batavian Republic was declared. The question of colonial slave emancipation, however, was raised only once. In the republic's constituent National Assembly, a motion for slave eman-

<sup>43</sup> Goslinga, *The Dutch*, chap. 15; Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 215–17.

<sup>44</sup> On the supposed British swing to the east after 1780, see Drescher, *Econocide*, 54 and 235 n.

<sup>45</sup> Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 292–93. See also G. J. Schutte, *De Nederlandse Patriotten en de Kolonien: Een onderzoek naar hun denkbulden en optreden 1770–1800* (Groningen, 1974), 220–23.

<sup>46</sup> Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 286 (November 1789).

<sup>47</sup> R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1959), 2: 180 and following. The first Dutch constitution was composed under the direct influence of the French ambassador to the Hague. See D. R. C. Verhagen, *L'influence de la Révolution Française sur la première constitution Hollandaise du 23 avril 1798* (Utrecht, 1949). Its section on colonies (VII) included nothing about the juridical status of the inhabitants.

cipation and the abolition of the Dutch slave trade received an unenthusiastic reception. The French experience was, if anything, invoked as a warning. Any "action might very well lead to a violent insurrection as bad as anything in St. Domingue and was bound to bring ruin to many virtuous and patriotic burghers."<sup>48</sup> The issue was buried.

The French made no effort to pressure their republican allies to adopt a slave emancipation policy for their colonies. On the contrary. Traditionally, the Caribbean island of St. Martin was jointly shared by the two metropolitan powers. St. Martin's French slaves had not been freed by the French emancipation decree of 1794 because of the prior Dutch occupation of the French sector. In 1795, the French took charge of both halves of the island. They promptly planted a tree of liberty on the Dutch side, but the slaves remained slaves. French revolutionary policy turned out to have been more strategic and less universalistic than many historians have supposed.<sup>49</sup>

When a large-scale slave revolt broke out in the Dutch Caribbean in August 1795, the Batavian National Assembly was not impelled toward any abolitionist initiative whatsoever. At the peak of the Curaçao uprising, the rebels probably numbered 2,000, more than a third of the slaves on the island. The French made no move to aid the rebels from their own Caribbean strongholds.<sup>50</sup> As far as both the Dutch and the French governments of 1795–1800 were concerned, the Batavian Republic's Declaration of Rights stopped at the North Sea. When the French later attempted to seize Curaçao, they proclaimed the status quo regarding slavery. When Napoleon restored slavery in the French colonies in 1802, he was merely realigning the French colonial order with that of his Dutch satellite. The last Dutch regime officially to sanction the revival of the African slave trade, following the peace of Amiens in 1802, was the Dutch Republic. In 1814, it was the Netherlands' monarch who abolished the slave trade, under pressure from the ambassador of His Britannic Majesty.<sup>51</sup>

As far as the Dutch Caribbean is concerned, Batavia's sterile revolution casts a long ironic shadow on the "meaning" of French revolutionary emancipation. Even when one adds to an already bourgeois society like the Netherlands all of the active ingredients in the bourgeois revolutionary model—successive revolutionary crises, overwhelming military threats, a long-term decline in the economic value of colonial slavery, a past and present threat of massive slave resistance, class

<sup>48</sup> Schama, *Patriots and Liberators*, 260–61. A proposed plan for gradual abolition by a French colonial official and a Dutch planter in Demerara was included in the Dutch translation of John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam in 1799–1800* (*Reize naar Surinamen*), cited in Oostindie, "Enlightenment," 4–5, note. It was not taken up by the government. A recent study on the political mobilization of women in the Netherlands in the 1780s and 1790s does not indicate any antislavery dimension in their activities. See Wayne Ph. te Brake, Rudolf M. Dekker, and Lotte C. van de Pol, "Women and Political Culture in the Dutch Revolutions," in *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*, Harriet B. Applewhite and Darline G. Levy, eds. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1990), 109–46.

<sup>49</sup> Goslinga, *The Dutch*, 146.

<sup>50</sup> Goslinga, *The Dutch*, chap. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 290. When the Cape Colony was briefly restored to Dutch sovereignty in 1802, the Batavian Republic considered the possibility that slavery was unnecessary there, but colonial administrators generally agreed with Governor Janssens that the abolition of slavery "would overturn all property" and immiserate the colony. No action was taken. See Elphick and Giliomee, *Shaping of South African Society*, 163, 337.

struggles, and a patriotic republican ideology—the Dutch still come up short of an abolitionist movement, let alone any memorable page in Blackburn's narrative of abolitionism.

In ironic and precise verification of Heinrich Heine's dictum, the Dutch, after being nudged into slave abolition, waited for literally half a century before implementing slave emancipation. Even then, the dynamic and profitable sector of the Dutch imperial economy, which, in effect, covered the compensation costs of Caribbean emancipation, was the coerced labor system of the Dutch East Indies. Other than in helping to fund slave emancipation, the Dutch East Indies provided little stimulus for moving toward an imperial free labor policy. The dismantling of colonial slavery in the West began during the heyday of the coercive "Cultivation System" in Java. In the east, the decisive shift toward wage labor came only in the 1870s and 1880s. True to their tradition, the Dutch became the last Europeans to sign the Brussels Act of 1890 for the repression of the African slave trade. "The Dutch played out their resistance to the bitter end, signing the treaty only at the last possible moment." As usual, they held out for commercial reasons, in protest against the advantages given by the treaty to Leopold II, king of the Belgians and ruler of the Congo Free State.<sup>52</sup>

From beginning to end, the role of Dutch metropolitan capitalism in the abolition of slavery was nil. The present consensus is that nineteenth-century Dutch industrialization did not get under way until Europe's "second" industrial revolution, well after the ending of Dutch colonial slavery. This casts doubt on the applicability of an industrial or capitalist-industrial model, in any of its dynamic periods, to Dutch abolition.

HISTORIANS RELYING ON THE EXPERIENCE OF Britain, France, or the United States have traced a clear evidentiary path from "capitalism" in accounting for the origins, the evolution, and the triumph of antislavery. Yet the Netherlands was actually more typical than anomalous in having no major abolitionist movement and more "Continental" in moving toward emancipation without great domestic pressure. Capitalism, whether mercantile, industrial, or bourgeois, has thus far offered very little purchase for explaining the timing of Dutch abolition.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Emmer, "Anti-Slavery and the Dutch," 83; Mokyr, *Industrialization in the Low Countries*, 83. Slave emancipation occurred in July 1863 without fanfare or celebration in the metropolis. See J. M. van Winter, "Public Opinion in the Netherlands on the Abolition of Slavery," in Meilink-Roelofs, *Dutch Authors on West Indian History*, 100–28. On the East Indies' labor system, see Nico Dros, "Javanese Labour Relations in a Changing Rural Economy, 1830–1870," *Economic and Social History in the Netherlands*, 3 (1991): 133–53; Peter Boomgaard, *Children of the Colonial State: Population Growth and Economic Development in Java, 1795–1880* (Amsterdam, 1989), 39. On Dutch resistance to the Brussels treaty, see Miers, *Britain and the Ending*, 287–92. "The Dutch Foreign Minister, 'an honourable man', winced when the British Ambassador smugly informed him that Britain, 'unlike others' regarded trading interests as a secondary matter"; Miers, 281.

<sup>53</sup> See, among others, S. Drescher, "Two Variants of Anti-Slavery: Religious Organization and Social Mobilization in Britain and France, 1780–1870," in Bolt and Drescher, *Anti-Slavery, Religion, and Reform*, 43–63; Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery*, chap. 3; and Davis, "Perils," 296. Only Brazilian and, to a lesser extent, French abolitionism on the eve of their respective slave emancipations might qualify as approaching the status of broad social movements. See Drescher, "Brazilian



The cases of Hispanic American and Brazilian slave emancipation inspire as little confidence in the association of capitalist development and abolition as does the Dutch. A number of historians have noted that, although the belated emancipation of Cuban and Brazilian slaves is often attributed to the comparative retardation of capitalist development in Spain and Brazil, the most dynamic economic and technological sectors in Cuba, Spain, and Brazil failed to back the abolitionist cause. Rebecca Scott showed that the most successful sugar planters of Cuba clung most tenaciously to the slave system. In Spain, the Catalan business lobby, the most market-oriented sector of the Spanish economy, defended both slavery and its own privileged trade with the country's slave colonies. Brazil was, of course, long independent of its Portuguese metropolis, whose economic development was, to say the least, unimpressive. Within Brazil itself, urbanization, improved transportation, and foreign immigration were most evident in the expanding slave areas. Regarding manufacturing, Rio de Janeiro was beginning to incorporate slaves into factories when the mid-century abolition of the African slave trade and the coffee boom combined to drain slaves from the cities. Nowhere was abolition particularly associated with economic growth within the Iberian cultural zone on either side of the Atlantic. Capitalists came on board only when the slave systems were in advanced stages of political destruction from international pressures, nationalist uprisings, or slave resistance.<sup>54</sup>

One other historiographical trend merits comment. Once one begins to explore the intriguing ground of Dutch retardation in detail, scholarship tends to displace some originally economically grounded arguments with those that explicitly rely on demographics, politics, culture, and religion. Whatever the resemblance and

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Abolition," 450–54; and Seymour Drescher, "British Way, French Way: Opinion Building and Revolution in the Second French Slave Emancipation," *AHR*, 96 (June 1991): 709–34.

<sup>54</sup> On Spanish and Brazilian abolition, see Arthur Corwin, *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba* (Austin, Tex., 1967); Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton, N.J., 1985); Robert E. Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850–1888* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972); Rebecca J. Scott, Seymour Drescher, et al., *The Abolition of Slavery and the Aftermath of Emancipation in Brazil* (Durham, N.C., 1988); Robin Blackburn, "Abolitionism and Emancipation in Comparative Perspective" (unpublished ms., kindly furnished by the author). In the mid-nineteenth century, the industrial interests of Catalonia (the "Manchester of Spain") were closely linked to the preservation of the Cuban connection, including their trade privileges and the continuity of plantation staple production. See Raymond Carr, *Spain 1808–1975*, 2d edn. (Oxford, 1982), 199–201, 307–09, 323; C. A. M. Hennessy, *The Federal Republic in Spain* (Oxford, 1962), 64–68; Earl Ray Beck, *A Time of Triumph and of Sorrow: Spanish Politics during the Reign of Alfonso XII, 1874–1885* (London, 1979), 114–20; and especially Robert Whitney, "The Political Economy of Abolition: The Hispano-Cuban Elite and Cuban Slavery," *Slavery and Abolition*, 13 (August 1992): 20–36. The list of opponents of the first abolition bill (for Puerto Rico) "reads like a 'Who's Who' of Spain's most prominent capitalists and political figures"; Whitney, 29. Peru, another late emancipating nation (1855), is equally illustrative of the weak link between antislavery and rapid industrialization or the emergence of a "national entrepreneurial bourgeoisie." See Peter Blanchard, *Slavery and Abolition in Early Republican Peru* (Wilmington, Del., 1992), 135–37, 189–207. Venezuela, which remained an agricultural export economy throughout the century before final emancipation in 1854, was equally notable for an absence of abolitionism. It entirely lacked "the panoply of a crusade," popular abolitionism, or antislavery campaigns. See John V. Lombardi, "The Abolition of Slavery in Venezuela: A Nonevent," in *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America*, Robert Brent Toplin, ed. (Westport, Conn., 1974), 228–52. Fogel and Engerman showed that even by northern European standards, the U.S. slave South ranked high among the world's industrial and financial economies in 1860. See *Time on the Cross*, 254–57; and Larry Schweikart, *Banking in the American South from the Age of Jackson to Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge, La., 1987), 254–66.

parallels between the Dutch and the English in their metropolitan economic, political, and religious development in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Dutch overseas imperial system was far closer to those of the Continent than that of Anglo-America in one crucial respect. Unlike the English, the Dutch never successfully established a colonial zone dominated by its own ethnic group or replicated the metropolitan political institutions and civil status for the majority of its laborers. In the century before the age of abolition, only the North American British settler empire maintained a preponderance of free over slave labor and developed a "European" religious, cultural, and political infrastructure beyond the Atlantic.

For the Dutch, as for other Continental Europeans, the majority of the labor force in their zones of settlement remained racially and juridically distinct from the metropolis.<sup>55</sup> By the beginning of the eighteenth century, all of their possessions were slave or bound-labor societies. A major reason that the Dutch encouraged foreign settlers and tolerated religious diversity in their overseas colonies was the enormous difficulty they had in luring native Netherlanders to their settlements.<sup>56</sup>

By contrast, the seventeenth-century British colonial venture in North America was decidedly aided by the fact that England's net rate of migration reached its peak in the four decades between 1630 and 1670 and was supplemented thereafter by other European immigrant flows. Even in absolute numbers, English migration attained magnitudes not matched again until after the Napoleonic wars. At the beginning of this great English surge, in the early 1630s, the Dutch West India Company's directors in Amsterdam were lamenting that anyone in Holland "with the slightest desire to work will find it easy to make a

<sup>55</sup> Before the beginning of the eighteenth century, the ratio of black slaves to Europeans in Surinam, the major Dutch colony in the Americas, was already more than 4 to 1. In South Africa, slaves outnumbered free white burghers by the second decade of the eighteenth century. By the 1730s, the demographic ratio of slaves to freemen in certain areas of the colony was similar to that of contemporary South Carolina. For Guiana estimates, see John J. McCusker, "The Rum Trade and the Balance of Payments of the Thirteen Continental Colonies, 1660–1775," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1970), 1: 601. On the Cape Colony, see Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge, 1985), 10–12.

<sup>56</sup> Even the New Netherlands colony in America remained weak, vulnerable, and ethnically diverse before the British conquest because of the scattered pattern of settlement. It also lacked cultural and political support networks and leaders interested in reproducing Dutch culture. See A. G. Roeber, "The Origin of Whatever Is Not English among Us," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), 220–83. The Dutch seaborne empire relied heavily on foreigners and recently naturalized citizens, Sephardic Jews, Huguenots, Germans, etc., for its seventeenth-century colonial ventures in Brazil, the Caribbean, the Guianas, and the Cape Colony. Until the late eighteenth century, Surinam was governed by a quasi-public *Societeit van Suriname*, not directly by the Dutch state. This was an additional buffer against perceptions of metropolitan responsibility. There was no impetus toward abolition or emancipation from the colonies themselves. In religious terms, Moravian missionaries were active in the Dutch Caribbean colonies from the 1730s onward. For well over a century, however, they ensured their acceptability among the planters by emphasizing (like their evangelical counterparts in the British Caribbean until the 1820s) their "neutrality" on the issue of slavery. Compare Oostindie, "Enlightenment," 8–13, with Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery*, 117–23. The Dutch did not manage to establish a transatlantic communications network like that of the Anglo-Americans by the mid-eighteenth century. See Susan O'Brien, "A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735–1755," *AHR*, 91 (October 1986): 811–32; and Eltis, "Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery," 1421–22.

living here, and thus will think twice before going far from home on an uncertain venture." For its part, the Dutch East India Company did not encourage large-scale European immigration to South Africa, the one area that might have replicated the Anglo-American experience of European settlement in a temperate zone.<sup>57</sup>

One must not attribute the emergence of abolitionism to a uniquely English ethno-religious sensibility any more than to economic precociousness. It was the Dutch-speaking immigrants of Germantown Pennsylvania who produced the first collective petition in the Americas calling for the prohibition of slavery in the new Quaker settlement. And it was the weighty English Friends who tabled that and other antislavery initiatives for two generations thereafter.<sup>58</sup> The Cape Colony in Africa, which still had almost as many free burghers as slaves in the early eighteenth century, occasionally produced a colonist who wistfully regretted that the introduction of slaves had not been prevented from the outset. In 1717, the directors of the Dutch East India Company asked the Cape colonists whether slaves should continue to be imported into the colony or whether European labor immigration should be encouraged instead. One respondent offered arguments that were later to be more vigorously and collectively asserted in the British empire: that free labor was more productive than slave, that security would be increased by more free Europeans, and that indentured immigrants would ultimately increase the numbers of small proprietors and expand prosperity. By 1717, however, even that Dutch colony was demographically already a slave society. Most settlers responded to the question in cost-benefit terms: that it was cheaper to purchase and use slaves, that European immigrants would impoverish the colony because they would regard manual labor in the colony as degrading and would rather remain impoverished than work as slaves.<sup>59</sup> Well before the second quarter of that century, most descendants of Europeans in the Dutch

<sup>57</sup> On English migration flows, see E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 219–20. In 1700, blacks represented 36 percent of the population of British America and 12.5 percent of the Continental Colonies. On the eve of the American Revolution, the respective percentages were 32.5 and 25 percent. On the Dutch West India Company's difficulties, see J. G. Van Dillen, "The West India Company, Calvinism and Politics," in Meilink-Roelofs, *Dutch Authors on West Indian History*, 149–86, esp. 175.

<sup>58</sup> See Roger Bruns, ed., *Am I Not a Man and a Brother: The Antislavery Crusade of Revolutionary America, 1688–1788* (New York, 1977), 3–4; Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown Pennsylvania, 1683–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1976), 129; Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton, 1985); and Gary Nash and Jean Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York, 1991), on the tortuous road to abolition in Pennsylvania. In abandoning the notion of a wide gap between English and Dutch economic development to account for British antislavery, one may be tempted to posit alternative Anglo-Dutch "gaps" in communications networks and national "sensitivity" to the overseas world. Eltis concludes that because of their superiority in transatlantic migration, the English "must have dwarfed" the Dutch in the intensity of transoceanic communications and in popular awareness of the world beyond Europe. (See Eltis, "Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery," 1421–22.) However, "the greatest migration into the English Atlantic between 1675 and 1740 was neither English speaking nor European nor voluntary." Improving English Atlantic communication intensified slavery. Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York, 1986), 252.

<sup>59</sup> See Worden, *Slavery*, 16–17; and *The Reports of Chavonnes and His Council*, in *The Van Riebeeck Society Publications*, vol. 1 (Cape Town, 1918), 85–112. The distribution of slaves was as important in the colony as their relative importance as laborers. By 1750, almost half the free male population had at least one slave. See Elphick and Giliomee, *Shaping of South African Society*, 135, 541.

imperial world envisioned their societies as irrevocably different from Europe's.<sup>60</sup>

Only in the British Continental Colonies, after a century of social experimentation and development, was a completely free labor and predominantly white community imagined as a viable long-term probability. The band of self-governing English colonies with black slave populations numbering less than half the total inhabitants produced the first intermittent attempts to reduce slave imports and then to eliminate slavery altogether. Everywhere north of the Carolinas, religious, racial, demographic, and political arguments in favor of restricting or eliminating the further inflow of African slaves increased after the 1750s. All these arguments rested on the notion that in one part of the New World it was possible to replicate and even to accelerate the trajectory of civil freedom as it had evolved in northwestern Europe.

The white inhabitants of the Continental British colonies regarded themselves as participants in, and extenders of, British liberty, and they were so regarded by their counterparts in the metropolis. When, on the eve of the American Revolution, Arthur Young calculated the world's free population, the subjects of His Britannic Majesty were the only people in the overseas world included in his zone of freedom.<sup>61</sup>

Freedom was not merely a passive geographical construction. If envisioning abolition required a century of gestation even in the Anglo-American zone, as late as the 1780s nothing in Dutch (or Danish or Portuguese or Spanish) transatlantic discourse matched the decades of transatlantic discussion of slavery in the British imperium. Well before the middle of the eighteenth century, one British colonizing society unsuccessfully attempted to establish a non-slave community in Georgia. The American Revolution of 1776 accelerated political actions against the transatlantic slave trade. During the next generation, the northern states of the United States became the first American legislatures to constitutionally undermine slavery or to initiate gradual emancipation. A number of southern states moved to expand white suffrage, perpetuate slavery, and shut down the avenues to emancipation. None of these debates and initiatives had any parallel among the settlements of the Dutch colonial empire.<sup>62</sup>

Evangelicals, lured across the Atlantic by burgeoning European communities in

<sup>60</sup> On the role of projected futures in the emergence of autonomous communities in the Americas, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983). Comparing Vermont's Dutch and Yankee communities, Randolph A. Roth notes the far greater propensity of the latter to engage in reform movements, including antislavery, during the six decades after 1790. He emphasizes the long-term impact of the distinctive character of prerevolutionary town life and politics in the Anglo-American world, compared with the more parochial and less voluntaristic Dutch. Roth, *The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform, and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont, 1791–1850* (Cambridge, 1987), 302–04. Roth notes the historiographic perspective that concludes that the Dutch entered politics primarily to advance or protect economic interests, not to reform society, a pattern typical of ethnic groups of the Middle Colonies; 385–86, n. 6.

<sup>61</sup> [Arthur Young] *Political Essays Concerning the Present State of the British Empire* (London, 1772), 20–21. On the Continental Colonies as an imagined community without slaves, see Arthur Lee, *An Essay in Vindication of the Continental Colonies of America from a Censure of Mr. Adam Smith, in His "Theory of Moral Sentiments" [1759], with Some Reflections on Slavery in General* (London, 1764).

<sup>62</sup> On the American Revolution and antislavery, see Arthur Zilversmit, *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North* (Chicago, 1967); and Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville, Va., 1983).



America, had to wrestle with a range of choices about the implications of slavery that was completely absent from the bifurcated world of the Dutch empire, with its free-labor metropolis and its bound-labor colonies. By the 1780s, the "Quaker International," and its transatlantic consensus against slavery, was reinforced by a thickening network of antislavery religious dissent in Britain and North America.<sup>63</sup> Antislavery was one of the ideological movements that survived and counteracted the political rupture of Anglo-America after the War of Independence. Not until the St. Domingue revolution of 1791 was there to be comparable transatlantic pressure for abolition. Antislavery in France had little connection with overseas white settlers, and Continental abolitionism remained a fragile social formation even in revolutionary France.<sup>64</sup>

In prerevolutionary Europe itself, an increasing number of slaves brought from the Americas created an unresolved problem of property in persons. In Britain, the courts found it difficult, and ultimately unfeasible, to reconcile the libertarian thrust of the legal tradition with the requirements of colonial slave law. The influx of freed blacks in the wake of the American Revolution also stimulated the founding of Sierra Leone, the first colonial "free soil" experiment in Africa. In the case of France, the rapid growth of a free-colored population in St. Domingue and the presence of an affluent branch of that community in Paris in 1789 contributed to the early intrusion of racial questions into the debates of the French revolutionary assemblies. The flow of black slaves and free blacks into the Netherlands was demographically and socially far less significant and presented far less of a socio-judicial problem than in England or France. When there was a legal clarification of the status of slaves in the Dutch metropolis, four years after the Somerset case in England, it was a "Continental" response, more akin to the reaction to the eighteenth-century black presence in France than to the Somerset decision. The States-General decreed that Dutch slave holders could encapsulate their colonial property in the free metropolis. Black slaves brought from the colonies were thereby treated like overseas commodities. They could be legally "warehoused" for reexportation within a limited period.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> See Davis, *Slavery in Revolution*, chaps. 4 and 5. On Georgia as an imagined community free of slavery, see J. E. Crowley, *This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America* (Baltimore, Md., 1974), 30–34; Betty Wood, "James Edward Oglethorpe, Race, and Slavery," in Phinizz Spalding and Harvey H. Jackson, eds., *Oglethorpe in Perspective: Georgia's Founder after Two Hundred Years* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1989), 66–79; *The Most Delightful Country of the Universe: Promotional Literature of the Colony of Georgia, 1717–1734*, Trevor R. Reese, intro. (Savannah, Ga., 1972), 183. The flow of slaves from the Dutch colonies to the Netherlands was miniscule compared with the British case. Compare Oostindie, "Enlightenment," 5 n.; and Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery*, chap. 3.

<sup>64</sup> See Yves Benot, *La Révolution française et la fin des colonies* (Paris, 1987); and Jean Tarrade, "Les colonies et les principes de 1789: Les Assemblées révolutionnaires face au problème de l'esclavage," *Revue française d'histoire d'Outre-mer*, 76 (1989): 9–34.

<sup>65</sup> On the number of Surinam slaves in the eighteenth-century Netherlands, see Gert Oostindie and Emy Maduro, eds., *In Het Land van de Overheerser; II Antillianen en Surinamers in Nederland, 1634/1667–1954* (Dordrecht, 1986), 7. For the text of the Dutch declaration of 1776, see "Placaat van de Staaten Generaal . . . 23 Mey 1776," in *ibid.*, 15–16. (This text was brought to my attention by Professor Oostindie.) Also see Cornelis Ch. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas, 1680–1791* (Assen, 1985), 553. On the tensions produced by mobile blacks in Britain and France, see Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery*, chap. 2; John Garrigus, "Blue and Brown: Contraband Indigo and the Rise of a Free Colored Planter Class in French Saint-Dominique"; and Sue Peabody, "Race, Slavery and French Law: The Legal Context of the 'Police des Noirs'" (mss. kindly provided by the



The impact of slave resistance on the abolitionist process is also difficult to assess. In the French case, the St. Domingue slave uprising of 1791 clearly played a large, indeed, the critical, role in the French emancipation decree of 1794. The effects of slave resistance in other colonial sectors and in the process as a whole is more uncertain. For more than a century, the Dutch confronted the largest maroon community per capita in the Americas. Their Guiana colonies were "a theater of perpetual war" by the mid-eighteenth century. Yet, until well into the following century, all the turmoil, uncertainty, and costs of repression generated no abolition movement or state-sponsored programs for terminating slavery. Dutch emancipation was enacted after a very long period of relative quiescence in the slave colonies.<sup>66</sup>

THE EVENTS OF THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS produced no Dutch reorientation on overseas slavery. The Dutch and British cases serve to emphasize the different paths taken by two of the most economically developed, religiously diverse, and politically constitutional societies of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Dutch, it turns out, offered an ordinary rather than an exceptional goodbye to slavery. In the insulation of their metropolitan political culture from overseas social arrangements, the Dutch remained within the bifurcated world of early modern Europe until far into the nineteenth century.<sup>67</sup> In the imperial preponderance of their tropical and slave colonies, in their persistence as a trading empire in tropical staples, in their dearth of transoceanic religious networks, the Dutch diverged far more in politico-religious than in economic terms from the Anglo-Americans.

The Dutch case may clarify another aspect of the problematic relationship

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authors). For the French Revolution, see David Geggus, "Racial Equality, Slavery, and Colonial Secession during the Constituent Assembly," *AHR*, 94 (December 1989): 1290-1308.

<sup>66</sup> Slave resistance models of abolition have also proliferated during the past generation. They emphasize the role and agency of slave resistance in achieving emancipation or in accelerating metropolitan antislavery action. This model has been most successfully applied to the case of the first French slave emancipation, and there have been attempts to extend it throughout the slave Americas. See, for example, Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge, La., 1979); Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982); James Walvin, ed., *Slavery and British Society, 1776-1846* (London, 1982), chaps. 5, 6; David Richardson, ed., *Abolition and Its Aftermath* (London, 1985), part B; and Blackburn, *Overthrow*, chaps. 5, 6, and 9. Here, too, the Dutch case logically qualifies as the preeminent candidate for a slave resistance model of abolition before 1790. Postma calculated that there may have been up to 300 revolts on Dutch slavers in the course of the transatlantic slave trade (Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 167). Surinam was "a theater of perpetual war"; see John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America, from the Year 1772 to 1777 . . .*, Richard Price and Sally Price, eds. (Baltimore, Md., 1988), "Introduction," xiv. The maroon population of the Dutch colonies was by far the largest in the Caribbean area throughout the period of slavery. See also Richard Price, *The Guiana Maroons: A Historical and Biographical Introduction* (Baltimore, 1976). Although Surinam's preemancipation period was not preceded by a major slave uprising, the metropolitan debates were punctuated by discussions of covert resistance and open unrest at the moments of British and French emancipation. See Michael Craton, "The Transition from Slavery to Free Wage Labour in the Caribbean, 1780-1890: A Survey with Particular Reference to Recent Scholarship," *Slavery and Abolition*, 13 (August 1992): 37-67, esp. 46.

<sup>67</sup> See Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery*, chap. 1.

between economic development and antislavery. Whatever the economic implications of any specific case, proponents of this relationship still maintain that the ideological challenge to slavery "itself reflects fundamental long-term economic forces."<sup>68</sup> In other words, over the long term, antislavery is still widely conceptualized as a "superstructure," reflecting an economic "base." The Dutch case presents us with the following relevant conundrum: a society identified as a pioneer of modern capitalism from the early seventeenth century, one unencumbered by serfdom for centuries more before that, yet one that failed to generate a major antislavery movement by the standards of the age. Indeed, legally coerced labor continued to exist until the twentieth century, when it was finally eliminated by the Dutch state.

Half a century's investigations of the relationship between capitalism and antislavery have increasingly uncovered the contradictory consequences of antislavery for British capitalism without a clear determination of whether abolitionism diminished or complicated the birth pains of early industrialization.<sup>69</sup> By contrast, the case of the Netherlands makes clear that Dutch capitalism, whether mercantile or industrial, whether in oligarchical or revolutionary phases, created no significant antislavery movement. Nor did antislavery at any point significantly legitimize Dutch capitalist industrialization. In terms of mutual cause and effect, the more closely one investigates the relationship the more trivial the outcome appears.

Nevertheless, the hope of encompassing the century of slave emancipation within the ambit of economic development continues to fascinate historians of slavery. They are inexorably drawn to the institution's termination by collectivities professing the social norms of individual liberty, civil equality, free enterprise, and free labor. Few seem prepared to settle for only the weakest and blandest construction of the linkage—that the wealth generated within the North Atlantic economies allowed for the acceptance of alternative forms of labor if slave holding, however competitive, became morally embarrassing or politically inconvenient. If inconvenience alone were at issue, Europe could have managed to do without chattel slavery well before the age of abolition.

The Dutch dog that didn't bark now joins a larger pack of non-events that challenge a number of stronger formulations of the relationship between economic development and antislavery. It is not as easy as it once appeared to formulate an empirically satisfactory account of the antislavery consequences of European world-capitalism, whether mercantile, industrial, or bourgeois.

Taken in comparative perspective, the Dutch case enables us to make or to

<sup>68</sup> In considering the longer-term relationship between capitalism and servile labor, one can note both the persistence of slavery in the commercialized societies of Mediterranean Europe and the disappearance of chattel slavery in an economically expanding northern Europe from the mid-tenth to the mid-fourteenth century. The Dutch appropriately present the most paradoxical evidence, illustrated by the early decline of personal bondage in the Low Countries and the late ending of slavery and other forms of bound labor overseas. On the significance of time horizons in the capitalism and antislavery debate, see Stanley L. Engerman, "Chicken Little, Anna Karenina, and the Economics of Slavery: Two Reflections on Historical Analysis, with Examples Drawn Mostly from the Study of Slavery," *Social Science History*, 17 (1993): 161–71. Davis vigorously argues against the long-term causal significance of the capitalist market as a stimulus to antislavery; "Perils," 291–92.

<sup>69</sup> Ashworth, "Capitalism, Class, and Antislavery," 286–87.

reinforce a number of observations about the antislavery process. First, the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries do not mark incommensurable "stages" in Western capitalism and modern slavery. There were zones of both commercial and industrial capitalism in all three centuries. The various segments of Atlantic slavery were likewise not universally rising or declining during the same period. Less well recognized, antislavery sentiments were not limited to any of these centuries. Indeed, the Dutch were remarkably precocious in having developed a politically effective sentiment against metropolitan slavery centuries before the traditional age of abolition.<sup>70</sup>

It is the context in which that sentiment was nurtured into an overwhelming and irreversible political process that is at issue. Here, too, the Dutch case is relevant. Neither a dynamic seventeenth-century metropolitan economy nor a distressed late eighteenth-century economy on both sides of the Atlantic stimulated Dutch antislavery. Therein lies the chief significance of the Netherlands for the capitalism and antislavery debate. For a period of Dutch involvement extending over almost two and a half centuries, we can audit the economic dimension of the relationship with overseas slavery in the relative absence of strong political and cultural pressures against the system. As with other major cases thus far investigated, the economic context offers the weakest positive support for and the strongest counter-abolitionist argument against the antislavery process. In light of the eagerness with which scholars have fruitfully juxtaposed cases of slavery drawn from two hemispheres and three millennia, comparing antislavery among neighbors with close cultural, political, and economic ties over three centuries hardly appears a daunting or fanciful project. Our appetites and our critical sense should be as whetted for comparative antislavery as for comparative slavery.

Comparative regional and national analysis suggests that the breakthroughs to collective abolitionism and the triumphs of antislavery are not to be sought primarily in the impact of the usual economic markers of the capitalist industrial revolution—the shift from agriculture, the rise of the large-scale factory, or the new forms of managerial discipline. Antislavery seems to have been more dependent on the invention of new forms of collective behavior and on communal expansions of the rights of individuals, of social roles, of public membership, which accompanied the rise of Britain and its settler societies to prominence and world primacy. As the discussion broadens, the rise of antislavery has to be imagined less as a correlate of expanding new class domination than as one of the new modes of social mobilization. More expansive conceptions of liberty influenced Vermont farmers, Yorkshire women, or Caribbean slaves at least as much as they did entrepreneurial and abolitionist elites in the economic capitals of Anglo-America.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> See Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 11; Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery*, 15; Davis, *Slavery in Revolution*, 214 n.

<sup>71</sup> Compare S. Drescher, "Two Variants of Anti-Slavery: Religious Organization and Social Mobilization in Britain and France, 1780–1870," in Bolt and Drescher, *Anti-Slavery, Religion, and Reform*, 43–63; Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery*, chaps. 4, 6, 7; Seymour Drescher, "Whose Abolition? Popular Pressure and the Ending of the British Slave Trade" (forthcoming, *Past and Present*, August 1994); Edward Magdol, *The Antislavery Rank and File: A Social Profile of the Abolitionists*

In its British and North American variants, antislavery did intersect with rapid industrial development in ways that are still much debated. The major retrospective stimulus to clarifying that intersection, however, is that once antislavery was consensually embedded in British, and later American, opinion and law, those nations made it increasingly difficult for other societies to avoid placing abolition on their own political agendas. A century after the launching of the British abolitionist movement, the link between capitalism and slavery was finally broken in the New World and well on the way to dissolution in the Old.

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*Constituency* (New York, 1986), 57–58, 137–40; John Ashworth, “Capitalism and Humanitarianism,” 189–98, and “Capitalism, Class, and Antislavery,” 274–81, Davis, “Perils,” 291–93, all in Bender, *Antislavery Debate*. A full discussion of Anglo-American capitalism and antislavery must also articulate differences between antislaveryes as well as between capitalisms. There were anti-slave trade, anti-black, humanitarian, egalitarian, religious, and secular variants, sometimes operating separately and sometimes in tandem or tension.

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## Defining the Boundaries of Freedom in the World of Cane: Cuba, Brazil, and Louisiana after Emancipation

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REBECCA J. SCOTT

IN JANUARY 1866, WILLIAM DOUGHERTY, an agent of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, filed his inspection report on the state of plantations in two parishes of southern Louisiana. In it, he bemoaned the influence of black soldiers returning from service in the Union Army: "Possessing as they do erroneous and incongruous notions of liberty they decline to make an agreement by which they are to be in any manner restrained for the period of a year, and as most of them have considerable money when they are discharged it is optional with them whether or not they go to work, along with their example, their advice to other colored people is not of the best kind."<sup>1</sup> As Dougherty's exasperation suggests, struggles over labor arrangements in the postemancipation world were also struggles over values.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the different parties to those struggles had "incongruous notions" of how and where to define the boundaries of freedom.

Slavery, however complex its internal variation within the Americas, had been at its core a system of labor discipline. Africans had been forcibly transported to the New World in order to labor under compulsion. Once they and their descendants had escaped from that system of coercion, the question of what would—or could—come in its wake took on great urgency.

For those who commanded resources in society, the question had a particular

I would like to thank Judith Allen, Ira Berlin, Fernando Coronil, Frederick Cooper, Astrid Cubano, Paul Eiss, David Eltis, Ada Ferrer, Josep Fradera, Jeffery Gould, Albert Hirschman, Thomas Holt, Earl Lewis, Sidney Mintz, Brian Pollitt, Peter Railton, Joseph Reidy, Leslie Rowland, Steven Topik, Harold Woodman, and several anonymous reviewers for the *AHR* for their very useful comments on previous versions of this material. I also owe a great debt to the late Peter Eisenberg for his generous assistance and advice. Earlier versions of this essay were presented to the Conference on Cultivation and Culture, University of Maryland, 1989; as the 1990 Elsa Goveia Lecture at the University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, Barbados; to the Johns Hopkins Seminar in Atlantic History and Culture; and to the Comparative Studies in Social Transformation faculty seminar, University of Michigan.

<sup>1</sup> See Wm. Dougherty to Capt. A. F. Hayden, in Inspection report of Plantations, freedmen, &c. in the parishes Jefferson and Orleans, Right Bank, January, 1866, in Inspection Reports of Plantations from Subordinate Officers, January 1866–November 1868, series 1312, Louisiana Assistant Commissioner, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, U.S. National Archives (hereafter, BRFAL, RG 105, USNA), available as Microfilm Publication M1027, Roll 28.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Julie Saville for making this point succinctly in her presentation to the Conference on Slavery and Freedom in Historical Perspective, University of California, San Diego, October 4–6, 1991. She traces it to the arguments of E. P. Thompson in *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (New York, 1978). See also Julie Saville, "A Measure of Freedom: From Slave to Wage Labor in South Carolina, 1860–1868" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1986).



meaning: if staple production was to be maintained, some scheme to secure reliable access to labor had to be put in place. But the range of possibilities was relatively broad: there were precedents in most agrarian societies for wage labor and tenantry, labor rents and share rents, sharecropping and smallholding. Land could be allocated to or withheld from the former slaves; labor could be compensated in money or goods; wages could be paid by the day, the task, the week, or the year. Contracts could be for varying lengths of time and could be written, oral, or customary. As employers sought strategies that would ensure their continued control, policy makers debated the implications of juridical freedom in the sphere of production and pondered the precise meaning of the concept of "free labor."<sup>3</sup>

For those who had been slaves and who did not command substantial material resources, the question of the nature of free labor had a special significance and urgency. Not only material well-being but social and cultural life and the possibility of political voice were at stake. Recent research has made it clear that former slaves throughout the Americas sought access to productive resources and deployed whatever power they could to try to shape both the character of their labor and the social relations in which their work was embedded.<sup>4</sup>

One way of discerning patterns within this complex struggle is to examine its unfolding in areas that shared a concentration on the same crop—in this case, the cane regions of Louisiana, Cuba, and Brazil. The perishability of cane put a premium on reliable access to a disciplined seasonal work force, and sugar production increasingly required large-scale units for profitable processing. All sugar producers faced similar uncertainties in markets and instabilities in prices. But the patterns of labor that emerged in these three societies varied. The specific features of cane as a crop and sugar as a commodity seem to have constrained, but not determined, the organization of work and the evolution of labor relations.

These variations represent something more than different strategies adopted by planters under different circumstances. Sugar plantation societies had long been a locus not only of coerced production and exceptionally high mortality but also of communities of enslaved workers capable of rebellion and day-to-day negotiation. Moreover, the process of emancipation had in nearly every instance witnessed important initiatives taken by those who were enslaved. In each of the cases examined here, planters' class power was reconstructed—but the work relations on which it rested were shaped by the assertions and challenges of former slaves and other rural workers.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of this contest, see Barbara J. Fields and Leslie S. Rowland, "Free Labor Ideology and Its Exponents in the South during the Civil War and Reconstruction" (forthcoming, *Labor History*). See also Steven Hahn, "Class and State in Postemancipation Societies: Southern Planters in Comparative Perspective," *AHR*, 95 (February 1990): 75–98.

<sup>4</sup> Studies of postemancipation societies have multiplied in the last decade, and regional case studies are now too numerous to list individually. A major recent monograph is Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore, Md., 1991). For a recent collection, see Frank McGlynn and Seymour Drescher, eds., *The Meaning of Freedom: Economics, Politics, and Culture after Slavery* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1992). For a comprehensive bibliography, see Leslie Rowland, Rebecca Scott, Thomas Holt, and Frederick Cooper, eds., *Societies after Slavery: A Select Annotated Bibliography of Printed Sources on the United States, Africa, Brazil, and the Caribbean* (forthcoming, University of Michigan Press).

Exploring this contest in comparative perspective reveals the importance of a shared reliance on a crop with specific characteristics but also affords evidence against the "crop determinism" that sugar sometimes inspires. Such comparison illuminates the ways in which work relations in sugar conditioned the character of collective action in each region. The process was a reciprocal one: individual and collective challenges by former slaves helped to determine the disposition of resources and the patterns of work that emerged, and the composition of the labor force and the organization of work in turn shaped the possibilities for further collective action. Thus the dramatic strikes in the 1870s and 1880s in Louisiana, and the cross-racial anti-colonial insurgency that shook Cuba from 1895 to 1898, reflected the specific ways in which many of their participants earned a livelihood in the world of cane.

IN THE ANTEBELLUM UNITED STATES, the cultivation of sugar cane was concentrated in the rich delta and riverfront parishes of southeastern Louisiana. By the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the land suitable for cane had been occupied, and the slave population of the sugar regions had reached 125,000. About 1,300 plantations grew and ground cane for sale to markets elsewhere in the country, and the great majority of the sugar houses used steam mills. Some seventy planters had also installed efficient vacuum pans for boiling the cane juice. The industry was characterized by a high level of capital investment, and it operated profitably behind tariff barriers that provided a variable degree of protection from foreign sugars, essential for a region with a shorter growing season and smaller mills than its major Caribbean competitor, Cuba. Average annual output between 1857 and 1861 was approximately 161,000 metric tons, culminating in a bumper crop in 1861 worth 25 million dollars.<sup>5</sup>

The outbreak of the Civil War placed this prosperity at great risk. New Orleans fell to the Union Army in the spring of 1862, and shortly thereafter Union troops occupied the major sugar regions of the state. Planters found themselves in a delicate situation. Many had been Whigs and Unionists, opponents of Confederate secession. But they were entirely reliant on slavery for their prosperity, and Union occupation threatened to undermine their authority over their slaves. While Union officers generally focused on maintaining security, tranquility, and production, they were divided on the necessity of transforming the character of labor in areas under their control. Some officers were content to allow planters to continue in more or less the old ways, while other officers and enlisted men saw

<sup>5</sup> On the history of the industry, see J. Carlyle Sitterson, *Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry in the South, 1753–1950* (Lexington, Ky., 1953); Sam B. Hilliard, "Site Characteristics and Spatial Stability of the Louisiana Sugarcane Industry," and Mark Schmitz, "The Transformation of the Southern Sugar Cane Sector," both in *Agricultural History*, 53 (January 1979): 254–69, 270–85; and Roderick A. McDonald, "Independent Economic Production by Slaves on Antebellum Louisiana Sugar Plantations," in Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas* (Charlottesville, Va., 1993), 275–99. Between 1847 and 1862, the average duty was approximately 1.11 cents per pound, at a rate of 24 percent ad valorem. For production figures, see Noel Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, 2 vols. (London, 1949), 1: 250. On the bumper crop of 1861, see Walter Prichard, "The Effects of the Civil War on the Louisiana Sugar Industry," *Journal of Southern History*, 5 (August 1939): 315–32.

in Louisiana an opportunity to demonstrate antislavery commitments and the virtues of free labor. Slaves themselves took the logic of occupation a step further and pushed for full freedom, with many fleeing to Union lines and presenting the army with a *fait accompli*.<sup>6</sup>

Military exigency combined with slave restiveness, and the institution of chattel slavery broke down rapidly under the pressure of occupation, black enlistment, and intermittent Union support for fugitive slaves. Planters could no longer, on their own, effectively assert authority over those they still considered their slaves. Thus, well before final emancipation, Union officers faced the problem of defining the character of work obligations.

General Benjamin F. Butler, commander of the Department of the Gulf, required fugitive slaves who had reached Union lines to work, usually in menial and service jobs under direct military supervision. During the harvest of 1862, Union officers forced fugitives to work on the sugar estates, provided military enforcement of labor discipline on the plantations of "loyal" slaveholders who promised to pay wages to their slaves, and organized the production of sugar on confiscated estates. The experience left a bitter taste: many laborers were never paid, and some were subjected to corporal punishment.<sup>7</sup>

The results of congressional elections held in the occupied parishes in late 1862 met with federal approval, thus exempting slaves in the Louisiana sugar parishes from the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, which was aimed only at areas still deemed to be in rebellion. So, during 1863, Union officers again improvised. General Nathaniel Banks, Butler's successor, attempted to institute contracts between planters and the government in which slaves would be bound for a year to labor for a nominal wage or a fractional share of the crop. Both planters and slaves balked at these arrangements, planters seeking greater direct control, slaves seeking greater mobility and liberty as well as more appropriate remuneration. The struggle became an open one, and slaves refused to work, seized equipment, and, in some cases, tried to work independently on abandoned plantations.

In early 1864, under increasing criticism of the Union-supervised labor system, Banks drafted new regulations, slightly more generous than the previous year's but still based on the assumption of wage labor and annual contracts. The new regulations did mandate the allocation of an acre of land to each first-class hand with a family and recommended larger allocations as part of the "encouragement of independent industry." Treasury Department rules issued the following month barred the raising of cotton or cane on such land, thus signaling that the

<sup>6</sup> For a vivid picture of these conflicts, and of the shifting positions of the participants in them, see Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Thavolia Glymph, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, Series 1, Vol. 1, *The Destruction of Slavery* (Cambridge, 1985), chap. 4.

<sup>7</sup> See the succinct and insightful account of the interplay of Union policy and Louisiana workers in Ira Berlin, Thavolia Glymph, Steven F. Miller, Joseph P. Reidy, Leslie S. Rowland, and Julie Saville, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, Series 1, Vol. 3, *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Lower South* (Cambridge, 1990), 347–77. My own narrative draws on that chapter, and I am very grateful to the members of the Freedmen and Southern Society Project for sharing the typescript of it with me prior to its publication. See also C. Peter Ripley, *Slaves and Freedmen in Civil War Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, La., 1976); Joe Gray Taylor, *Louisiana Reconstructed: 1863–1877* (Baton Rouge, 1974); and William F. Messner, *Freedmen and the Ideology of Free Labor, 1862–1865* (Lafayette, La., 1978).

allotments were an extension of the old provision grounds rather than a first step toward subdivision of land for staple production.<sup>8</sup>

Intense military recruitment of black soldiers further disrupted work on the estates, but, by the summer of 1864, Thomas Conway, head of the "Bureau of Free Labor," reported that some 50,000 freed people in southern Louisiana were employed as wage laborers on plantations, 35,000 of them with formal contracts.<sup>9</sup> The effort to impose year-long contracts, with significant constraints on freedom of movement, had multiple origins. It arose in part from the specific needs of the occupying Union forces and the lessees to whom they had granted permission to operate abandoned or confiscated estates. But it also fit with the longstanding desire of planters to control their workers' mobility and be assured of labor at harvest time. It contrasts, interestingly, with the pattern that emerged later in Cuba and Brazil, where wage employment of former slaves, as of others, was more likely to be by the day or by the job.

Radical activists in New Orleans, particularly artisans and professionals among the *gens de couleur* and their white Unionist allies, denounced the efforts of planters to reassert full control over those who had been slaves. However great the social gaps between the *gens de couleur* and field slaves in the pre-war period, the necessity of an alliance had now become evident, as Louisiana became a focus for the national struggle over civil rights and the meaning of free labor.<sup>10</sup> "We have no rights which we can reckon safe while the same are denied to the fieldhands on the sugar plantations," observed one free man of color to the journalist Whitelaw Reid in 1865.<sup>11</sup> Not all of the *gens de couleur* agreed, but the vocal contributors to the New Orleans *Tribune* kept up the pressure.<sup>12</sup>

Parallel to the explicit effort by organized activists in New Orleans was a prior and decentralized effort by hundreds of former slaves in the sugar parishes. Working independently on the old estates, sometimes organized into formal "labor companies," men and women on plantations like Potts, Johnson, and Woodlawn tried to assert a degree of proprietorship to the land and the right to choose their own crops and their own leaders. They planted corn, cotton, and occasionally cane on abandoned estates, in some cases fending off the claims of lessees. During 1863, 1864, and early 1865, it looked as though this vision might occasionally prevail and substitute various forms of family labor in the production of subsistence and market crops for gang labor in the production of sugar. But these partial forms of proprietorship had survived only in the interstices of a wartime economy operating under clumsy and divided federal supervision, at a time of mixed signals from Union authorities; they were crushed in the restoration of peace.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> On work regulations, see Berlin, *et al.*, *Wartime Genesis*, chap. 2, documents 81, 109, and 113.

<sup>9</sup> The figures from Conway are cited in Berlin, *et al.*, *Wartime Genesis*, 371.

<sup>10</sup> See Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York, 1988), 62–65.

<sup>11</sup> Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Southern Tour, May 1, 1865, to May 1, 1866* (London, 1866), 244. Also quoted in Eric Arnesen, *Waterfront Workers of New Orleans: Race, Class, and Politics, 1863–1923* (New York, 1991) 16.

<sup>12</sup> For a careful discussion of the *Tribune*, see the introduction to Jean-Charles Houzeau, *My Passage at the New Orleans "Tribune": A Memoir of the Civil War Era*, David C. Rankin, ed., Gerard F. Denault, trans. (Baton Rouge, La., 1984).

<sup>13</sup> Evidence of these independent efforts can be found in a variety of wartime documents. See

Although it would have been technically feasible to allocate cane lands to the freed people, as cotton lands were divided under sharecropping arrangements in northern Louisiana, and as cane lands had long been divided in Brazil, most planters in the Louisiana "Sugar Bowl" appear to have been convinced that former slaves would not be suitable partners in the enterprise of cane growing. The assistant inspector of freedmen for the Parish of Lafourche reported in 1866 that the planters "are generally averse to leasing land to the freedmen, though a very few in the Parish have done so."<sup>14</sup>

The planters preferred long-term contracts that ensured gang labor and limited the freed people's access to productive resources. A few of the terms of a contract from William J. Minor's plantation capture the spirit: "the laborers agreed to be respectful, obey orders, comply with all rules and regulations (so long as sustained by the superintendent of freedmen of the district), work 10 hours each day except Sunday, keep no animals, cultivate no cotton, cane, or corn, take regular watches during the grinding season, and report every morning at the hospital when too unwell to work."<sup>15</sup>

A number of African-American delegates to the Louisiana constitutional convention of 1868 proposed breaking up the large estates by limiting the size of tracts that could be bought at distress sales and by increasing the tax on uncultivated land. But their challenge was turned back. Sugar plantations changed hands but continued to operate as large-scale units. The number of working mills returned almost to its pre-war number, with 1,224 mills operating in 1873.<sup>16</sup> An increasing number were owned by partnerships and corporations, often with a significant component of Northern capital.

Even though cane land was rarely divided, some allocation of provision grounds continued. At the same time, planters had to relent on the number of days and hours of work that they could expect from laborers. The 1867 diary of the DeClouet family reflects both the concessions and the bad grace with which they were made: "Holy Friday. No work this morning the negroes being too pious to violate such holiness *by work*, but not too much so to go & harpoon fish in the high water. They however took up work at 2 o'clock as usual." And a week later: "Gave the negroes their land this evening."<sup>17</sup>

Although some planters found it difficult to raise capital for improvements

Berlin, *et al.*, *Wartime Genesis*, chap. 2, Documents 91, 97, 106A, 114, and 133, for examples. A suggestive preliminary analysis of the labor companies is Paul Eiss, "Sharing the Land? The Production of Politics on Government Plantations, Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes, Louisiana, 1863-1865," paper presented to the Third Michigan/Chicago Conference on Slavery, Emancipation, and Postemancipation Societies, April 1993.

<sup>14</sup> Monthly Report of Capt. C. E. Wilcox, Asst. Insp. Freedmen, Parish of Lafourche, La., January 31, 1866, in Louisiana Assistant Commissioner, BRFAL, RG 105, USNA (M1027, Roll 28).

<sup>15</sup> As described in J. Carlyle Sitterson, "The Transition from Slave to Free Economy on the William J. Minor Plantations," *Agricultural History* 17, (1943): 216-24.

<sup>16</sup> In addition to the more recent sources cited above, see Roger Wallace Shugg, "Survival of the Plantation System in Louisiana," *Journal of Southern History*, 3 (August 1937): 311-25; and Prichard, "Effects of the Civil War."

<sup>17</sup> See the entries of April 19 and April 27, 1867, in Vol. 2, Diary, Box 2, Alexandre E. DeClouet and Family Papers, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, LSU Libraries, Louisiana State University (hereafter, LLMVC). Later references in the diary suggest that potatoes were an important crop on the land allocated to the freed people.



working capital was available, and sugar prices in the late 1860s and early 1870s were relatively good.<sup>18</sup> Continued tariffs on foreign sugar partially insulated Louisiana from the competitive threat of Cuba. Planters did not have to resort to the subdivision of land as a measure of cash-poor desperation, but neither did they have the processing capacity that might encourage them to seek ways to arrange for an expansion of the total area under cane. Paying wages and permitting slaves to live in the old "quarters" may have seemed the optimum way to obtain labor while perpetuating dependent social relations. Moreover, the cultivation of food crops as well as cane tended to spread work demands relatively evenly across the year, making annual contracts an attractive proposition.

Within these constraints, the freed people sought to influence the level of wages through periodic work stoppages, and individuals and families often moved at the close of the year from one estate to another in search of better pay.<sup>19</sup> Opportunities were not likely to be much better elsewhere, but this modicum of mobility put some pressure on planters. Wages gradually climbed, and production grew, albeit slowly. By 1870, sugar output had reached almost 77,000 metric tons—modest by pre-war standards but impressive compared to the immediate postwar decline.<sup>20</sup>

For planters, however, the problem of access to credit became more severe with the panic of 1873, and the conditions of the world sugar market, combined with the growing power of the sugar refining trusts, forced producers to cut costs in order to compete. Faced with falling prices for their crop, planters engaged in a concerted effort to deal with what they portrayed as a "critical labor shortage," attempting among other things to lower costs by attracting seasonal labor.<sup>21</sup> Some planters also entered into explicit collaboration to set, and in some cases reduce, wages.<sup>22</sup>

Louisiana in the 1870s was a rough and bloody terrain on which to fight battles over the control of the labor process. On the one hand, fragile alliances between

<sup>18</sup> Sitterson emphasizes the difficulty of obtaining funds for new sugar investments. Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, 291–94. Jaynes, however, notes the importance of Northern capital, in the form of direct purchases of sugar estates by Northern investors after the war. Gerald David Jaynes, *Branches without Roots: Genesis of the Black Working Class in the American South* (New York, 1986), 238.

<sup>19</sup> A report from the parishes of Jefferson and Orleans in 1866 noted that the freedmen were "delaying to make a permanent contract" in hopes of being offered fifty cents an hour, and suggests that "this idea originated probably among freedmen working on the levee in the city who have recently been 'striking' for the aforesaid wages." Dougherty to Hayden, January 31, 1866, Inspection Report of Plantations, freedmen, &c. in the parishes Jefferson and Orleans, Right Bank, January 1866.

<sup>20</sup> See Deerr, *History of Sugar*, 2: 250; and Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, 251. Deerr's short tons have been converted to metric tons.

<sup>21</sup> This process is described, from a somewhat different vantage point, in Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, chaps. 11–12. Planters also imported modest numbers of Italian workers seasonally to assist with the harvest. Working at the lowest-skill jobs and attempting to save as much from their wages as possible, they seem to have provided competition without much commingling. See Jean Ann Scarpaci, "Immigrants in the New South: Italians in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes, 1880–1910," *Labor History*, 16 (Spring 1975): 165–83.

<sup>22</sup> See the discussion of planter collaboration in Taylor, *Louisiana Reconstructed*, 385–86; Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, 247; and Thomas Becnel, *Labor, Church, and the Sugar Establishment: Louisiana, 1887–1976* (Baton Rouge, La., 1980), 5–7. Ralph Shlomowitz contrasts sugar and cotton regions, and concludes that effective collusion was short-lived in cotton areas but periodically effective during the 1870s over limited periods of time in cane regions. Shlomowitz, "'Bound' or 'Free'? Black Labor in Cotton and Sugarcane Farming, 1865–1880," *Journal of Southern History*, 50 (November 1984): 570–95.

white Republicans and newly enfranchised African-American voters provided for the election of local and state officials who could on occasion allow room for challenges to planters. On the other hand, explicitly white-supremacist paramilitary and vigilante groups were growing in importance, drawing together planters and other whites to "restore our state to its rightful rulers."<sup>23</sup>

For most rural employers, the struggle for control over labor and the broader quest for authority over people of color were inseparable. But the task was not an easy one. Sugar workers were brought together in large numbers at the workplace; they were often in communication with kin in town and with allies in New Orleans; they had not abandoned the search for land and greater autonomy.

When planters in Terrebonne Parish tried to reduce wages in 1873, the response was swift. Some two hundred laborers met at the Zion church and organized themselves into an association with a double goal: to "form sub-associations and rent land to work by themselves" and to "bind themselves not to work for any planter for less than \$20 per month, rations, etc., the payments to be made monthly in cash." A second meeting to ratify these understandings was addressed by W. H. Keys and T. P. Shurbem, the first a member of the Louisiana legislature. The group then paraded behind a fife and drum through the town of Houma, "threatening the citizens but doing no harm," according to the hostile report in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*.<sup>24</sup>

The next step was to spread the strike. On Tuesday, January 13, a group of some fifty men led by Alfred Kennedy, apparently armed, came down the bayou and halted, intending to stop work on H. O. Minor's plantation. They were deterred in their first attempt, and Minor sought a sheriff's posse, then militia forces. An unspecified settlement was reached but not without an array of alarmed and alarming reports in the press of murder and burning by rioters, virtually all of which turned out to be false.<sup>25</sup> The precise content of the settlement is unrecorded, but it seems to have involved wages only, not concessions on the question of leasing.

Workers' resistance to wage cuts, combined with the unavoidable competition among employers, was sufficient to thwart the efforts to impose wage ceilings in the early 1870s. But, as Reconstruction receded in the mid-1870s, and large landowners moved toward more thoroughgoing political control, some planters succeeded in imposing wage withholding and the payment of wages in scrip.<sup>26</sup>

The effort to cut costs also stimulated the development of central mills, which would take advantage of economies of scale by grinding cane from multiple suppliers. Many small-scale planters relinquished the manufacture of sugar and

<sup>23</sup> Several Louisiana sugar planters were active in the formation of White Leagues and Law and Order groups. The passage cited is from Committee White League to Hon. Alexandre DeClouet, St. Martinsville, June 19, 1874, in Folder 16, Box 1, Alexandre E. DeClouet and Family Papers, LLMVC. See also the introductory notes to, and the letters in, the Papers of Donelson Caffery, LLMVC. For a vivid general picture of Reconstruction Louisiana, see Ted Tunnell, *Crucible of Reconstruction: War, Radicalism and Race in Louisiana, 1862-1877* (Baton Rouge, La., 1984).

<sup>24</sup> See the accounts in the *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), January 14, 15, 16, and 20, 1874; and in Shlomowitz, "'Bound' or 'Free.'"

<sup>25</sup> See *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), January 14, 15, 16, and 20, 1874.

<sup>26</sup> See Jeffrey Gould, "The Strike of 1887: Louisiana Sugar War," *Southern Exposure*, 12 (November-December 1984): 45-55.

turned to the provision of cane to larger mills. In theory, the opening up of mills to several cane providers created new opportunities for smallholders as well. But, instead of opening the way to semi-independent cane farming for former slaves, the growth of the central mills led to the replication of the longstanding racial divide. Planters first sought immigrant colonists, then other white farmers, to collaborate in this transition. Although black farmers were occasionally able to buy plots of cane land from bankrupt estates, or otherwise establish themselves as suppliers, the trend was for planters to seek to establish relations with white tenants or sharecroppers who could provide cane for the mill.<sup>27</sup>

The wage labor force in sugar continued to be composed primarily of African-American workers, although some small-scale white farmers and recent Italian immigrants were employed at harvest time. Relations among large landholders, sharecroppers, and wage workers were thus marked by an overlap of class categories with those of race. At the same time, the relative absence of land rental and sharecropping among African Americans in the sugar parishes reinforced the old pattern of residence in plantation housing and meant less dispersion of population than in the cotton regions. Estates remained centers of population. Even though women had often withdrawn from full-time wage labor on the estates at the end of the war, for example, they frequently continued to live in "the quarters" and work seasonally in the cane. At the same time, the resident labor force was supplemented when young black men from the cotton parishes traveled to the sugar regions for the harvest.<sup>28</sup>

With racial lines etched into the division of labor and with white supremacy largely triumphant at the level of politics, the situation was hardly propitious for collective action. A recent study of waterfront workers in New Orleans argues that black and white workers initially occupied "separate material and ideological worlds," making any cross-racial alliances very fragile.<sup>29</sup> But, in the cane fields as on the waterfront, such alliances did occasionally emerge. The most dramatic instance was the sugar strike of 1887.

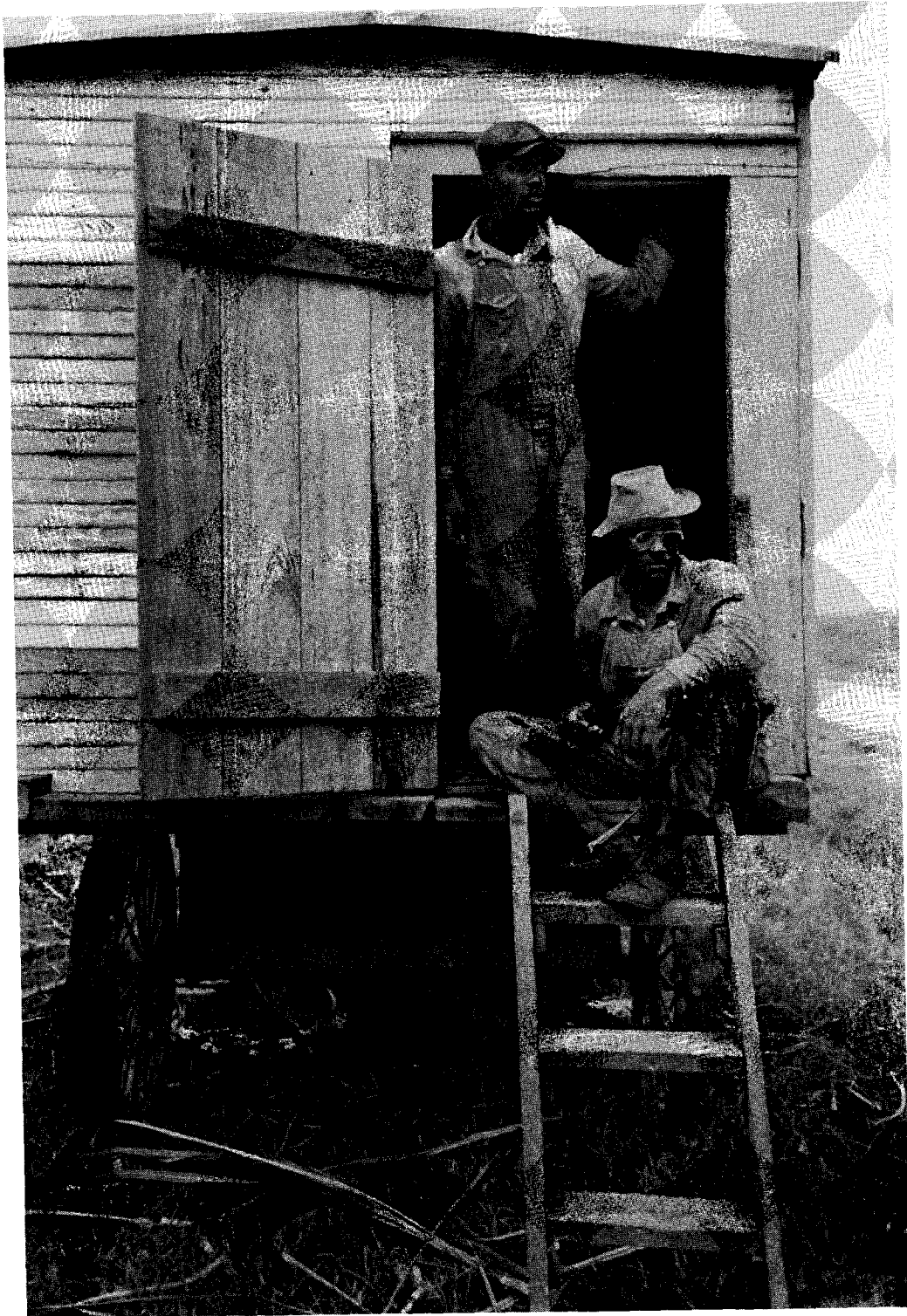
In November of 1887, some 6,000 to 10,000 field laborers, with leadership from local Knights of Labor assemblies, halted work in Terrebonne and Lafourche parishes to protest attempts by planters to cut wages and provide payment in scrip. The majority of the strikers were black, although some white workers were involved both as organizers and participants. Most of the white strikers, however, came from the Lower Lafourche region, where relatively underdeveloped plantations employed white, black, and mulatto workers. Plant-

<sup>27</sup> See Joseph P. Reidy, "Sugar and Freedom: Emancipation in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes," presented at the 1980 American Historical Association Annual Meeting; and Reidy, "The Development of Central Factories and the Rise of Tenancy in Louisiana's Sugar Economy, 1880-1910," prepared for the Social Science History Association Convention, November 1982. I am very grateful to Professor Reidy for allowing me to read these unpublished essays. See also Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, La., 1972), chap. 8.

<sup>28</sup> A detailed—if biased—description of two Louisiana sugar estates can be found in J. Bradford Laws, "The Negroes of Cinclare Central Factory and Calumet Plantation, Louisiana," *Bulletin of the U.S. Department of Labor*, 38 (January 1902): 95-111. Jeffrey Gould, "'Heroic and Vigorous Action': An Analysis of the Sugar Cane Workers' Strike in Lafourche Parish, November, 1887," 1973, unpublished, discusses the employment of women, including some cases in which women were recruited as strikebreakers. I am very grateful to Professor Gould for making this paper available to me.

<sup>29</sup> Arnesen, *Waterfront Workers*, 3.





Workers in a wagon that was moved into the cane fields to provide protection from rain. Near New Iberia, Louisiana, October 1938. Photo by Russell Lee. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

ers there were quick to settle with the strikers. In Upper Lafourche, the strike leadership and rank and file were almost entirely black, and the planters were resolutely opposed to settlement. Black workers there soon found themselves holding the line nearly alone.<sup>30</sup>

Planters persuaded the governor to send in the militia, which set up a Gatling gun in the main square of the parish seat of Thibodaux and assisted with the eviction of strikers from their cabins. Many workers retreated to Thibodaux, where they were taken in by urban black families. With the situation still highly unstable, the militia was withdrawn, and the initiative passed to the planters and local white vigilantes. When two white men were fired on by parties unknown on November 22, the repression began. The local white defense committee began pulling black men suspected of association with the strike from the homes in which they had taken refuge and executing them. At least thirty black men were killed in what was later called the Thibodaux massacre. The strike was broken; the Knights of Labor were soon driven from the parish.<sup>31</sup>

Mary Pugh, a planter's wife who witnessed portions of the massacre, wrote: "we have had a horrible three days & Wednesday excelled anything I ever saw even during the war. I am sick with the horror of it. but I know it had to be else we would all have been murdered before a great while. I think this will settle the question of who is to rule the nigger or the white man? for the next 50 years."<sup>32</sup> Her bitter prediction reflected the fusion of labor and racial preoccupations among planters. In subsequent decades, Louisiana sugar workers would indeed be politically silenced. African-American communities survived, but wages were low, opportunities were few, and the workplace itself generally ceased to be a locus for organizing collective action.

The concentration of production accelerated, and by the end of the century only 275 mills were grinding. But the accompanying rise of cane farming drew in very few black agriculturalists: in 1900, 2,964 white farmers listed their principal source of income as sugar, compared to 906 black farmers. (This contrasts dramatically with the state's cotton sector, which had 28,390 white farmers and 51,078 black.) Wage labor, not tenancy or sharecropping, was the overwhelming pattern for African Americans in the Sugar Bowl. St. Mary Parish, for example, the major sugar-producing parish in the state, had a black population of 20,264 but only 248 farms owned or operated by black farmers.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> This account of the strike draws on the reports in the *Thibodaux Sentinel*, November 5–December 10, 1887, and on William Ivy Hair, *Bourbonism and Agrarian Protest: Louisiana Politics, 1877–1900* (Baton Rouge, La., 1969), esp. 175–84; Gould, "Strike of 1887"; and Becnel, *Labor, Church*, 7–8. An earlier essay by Gould, "'Heroic and Vigorous Action,'" cited above, analyzes the particular situation of Upper and Lower Lafourche planters in detail and links that regional division to the outcome of the strike.

<sup>31</sup> For a fuller discussion of the 1887 strike, see Rebecca Scott, "Building, Bridging, and Breaching the Color Line: Rural Collective Action in Louisiana and Cuba, 1865–1912," forthcoming in Theda Skocpol, Judith Vichniac, George Ross, and Tony Smith, eds., *Democracy, Revolution and History*, a festschrift in honor of Barrington Moore, Jr.

<sup>32</sup> Mary Pugh to Edward F. Pugh, November 25, 1887, Folder 1, Mrs. Mary W. Pugh Papers, 1882–1895, LLMVC.

<sup>33</sup> U.S. Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900, Census Reports, Vol. V, Agriculture*, Part 1, p. 23. The figures of the 1900 census make it difficult to separate white and black farmers by crop and form of tenantry, so one cannot specify the precise number of white and



The denial of access to land consigned most former slaves and their descendants to the role of wage-paid farm laborers, and political defeat blocked the compensating possibility of organizing as workers.<sup>34</sup> The cooperative agriculture pioneered during the war and the union organization attempted in the 1880s gave way under the pressure of a fixed model of wage labor backed by both planters and the state, combined with a growing official hostility to organization of any kind among African Americans. The next phase of successful collective challenge would have to await the reconfiguring of power at the level of the state and the nation.<sup>35</sup>

IN THE ISLAND OF CUBA, THE CONTEST OVER THE MEANING OF FREEDOM took a different form. Louisiana's sugar region was a rich enclave within a powerful nation whose economy was largely focused on other products. Sugar in Cuba, by contrast, was the major source of wealth in Spain's last remaining major colony in the New World. The reorganization of production after emancipation would determine the fate of the entire island economy; the linkage between slave emancipation and an emerging Cuban nationalism would shape the political future of the colony.

In the early 1860s, approximately 173,000 slaves lived on about 1,500 sugar estates in Cuba, and average annual production between 1860 and 1864 was 478,000 metric tons. Cuba's largest *ingenios* (plantations combining fields and mill) were technologically advanced, most employing steam power and a significant minority using vacuum pans and centrifuges for processing. Whatever contradictions have been claimed to exist between slavery and technological advancement, Cuba's largest plantations continued to add new machinery even as they added more slaves.<sup>36</sup>

By the late 1860s, however, some form of abolition appeared likely. Spanish liberals increasingly enunciated antislavery principles; the Spanish government

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black tenants in sugar. Overall, there were 3,870 sugar farms, of which 1,871 were operated by owners, 240 by part owners, 18 by owners and tenants, 305 by managers, 544 by cash tenants, and 892 by share-tenants. *Ibid.*, p. 9. For figures on black population, see Vol. 1 of the *Census Reports*, titled *Population*, Part 1, p. 542.

<sup>34</sup> Access to land through squatting was more difficult in Louisiana than in Cuba or Brazil. Runaways and squatters had long taken refuge in the swamps and along the bayous, but these regions could not support a significant part of the population, and patterns of landholding and law left little room for squatters elsewhere in the sugar regions. There was a significant amount of squatting in the "piney woods" region, but it did not directly affect the plantation areas. See Shugg, "Survival of the Plantation System," 322. For a compelling portrait of the world of Louisiana sugar plantations in the first half of the twentieth century, see the fiction of Ernest J. Gaines, including *Bloodline* (New York, 1976).

<sup>35</sup> Unions did not effectively organize again in the fields until after World War II. There were, however, occasional small-scale work stoppages in earlier years. The *Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer* reported on May 24, 1919, that there had been "a strike of field laborers on some of the plantations along the river just above Donaldsonville," and that they had succeeded in obtaining a raise from \$1.25 to \$1.50 a day. On later union activity, see Becnel, *Labor, Church*.

<sup>36</sup> For a full discussion of the Cuban sugar economy at mid-century and detailed figures on production, see Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *El ingenio: Complejo económico social cubano del azúcar*, 3 vols. (Havana, 1978). For figures on slave population, see Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), chap. 1, esp. tables 4 and 5.

finally enforced the longstanding treaties banning the transatlantic slave trade; the victory of the Union Army in the U.S. Civil War increased the possibility of intervention in support of abolition; and anti-colonial rebels in the eastern provinces freed slaves in areas under their control and called for an end to slavery in the whole of the island. Emancipation itself was gradual and conflictual. In the face of half-measures advanced by the Spanish parliament, slaves pressed for more rapid and thoroughgoing change, while planters attempted to limit the speed and constrain the extent of the transition. During the period of formal "apprenticeship," 1880–1886, apprentices (*patrocinados*) accelerated their move toward freedom through self-purchase, flight, lawsuits, and individual negotiations. Over 100,000 of them gained their freedom prior to final abolition in 1886. Although external forces made abolition appear to be a logical step, it was the initiatives and determination of slaves, apprentices, and rebels that made it real and irrevocable.<sup>37</sup>

Planters responded to the end of slavery with what one might characterize as apprehensive innovation. The most successful planters already grew their cane in rich soil, processed the juice with advanced machinery, and sold their sugar to the expanding U.S. market. But the market for Cuban sugar was increasingly oligopolistic, as a small group of North American refiners sought semi-processed sugar at low prices to refine and resell.<sup>38</sup> Expansion was essential to survival, and many planters doubted that former slaves would provide a sufficient labor force for a growing sugar industry.

Planters explored the possibilities for immigration while taking their own steps to build narrow-gauge railways and shift toward an expanded network of cane suppliers.<sup>39</sup> The key to the rapid expansion of Cuban sugar production was the development of a system under which cane farmers (*colonos*) contracted with a central mill (*central*) to provide cane for grinding. The compensation paid to *colonos* reflected the price of sugar in Havana, thus shifting some of the risk of unstable prices from mill owner to grower.

Some landowners allocated small areas of cane land to former slaves to cultivate, as a means of keeping them on the estate. Meanwhile, smallholders, both renters and owners, began to plant a portion of their land in cane as new railway lines brought them within reach of expanded milling facilities, and some rented additional land from the *central*. Mill owners in areas of new development rented lands to immigrants from Spain and the Canary Islands, who then used family labor to supply cane to the mill under contract. Finally, some former estate owners and some new entrepreneurs became large-scale cane farmers, employing substantial numbers of laborers. All of these farmers were referred to as *colonos*, and their cane supplemented that cultivated by wage laborers on lands under the direct administration of the central mills.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> See Scott, *Slave Emancipation*, chap. 7.

<sup>38</sup> See Alfred E. Eichner, *The Emergence of Oligopoly: Sugar Refining as a Case Study* (Baltimore, Md., 1969).

<sup>39</sup> For examples of these initiatives, see the petitions for permission to build railways in Leg. 201, Sección de Ultramar, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (hereafter, Ultramar, AHN).

<sup>40</sup> On the *colonos*, see Scott, *Slave Emancipation*, chaps. 9, 10; and Alan Dale Dye, "Tropical

The dependence of the *colono* on the mill to transform his crop into a saleable commodity, combined with the perishability of the cane, meant that even when a *colono* owned his own land, he was not an independent farmer. Restrictive clauses and multi-year contracts generally prevented him from seeking other buyers. Delays meant serious losses, for the sucrose content of the cane declines gradually once the peak moment for harvesting is past, and it declines precipitously shortly after the cane is cut. One *colono* charged in the early 1890s that estates habitually contracted for more cane than they could actually grind, thus leaving some of their *colonos* stranded at harvest time.<sup>41</sup> Many *colonos* grew some subsistence crops, affording them a buffer with which to survive periods of low prices or unreliable mills.

Under the *colonato* system, the question of access to the land was in some ways subordinate to the question of access to the mill. Large mills, eager to assure a supply of cane, were willing to rent land for a nominal fee; the terms of the cane contract, not the amount of rent, determined the level of profit. Even when the *colono* paid cash rent, his obligations went beyond those of a conventional cash tenant, since he was obliged by contract to plant cane, and the crucial variable of timing of delivery of his crop was set by the mill.<sup>42</sup> Rather than a form of tenancy, the *colonato* was in many cases a kind of "contract farming," perhaps structurally comparable to modern arrangements in which fryer chickens are raised on contract for a specific purchaser or tomatoes for a specific cannery.<sup>43</sup>

Smallholders not bound by *colono* contracts often tried to diversify their plantings rather than undertake the exclusive cultivation of sugar. Land registers from the municipality of Güines in the province of Havana in the early part of the twentieth century, for example, portray a patchwork of small farms growing a variety of crops, interspersed among larger estates and *colonias*. Small-scale owners, renters, and squatters often planted a bit of cane to sell to a nearby mill, but their holdings were not listed as *colonias*, and they were probably not formally counted as such in the census.<sup>44</sup>

These transformations in patterns of production had multiple implications for those who had been slaves. Former slaves were, in a sense, participants in two simultaneous developments: they were freed people seeking to make something of their new status, and they were rural workers attempting to cope with rapidly changing relations of production in agriculture. For those who remained in the

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Technology and Mass Production: The Expansion of Cuban Sugarmills, 1899–1929" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1991).

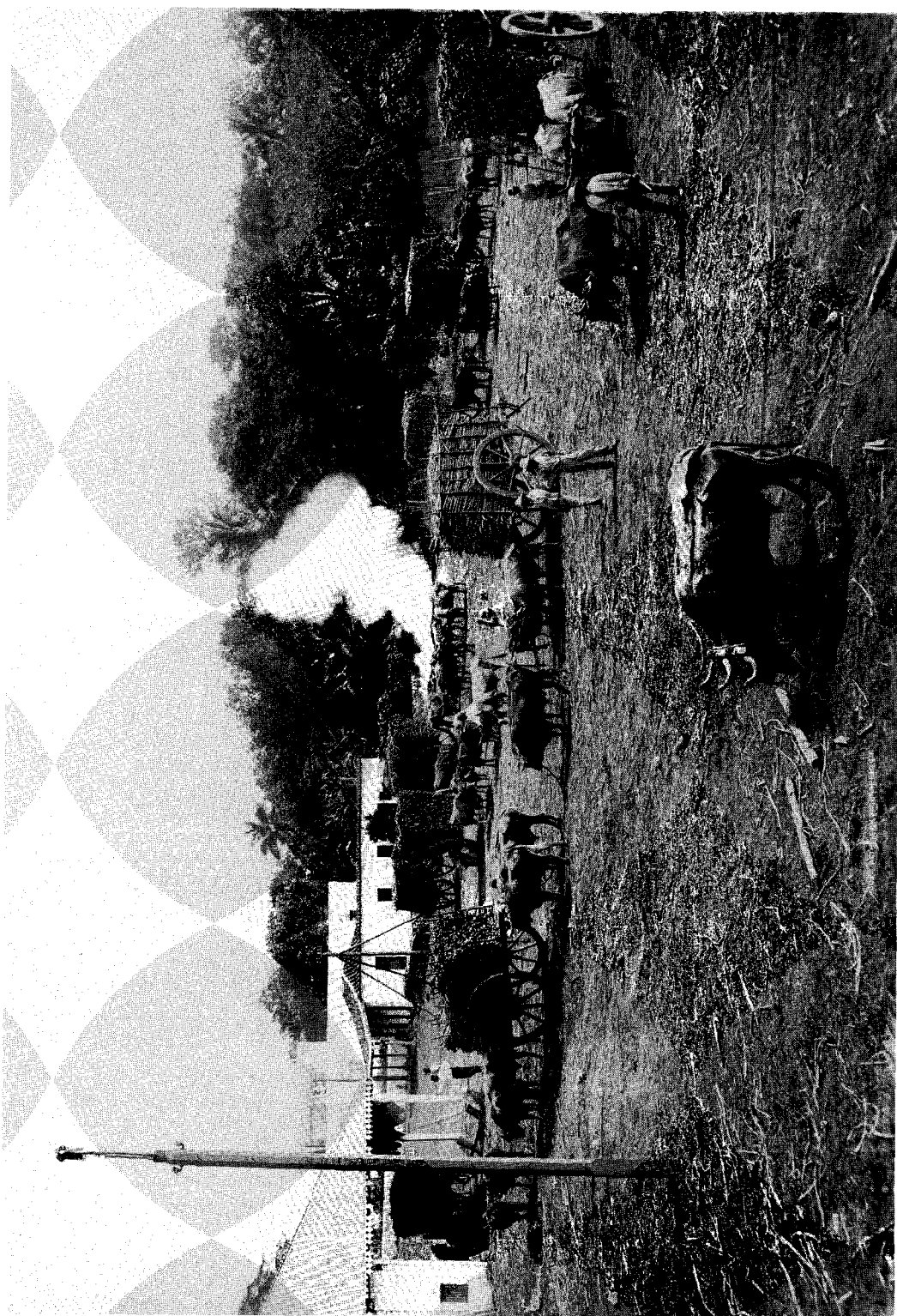
<sup>41</sup> Juan Bautista Jiménez, *Los esclavos blancos por un colono de Las Villas* (Havana, 1893), 7.

<sup>42</sup> Brian Pollitt has argued that the question of actual ownership of cane land remains flexible in postrevolutionary Cuba and cites the ceding of land from state farms to producer cooperatives. The overarching concern remains that of supplying the mills with sufficient cane, regardless of provenance. See Brian Pollitt, "On Social and Technological Change in the Post-Revolutionary Sugar Industry in Cuba," unpublished, and personal communication, February 1990.

<sup>43</sup> I am very grateful to Harold Woodman for suggesting the term "contract farming."

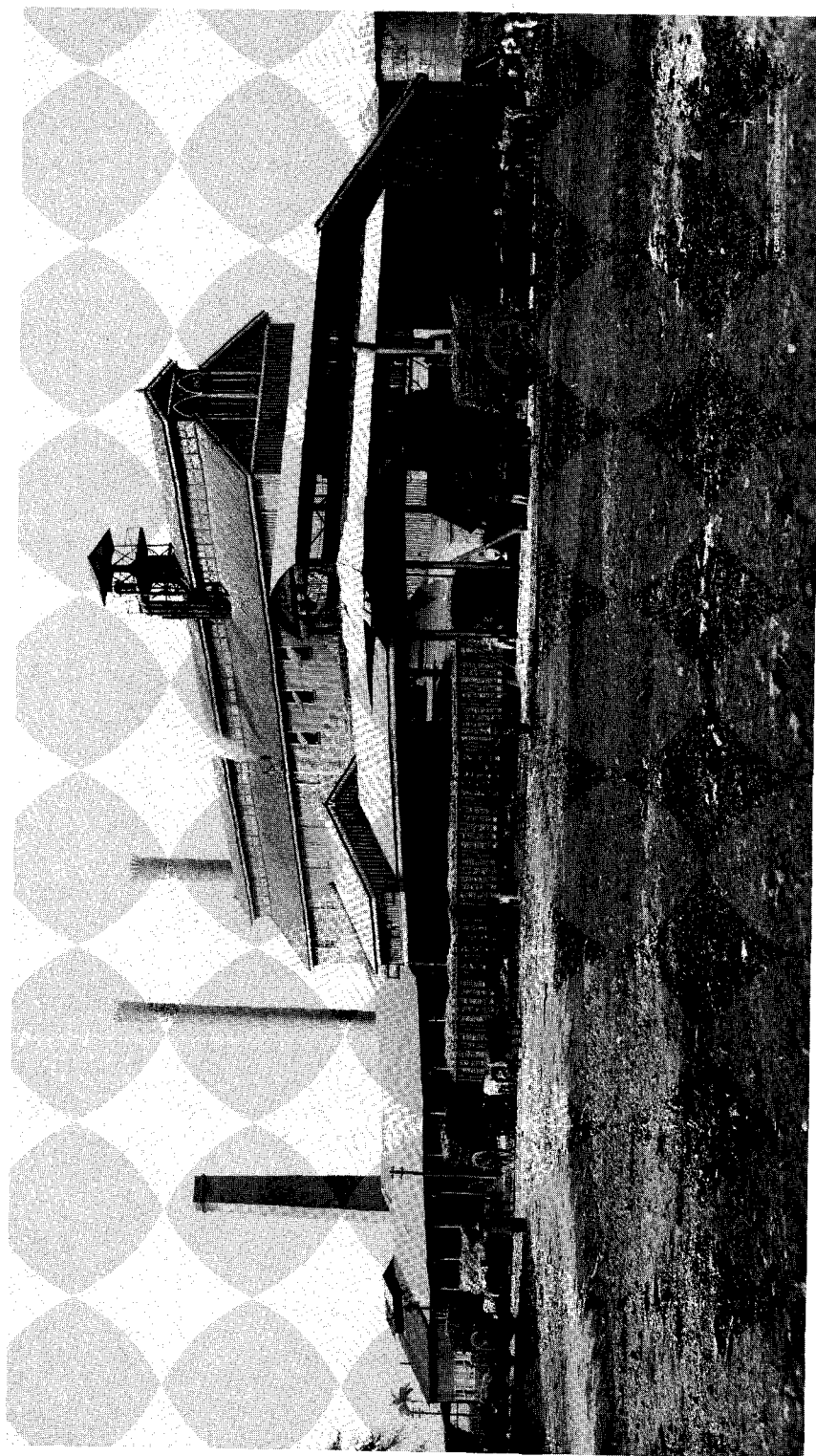
<sup>44</sup> In the region of Melena, for example, the land register for 1905 shows the existence of numerous small farms. Many of these smallholdings are listed as *sitios*, not *colonias*, even though they cultivated some cane. See "Provincia de la Habana, Termino Mpal de Güines, Amillaramiento de 1905, Registro parcial de Fincas Rústicas que segun el resultado de las declaraciones presentadas por sus dueños o poseedores radican en el Distrito Municipal de Melena," Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Secretaría de Hacienda, Libro 833.





Mill yard of a Cuban plantation, showing the cane brought in wagons for grinding at the mill. *Circa 1900*. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.





The sugar mill at the Rosario plantation, Aguacate, Cuba. *Circa 1900.* Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



older sugar provinces, where the *colonato* was less developed, the range of alternatives was narrow. In the western province of Matanzas, for example, the acquisition of land was nearly impossible. The census of 1899 counted approximately 26,000 "colored" men and women who worked in agriculture in the province, but there were only 537 farms owned or rented by people of color, and these occupied less than 4 percent of the agricultural land. Most freed people had become wage laborers.<sup>45</sup>

The situation was somewhat different in Santa Clara, a sugar-producing province with a history of some mixed agriculture, in which the *colonato* flourished. There, most people of color labored for wages, but a significant number managed to become renters and owners. The census counted 2,737 farms operated by owners or renters of color in the province in 1899. In Santiago de Cuba, an eastern province generally characterized by less advanced plantations and a more dispersed pattern of landholding, the census counted 8,783 farms with owners or renters of color. The number of holdings operated by owners or renters of color was about 11 percent of the number of people of color working in agriculture in Santa Clara and 30 percent in Santiago de Cuba. Both were areas with a history of smallholding by free people of color before abolition.<sup>46</sup>

In the island as a whole, however, the majority of the properties formally denominated "sugar plantations"—including both estates that milled and cane farms that did not—were owned or rented by whites. The census of 1899 reported 11,271 such plantations in the island operated by white owners or renters and 3,165 (comprising just 4.5 percent of the cane land) operated by "colored" owners or renters. Thus, while a larger absolute number of people of color became cane farmers in Cuba than in Louisiana, they were in both instances outnumbered more than three to one by their white counterparts.<sup>47</sup>

It is difficult to determine precisely how many former slaves obtained access to land, in part because the agricultural census counted holdings rather than people, and the population census grouped together those working in agriculture, without distinguishing between wage workers and farmers. Moreover, the labor of women on family holdings was undoubtedly very significant, but women seem not to have been counted as working in agriculture unless they were engaged in wage labor at the time of the census. Children and other kin of the owner or renter sometimes shared access to the land. Thus what appears in the census as a single holding actually represents the place of employment of several people. At the same time, because the holdings of persons of color were generally

<sup>45</sup> See U.S. War Department, *Report on the Census of Cuba, 1899* (Washington, D.C., 1900), 556–57, 443. On transformations in Matanzas, see Laird W. Bergad, *Cuban Rural Society in the Nineteenth Century: The Social and Economic History of Monoculture in Matanzas* (Princeton, N.J., 1990).

<sup>46</sup> The comparable figures for white owners and renters as a percentage of the white population working in agriculture were 23 percent in Santa Clara and 29 percent in Santiago de Cuba. For a fuller discussion of the census evidence, see Scott, *Slave Emancipation*, chap. 11.

<sup>47</sup> Cane farms rented or owned by people of color were small in size and were concentrated in two provinces: Santiago de Cuba (with 1,708) and Santa Clara (with 1,003). There were very few *colonias* operated by Afro-Cubans in Havana, Matanzas, Puerto Principe, or Pinar del Río. U.S. War Department, *Report on the Census of Cuba*, 560.

very small, some family members, particularly younger sons, also worked as wage laborers.<sup>48</sup>

Although most former slaves in Cuba could not acquire sufficient land to become independent farmers, a substantial minority had enough access to avoid complete proletarianization. In societies such as Barbados, where rights to small provision grounds were made contingent on the provision of labor to the landowner, cultivating such plots in some ways increased dependency, because all modes of subsistence came within the orbit of the plantation.<sup>49</sup> But, in Cuba, the cultivation of subsistence grounds, even by those whose major form of employment was wage labor, seems to have provided a margin for maneuver. A North American observer, writing somewhat later, gave a clear statement of the paradox facing Cuban planters in their dealings with their workers, a paradox rooted in the seasonal fluctuations in the labor needs of the plantation:

the fact that plantation hands are not assured permanent employment throughout the year leads them to depend upon the products of garden patches and other small holdings for their subsistence and to limit their needs to what these can supply. They thereby become in a measure independent of the landed proprietors in the matter of employment, and so afford a less reliable source of labor.<sup>50</sup>

This "unreliability," along with reduced "needs," was, of course, a reflection of a longstanding survival strategy.

By their refusal to shift en masse from slaves to proletarians, freedmen and freedwomen posed a series of challenges to those who sought to harness their labor for sugar. The Spanish colonial authorities briefly considered anti-vagrancy statutes to try to compel rural dwellers to work for wages. But the authorities were reluctant to enact measures that might feed an anti-colonial struggle.<sup>51</sup> The importation of additional workers from the peninsula seemed politically more expedient. Some Spanish immigrants were provided with incentives to become *colonos*, while others were hired on the estates as wage workers. Tens of thousands of Spaniards traveled to Cuba seasonally or permanently, providing additional labor for an expanding sugar industry.<sup>52</sup>

The feared insurgency emerged nonetheless. Cuban nationalists challenged the Spanish state in a series of rebellions in 1868–1878 and 1879–1880, and by 1895 they had found the means to organize a multi-class, island-wide revolt. Political suppression, economic hardship, and direct affronts by the Spanish authorities had nourished resentments, and brilliant émigré leadership had brought together a cross-racial separatist alliance. Although the Spanish government moved quickly to meet the insurgent threat and tried to garrison both towns and sugar estates,

<sup>48</sup> See U.S. War Department, *Report on the Census of Cuba*, 556–60; and the discussion in Scott, *Slave Emancipation*, chap. 11.

<sup>49</sup> See Trevor Marshall, "Post-Emancipation Adjustments in Barbados, 1838 to 1876," in Alvin O. Thompson, ed., *Emancipation I: A Series of Lectures to Commemorate the 150th Anniversary of Emancipation* (Cave Hill, Barbados, 1986), 88–108.

<sup>50</sup> Victor Clark, "Labor Conditions in Cuba," *Bulletin of the Department of Labor*, 41 (July 1902): 694.

<sup>51</sup> See the debate, and particularly the advisory opinion of the Consejo de Administración, September 13, 1888, in "Medios de extirpar la vagancia," legajo 4942, expediente 345, Ultramar, AHN.

<sup>52</sup> See Jordi Maluquer de Motes, *Nación e inmigración: Los españoles en Cuba (ss. xix y xx)* (Gijón, 1992).

the insurgency picked up steam. The rebels quickly came to dominate much of the countryside.

Thousands of rural Cubans of color joined the struggle, both as enlisted men and as officers. Although many came from the smallholding peasantry, sugar plantations themselves also served as centers for recruitment and as battlegrounds in the struggle for terrain. At the same time, plantation residents who did not join the armed struggle could provide substantial material aid through cultivating food supplies or smuggling out supplies. The central mill was a highly porous institution, with hundreds of workers coming and going in the normal course of events. Moreover, its work force was a loosely joined mix of former slaves, peasants, and immigrant workers. There was no possibility of effectively locking them up as slaves had been locked up in the 1860s and 1870s—although this did not stop the Spanish authorities from trying.<sup>53</sup>

Former slaves who fought in the insurgent ranks seem to have hoped that opportunities denied them after slave emancipation would be realized in a new republic and that the invidious distinctions and privileges of colonial society would be extinguished. But this was not to be. The United States intervened, delivering the *coup de grâce* to Spanish colonialism, occupying the island and opening the way for massive new investment in the sugar industry. The nationalist vision of self-determination—which for Afro-Cubans also implied racial equality—was pushed aside.<sup>54</sup>

Even after the formal withdrawal of U.S. occupying forces, economic involvement continued unabated. The industry expanded through the opening of new lands for sugar cultivation and the construction of new mills. Although some Cuban observers feared a process of proletarianization of *colonos*, the basic pattern of buying cane from *colonos* to mill along with cane from the estate continued. Small-scale subsistence and market cultivators were indeed threatened by the expansion of sugar, however, and the new American-owned *centrales* in the east often bought up new lands and cultivated them directly with wage labor.<sup>55</sup>

Former slaves faced increased competition when planters recruited cane cutters from Spain, Haiti, and Jamaica. Cuban sugar workers, however, often resisted the burgeoning power of the large estates and attempted to protect themselves against the arbitrary exercise of power by planters. In the municipality of Cruces,

<sup>53</sup> The case files of the Spanish Treaty Claims Commission provide an excellent source for understanding the link between plantations and the war effort. See, for example, the account of events on the Triunfo Estate contained in Claim 475 (Whiting), Entry 352, RG 76, USNA. For a further discussion, see Rebecca Scott, "Mobilizing across the Color Line: Race, Class, and Anti-Colonial Insurgency in Cuba, 1895–98," paper presented at the Seminario de Historia de Cuba, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, March 25, 26, 1993.

<sup>54</sup> Ada Ferrer, "The Black Insurgent and Cuban National Identity, 1895–1898," paper presented at the Seminario de Historia de Cuba, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, March 25, 26, 1993.

<sup>55</sup> For a discussion of land ownership, see Fe Iglesias García, "Algunos aspectos de la distribución de la tierra en 1899," *Santiago*, 40 (December 1980): 119–78. Iglesias (p. 129) cites figures from the U.S. occupation government suggesting that *colonias de caña* occupied some 5.37 percent of the cultivated area in the western and central provinces, with *ingenios de azúcar* occupying 13.38 percent. There were still some 30,000 *colonos* growing cane in the 1930s. For 1919 figures, see Cuba, Dirección general del censo, *Census of the Republic of Cuba, 1919* (Havana, 1922[?]), 82–85. On the overall fate of Cuban sugar producers and the survival of *colonos*, see Brian Pollitt, "The Cuban Sugar Economy and the Great Depression," *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 3 (1984): 3–28; and Dye, "Tropical Technology."

located in south central Cuba, the district with the highest concentration of sugar plantations on the island, strikes in the cities in 1902 spread to the countryside. There, the Workers' Guild, led by anarchists, carried the red flag from plantation to plantation, stopping work. Even though the ideology of the Workers' Guild was strongly influenced by Spanish immigrants, its credo repudiated ethnic divisions. One call to a meeting by the guild listed the meeting place as the local Centro Africano; among the signers was Evaristo Landa, a mulatto leader from the 1895–1898 war. Their strategy for mobilization seems to have been to ally with members of older Afro-Cuban cultural and educational societies, recruit veterans who had gained prestige in the War of Independence, and analyze the crisis of wages in the relatively new language of anarchism.<sup>56</sup>

The construction of these cross-ethnic and cross-racial alliances reflected various ideological and social forces. Spanish-born anarchists, always a numerical minority, had good reasons to repudiate divisions on the basis of nationality; Afro-Cuban veterans of the War of Independence had every reason to try to revive the anti-racism of José Martí and Antonio Maceo. For both, the struggle against slavery could provide a symbolic touchstone. The anarchist journal *¡Tierra!*, edited by a Spaniard, described the rallying cry of the movement as "the emancipation of all slaves, the disappearance of all privileges."<sup>57</sup>

At the same time, these strategies reflected the realities of social relations. Wage work in sugar was not associated with a single socio-racial grouping. Although Afro-Cubans were probably over-represented in field work, and under-represented in millwork, the concentration of seasonal Spanish workers in cane cutting meant that the field work force was not the highly segregated one that prevailed in Louisiana. A multi-racial work force did not make cross-racial alliances automatic, but it did make them feasible.<sup>58</sup>

The mobilization of resistance was also assisted by the ease of communication between town and country. The seasonality of labor in the mills and fields meant that agricultural workers were often town dwellers for much of the year, and agricultural wage labor was frequently part of a larger family strategy of subsistence. Such family strategies had rural and urban variants, building on a sexual division of labor that varied with the season and the opportunities. Some women moved into full-time urban occupations; others returned to field work at harvest time.<sup>59</sup> For both men and women, the plantation did not generally define the boundaries of existence.

<sup>56</sup> See John Dumoulin, "El primer desarrollo del movimiento obrero y la formación del proletariado en el sector azucarero, Cruces 1886–1902," *Islas: Revista de la Universidad de las Villas*, 48 (May–August 1974): 5–66. The initial strike was ended by the intervention of the Rural Guard, on orders from the provincial governor, but other strikes followed. See also John Dumoulin, *El movimiento obrero en Cruces, 1902–1925*, published as a volume of Sonia Aragón García, ed., *Las clases y la lucha de clases en la sociedad neocolonial cubana* (Havana, 1981).

<sup>57</sup> Dumoulin, "El primer desarrollo," 16.

<sup>58</sup> Nor did the existence of such a multi-racial work force block the possibility of overtly racist repression, of which the events of 1912 were the most striking example. See Louis A. Pérez, Jr., "Politics, Peasants, and People of Color: The 1912 'Race War' in Cuba Reconsidered," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 66 (August 1986): 509–39; and Aline Helg, "Afro-Cuban Protest: The Partido Independiente de Color, 1908–1912," *Cuban Studies*, 21 (1991): 101–21.

<sup>59</sup> For a brief discussion of these family strategies, see Scott, *Slave Emancipation*, 242–44.

Workers' search for greater control over the pace and pattern of labor had multiple implications. A North American observer, Victor S. Clark, commented in 1902 on the preference of many Cuban workers for contract or piecework rather than "a regular wage," and he attributed the growth of the *colonato* in part to this preference. His explanations were condescending but nonetheless astute: "[Piece-work] seems to appeal to a speculative tendency in his [the worker's] nature that adds interest to his occupation. It also flatters a certain sentiment of self-esteem. He feels himself more independent, more his own master, in the former instance." For the workers themselves, creating and maintaining a distance from the old patterns of direct oversight was not a mere matter of vanity. It was part of defining the meaning of freedom. Indeed, this assertiveness could go a step further and become a forthright claim of equality. "Cuba is one of the most democratic countries in the world," Clark reported with some hyperbole. "Nowhere else does the least-considered member of a community aspire with more serene confidence to social equality with its most exalted personage." However forcefully occupation by the United States had thwarted the aspiration for full national independence, many Cubans still insisted on their own version of republican values.<sup>60</sup>

In Cuba, then, the shift from unpaid sugar worker to wage-paid free worker frequently involved a change in residence, increased physical mobility, a new family division of labor, and incorporation into an ethnically heterogeneous work force. Most former slaves who remained in the sugar zones became wage laborers working by the day, the month, or the task, rather than sharecroppers, tenants, or owners. In this, they resembled to a degree their counterparts in Louisiana. But, in joining the free work force in sugar, former slaves were moving into a group whose numbers were rapidly being increased by European and, later, by West Indian immigration, as well as by the employment of native whites.<sup>61</sup>

Under these circumstances, the transition to free labor had a particular meaning for former slaves and their descendants: they continued to labor without much hope of advancement but often in a changed setting, with new co-workers and new employers. Cuban workers generally insisted on physical mobility and often managed to increase their options through internal migration or through provision ground cultivation. The relative openness of portions of the Cuban hinterland in the late nineteenth century helped to make these strategies possible; the presence of a significant free rural population of color provided precedents. At the same time, those who worked on sugar estates tried to shape the terms under which they labored, sometimes contracting to perform a specific task rather than submitting to supervised day wage labor, sometimes uniting in search of higher wages.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Clark, "Labor Conditions in Cuba," 694, 780.

<sup>61</sup> By 1919, the category "agriculturalist" (encompassing peasants, commercial farmers, and rural wage laborers) included 249,500 native white males, 130,500 "colored" males (including Asians), and 65,100 foreign white males. Cuba, *Census . . . 1919*, 666.

<sup>62</sup> Clark, "Labor Conditions in Cuba," 694, commented, "Perhaps there is a prejudice against hired service that has come down from the days of slavery and contract labor." Nonetheless, the records of sugar estates show very extensive use of day wages. One owner described work on the cane land under his ownership: "We do everything by day's work. Hire the men by the day—by the month, rather: and they are ordered to do the different kinds of work by the managers of the colonias, under



While the anarchists of Cruces openly identified themselves as belonging to a class of men who sweated to earn a paltry wage, many Cuban workers were poised somewhere between independence and dependence, having taken sideroads off what planters imagined to be the highway to proletarianization. Their access to productive resources was attenuated, but they resisted, both substantively and symbolically, being relegated to the status of mere hired labor. Lawyers interviewing one Cuban cane hauler, Antonio Matos y Navarro, stumbled on the distinction in his own mind between workman and hireling:

Q4. By whom are you employed at the present time?

A. At present—I work with a cart.

Q5. For whom?

A. For me—for the cart is mine.<sup>63</sup>

Proletarianization may well have been the eventual fate of Antonio Matos y Navarro, who worked on the American-owned Hormiguero estate in central Cuba. But, as of 1904, he had not yet conceded the point. His autonomy, however, was fragile and would depend on maintaining ownership of the cart (and presumably the ox) and on the state of the market for his services. For many former slaves, with neither cart nor ox, the slide toward dependence on wages would advance even more rapidly.

NORTHEASTERN BRAZIL, WHERE THE LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION OF SUGAR had been pioneered, presents a very different picture.<sup>64</sup> Although the region contained hundreds of thousands of slaves in the 1870s, it had been eclipsed within the national economy by the rapid expansion of the coffee industry in southern Brazil. After a period of growth at mid-century, the sugar industry found itself in an increasingly insecure position, unable to compete internationally with Cuban cane sugar and European beet sugar. Many slaves were sold from the northeast to the coffee regions; others acquired their freedom from faltering sugar plantations in the last decades of slavery.<sup>65</sup> Nonetheless, most sugar planters did not willingly

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instructions from the office." Deposition of Elias Ponvert, beginning January 25, 1904, p. 209, Claim 293 (Hormiguero), Pt. 1, Spanish Treaty Claims, Entry 352, RG 76, USNA.

<sup>63</sup> Deposition of Antonio Matos y Navarro, beginning February 9, 1904, p. 2, Claim 293 (Hormiguero), Pt. 2, Spanish Treaty Claims, Entry 352, RG 76, USNA.

<sup>64</sup> The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics uses the term Northeastern Brazil to refer to the states of Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe, Bahia, and the territory of Fernando de Noronha. For the purposes of this discussion of the sugar industry, I will confine my attention primarily to the moist riverine and coastal region, the *zona da mata*, between Rio Grande do Norte and the Recôncavo of Bahia, and I will concentrate on Pernambuco and Bahia. See Manuel Correia de Andrade, *A terra e o homem no nordeste*, 4th edn. (São Paulo, 1980), chap. 2.

<sup>65</sup> Robert Slenes gives an estimate of over 400,000 for the slave population of the entire northeast (excluding Maranhão) around 1873. Bahia alone contained over 165,000 slaves. The conventional view is that unprofitability in the northeast caused planters to sell their slaves to the south in the interprovincial trade. Slenes argues, however, that "the available data suggest that the majority of slaves in the internal trade did not come from the sugar or coffee industries but from non-plantation activities." See Robert Wayne Slenes, "The Demography and Economics of Brazilian Slavery: 1850–1888" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1975), 57, 208.

relinquish the majority of their slaves, and as late as 1887 there were still almost 77,000 slaves in Bahia and another 41,000 in Pernambuco.<sup>66</sup> Owners of sugar plantations worried about the declining numbers of slaves and about the “ferment of indiscipline” that they attributed to emancipationist propaganda.<sup>67</sup>

In May 1888, the institution of slavery finally gave way under the pressure of abolitionist agitation, slave initiatives, and imperial politics. In the Bahian Recôncavo, one exasperated planter and municipal councillor wrote from São Francisco do Conde that everything was in complete confusion. He and several of his neighbors had freed their remaining slaves a few days early, hoping to incorporate them into the existing population of resident former slaves and labor tenants. But, he reported, even the best-run plantations were witnessing a response of what he termed “respectful inertia” from the freed people. He predicted that the province would soon see a demand by the freed people to remain on the estates, without providing labor or rent. Although his language echoed the usual elite predictions of laziness on the part of freed people, he also recognized what seems to have been a core desire of former slaves: to gain or retain access to land. Two months later, he reported that the freed people believed that, by virtue of the abolition decree, they should have land and that they expected planters to turn the land over to them.<sup>68</sup>

Northeastern planters had a long tradition of allowing rural folk, some of them former slaves, to occupy plots of land as *moradores*. The word literally meant dwellers; in practice, it referred to labor tenants, or tenants-at-will, who occupied land in return for the provision of labor to the estate. Now some of the newly freed were taking this model one step further and insisting on immediate access to land on their own terms. Granting land might be a bargain for the owner, for it allowed him to pay below-subsistence wages, but the “respectful inertia” of former slaves left no doubt that his formal title to land did not imply uncontested dominion.

A year after abolition, the empire itself fell, and Brazil began its long experiment with elite-dominated republican government. The federal government was willing to subsidize immigration to the expanding coffee regions of the south, but landowners in the rest of the country were left largely to their own devices in the area of labor supply. Thus, while in the coffee regions, work relations were rapidly transformed by the development of new forms of immigrant sharecropping, in the northeast planters fell back on traditional forms of dependent labor. Anti-vagrancy legislation provided a modicum of legal compulsion, and occasional efforts to establish immigrant colonies added a few workers, but each employer was largely responsible for recruiting or retaining his or her own work force.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>66</sup> The figure for Bahia is from *Falla . . . Presidente da Provincia . . . 1 Outubro de 1887* (Salvador, Bahia, 1887), 129. That for Pernambuco is from Peter L. Eisenberg, *The Sugar Industry in Pernambuco: Modernization without Change, 1840–1910* (Berkeley, Calif., 1974), 147.

<sup>67</sup> See the analysis in Henrique August Milet, *A lavoura da canna de assucar* (Recife, 1881), viii.

<sup>68</sup> Paço da Câmara Municipal, São Francisco, May 19, 1888, to President of the Province of Bahia; and Paço da Câmara Municipal, São Francisco, July 10, 1888, to President of the Province of Bahia, both in Maço 1436, Seção Histórica, Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, Salvador, Bahia (hereafter, APEB).

<sup>69</sup> For a discussion of efforts to use vagrancy legislation to assist in labor recruitment in

Brazilian seigneurial power—in politics and in the internecine warfare of the countryside—had long rested on dominance over free dependents as well as slaves. Selected dependents served literally as henchmen, *capangas*, defending the landowner's interests with violence when necessary. The group of people who owed some form of dependent service to the patron included once-autonomous peasants who had been subordinated to the estate as well as former slaves who had achieved freedom during the long process of the decline of slavery. Although they lived on land claimed by the estate, these *moradores* had often avoided wage labor and had grown food crops on shares rather than working steadily in sugar. Consistent with the dispersed pattern of slave holding in northeastern Brazil, some *moradores* had even owned a slave or two. (One *morador* in Bahia, fined for failing to register the child of a slave, explained his oversight as the result of "ignorance, as a rustic man, and poor, and one who has the additional misfortune of living among people who are equally rustic."<sup>70</sup>)

In practical terms, *moradores* were neither peasants nor full proletarians—they worked for wages, but they relied heavily on family cultivation of provision and small-scale market crops for survival. They generally grew manioc, the "poor sister" of sugar cane, essential for subsistence and salable at the *feiras* held in nearby towns. In Bahia, for example, *moradores* on sugar estates in the early twentieth century grew both manioc and tobacco for sale, providing them with a small marginal income "to be spent in February in the festivals of Santo Amaro." These *moradores* also performed some unpaid labor services in return for the "favor" of being allowed to cultivate their garden plots (*roçados*) or to receive advances on their wages.<sup>71</sup>

Even with an abundant supply of labor in the plantation zones, planters also drew on migrants from the dry interior, the *sertão*. The extremely harsh conditions of the *sertão* encouraged a seasonal migration of backlanders—known as *corumbás*, *cingueiros*, or *retirantes*—who arrived famished and in need of work. They remained on the coast, often working as cattle handlers on the estates, until the rains came in the interior. Their presence at harvest time reduced still further the pressure planters might otherwise have been under to raise wages or attempt to institute long-term contracts with their resident laborers.<sup>72</sup>

The Brazilian historian and geographer Manuel Correia de Andrade has argued that wage labor as such only came into general use in the northeast in the early decades of the twentieth century and that it did not predominate in the sugar industry until the 1960s, with the application of the Statute of the Rural

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Pernambuco, see Martha Knisely Huggins, *From Slavery to Vagrancy in Brazil: Crime and Social Control in the Third World* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1985).

<sup>70</sup> Informe o Senr Inspector da Thesouraria de Fazenda, 3 Maio de 1877, in *Escravos* (Assuntos 1877–89), Judiciário, Presidencia da Provincia, APEB.

<sup>71</sup> S. Fróes Abreu, *Alguns aspectos da Bahia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1926), 71. Santo Amaro is a major town in the sugar region of the Bahian Recôncavo.

<sup>72</sup> For a discussion of migrant and fixed labor in Pernambuco, see Jaime Reis, "From *Banguê* to *Usina*: Social Aspects of Growth and Modernization in the Sugar Industry of Pernambuco, Brazil, 1850–1920," in Keith Duncan and Ian Rutledge, eds., *Land and Labour in Latin America* (Cambridge, 1977), 369–96. On Bahia, see Abreu, *Alguns aspectos*, 70–73.

Laborer.<sup>73</sup> The transition, in effect, was not one from slavery to wage labor but rather from slavery to hybrid work forms, which in turn evolved slowly toward wage labor, with deviations and reversals along the way.

In effect, seemingly outmoded forms of labor gave considerable flexibility to the sugar industry, permitting enterprises to expand and contract cane production without major outlays of cash, while retaining a reserve force of potential laborers.<sup>74</sup> At the same time, the structure of sugar production itself was changing. The first step was the establishment of the short-lived *engenhos centrais* in the 1870s and 1880s, mills heavily subsidized by the state, which did not grow their own cane but ground cane from a range of suppliers. The next phase was that of the *usina*, a vertically integrated enterprise that both grew cane and processed it, while drawing in additional supplies from other growers. The *usinas* more closely resembled the central mills of Louisiana and Cuba, and they became the dominant form in much of the Brazilian northeast by the end of the century.<sup>75</sup>

The farming of cane for provision to mills owned by others had a long history in Brazil, and *lavradores de cana* (cane farmers) had constituted an important intermediate social group in the colonial and early national periods. These early cane farmers were dependent on the mills, but as slaveholders they shared certain interests and aspirations with the larger planters. Like *colonos* in Cuba, their wealth, status, and racial categorization varied, and the term *lavradores de cana* initially included landowners, renters, and sharecroppers.<sup>76</sup>

The number of cane farmers seems to have remained relatively high through the postemancipation period. Even more so than in Cuba, owners of small estates with primitive mills sold cane to neighboring large mills for grinding. These *fornecedores de cana* (literally, cane furnishers) and the smaller scale *lavradores de cana* (cane farmers, often share-tenants) constituted a rural middle group, some in decline and some in ascent.

Written contracts were generally less common in Brazil than in Cuba, so it is difficult to compare the situation of Cuban and Brazilian cane farmers precisely. But, according to analysts of the postemancipation sugar industry in Pernambuco, large-scale cane suppliers owed a percentage of their output to the mill in exchange for grinding, and they employed substantial numbers of laborers, at wages that at least one group of growers admitted were "miserable."<sup>77</sup> Small-scale *lavradores de cana* generally owed a larger percentage of the value of

<sup>73</sup> Manuel Correia de Andrade, "Transição do trabalho escravo para o trabalho livre no nordeste açucareiro: 1850/1888," *Estudos econômicos*, 13 (January–April 1983): 71–83.

<sup>74</sup> This argument is made in Antônio Barros de Castro, *7 ensaios sobre a economia brasileira*, vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro, 1971), 28–29.

<sup>75</sup> Discussions of modernization in the Brazilian sugar industry include Eisenberg, *Sugar Industry*; Nathaniel H. Leff, *Underdevelopment and Development in Brazil*, Vol. 2, *Reassessing the Obstacles to Economic Development* (London, 1982), 6–40; Gadiel Perruci, *A república das usinas: Um estudo de história social e econômica do nordeste; 1889–1930* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978); Reis, "From Banguê to Usina"; and Denslow, "Sugar Production," 42.

<sup>76</sup> On *lavradores* in the colonial period, see Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835* (New York, 1985). On *lavradores* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Reis, "From Banguê to Usina"; and Gileno Dé Carli, *O processo histórico da usina em Pernambuco* (Rio de Janeiro, 1942).

<sup>77</sup> See the petition of cane growers from Pernambuco in 1928 quoted in Dé Carli, *O processo histórico*, 33.

the cane they produced to the mill as rent, up to between 30 and 50 percent of the total output.<sup>78</sup>

In the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, the owners of *usinas* (central mills) sought control over substantial areas of cane land and actively pursued the purchase of land from the traditional sugar estates. Particularly in Pernambuco, the attempted monopolization of land by the *usinas* was perceived by the old estate owners as an unwelcome transformation and an act of aggression against their prerogatives. However, periodic falls in sugar prices restrained the *usinas* somewhat.<sup>79</sup> In order to reduce costs, the owners of central mills themselves were often eager to use sharecropping cane farmers on newly purchased land. As in Cuba, cane farmers bought their partial independence at the cost of absorbing the impact of low sugar prices.

The consequences of the development of central mills in Brazil were, however, strikingly different from those in Cuba. Increasing productivity still did not make the region competitive, in part because productivity grew even faster in Cuba. Between 1880 and 1910, exports of sugar from the states of Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Paraíba showed an average annual growth rate of zero, compared to more than 4 percent annually in Cuba.<sup>80</sup> In 1894, Brazil's total production reached less than one-third that of Cuba.<sup>81</sup> Population continued to grow, but demand was weak, output was stagnant, wages were very low, and the internal reorganization that accompanied abolition was less thoroughgoing than in Cuba and Louisiana.<sup>82</sup> Among other things, no war had accompanied emancipation in

<sup>78</sup> See Dé Carli, *O processo histórico*, 20–23. He describes both *rendeiro* and *parceiro* arrangements, with renters paying a percentage of output as rent but guaranteeing a minimum rental payment, and sharecroppers owing no minimum but paying a higher percentage. Eisenberg, discussing the late nineteenth century, translates *lavrador* as sharecropper and cites payments of one half the cane and all the molasses, rum, and waste products. *Sugar Industry*, 191. In terms of the typology for the United States developed by Harold Woodman, these sharecroppers might be described as share renters, for they paid a portion of the crop as rent, rather than receiving the value of a portion of the crop as wages. The fact that the cane has little value until it is consigned to the mill, however, tends to blur the distinction. See Harold D. Woodman, "Post-Civil War Southern Agriculture and the Law," *Agricultural History*, 53 (January 1979): 319–37.

<sup>79</sup> See, in particular, Dé Carli, *O processo*. One might contrast this to the situation in Cuba, where much of the expansion that fueled the central mills was onto lands not previously cultivated in cane.

<sup>80</sup> David Denslow concludes, "By 1908 total factor productivity of sugar mills in Cuba was over seventy percent greater than that of mills in the Northeast," due in large part to the use in Cuba of very large mills, which extracted more juice per ton of cane. He emphasizes the role of topography in restricting the area from which cane could profitably be drawn to a central grinding mill in Brazil. See Denslow, "Sugar Production in Northeastern Brazil and Cuba, 1858–1908" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1974), chap. 2, table 1, and abstract. Bahian sugar exports suffered an absolute decline. For Bahia in the 1880s, see Francisco Marques de Goes Calmon, *Vida econômico-financeira da Bahia: Elementos para a história de 1808 a 1899* (Salvador, Bahia, 1925), table between 106 and 107. For the period 1911–1920, see Brazil, Ministério de Agricultura, Indústria e Comércio, Directoria do Serviço de Inspeção e Fomento Agrícolas, *Aspectos da economia rural brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922), 440.

<sup>81</sup> Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, "O Governo Barbosa Lima e a Indústria Açucareira," *Anuário Açucareiro para 1938* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938), 353–67. The comparison between Cuba and Brazil appears on 355–56. See also Deerr, *History of Sugar*, 1: 113, 131.

<sup>82</sup> The evidence for low wages in Pernambuco is clear. See Jaime Reis, "From *Banguê* to *Usina*," 375; Eisenberg, *Sugar Industry*, 190; and Denslow, "Sugar Production," 56. Planters in Bahia, however, continued to speak of a labor shortage, and our evidence on wages in Bahia is thin. An observer in Bahia in 1925 believed that many former slaves had initially ceased working in cane and that, after the initial crisis, "resurgiu a lavoura em novos moldes, pagando caro ao trabalhador e



northeastern Brazil, as it had in Louisiana and Cuba. Mills were neither burned nor confiscated; transformation was not hastened by the destruction of old equipment. Small estates in Pernambuco, for example, often retained their mills and ground their own cane when they were not satisfied with the prices offered by the *usinas*.<sup>83</sup> In Bahia, as late as the 1920s, there were still some 2,000 little mills, called *engenhocas*, producing sugar and the cruder *rapadura*, a coarse brown sugar for local consumption.<sup>84</sup>

It was this process that Peter Eisenberg called "modernization without change" and that has generally been interpreted as implying a crushing continuity of dependence and poverty for former slaves. While this is in one sense quite accurate—indeed, rural northeasterners may have been even more malnourished after emancipation than before—an overemphasis on continuity may obscure the importance of the access to land that many former slaves did achieve.<sup>85</sup> Even for squatters and small-scale cane farmers, subsistence and cash-crop cultivation permitted a sense of identity as peasant or farmer, rather than as mere laborer, and provided a practical means of limiting direct dependence on wages. Access to land made it possible to utilize more fully the labor of family members, including women, and to exchange labor with one's neighbors. These labor exchanges, in turn, strengthened horizontal ties among the poor, providing something of a counterweight to the more asymmetrical obligations inherent in the patron-client bond with the landowner.<sup>86</sup>

Even though the physical work performed by labor tenants might differ little from that performed by slaves, the orbits of their lives now had a somewhat different shape. While slaves had lived in a centralized set of quarters under direct supervision, *moradores* usually built their huts "at scattered points on the estates." An even more general dispersion of the population was probably prevented by the development of central mills, but the small-scale dispersion within estates could be of crucial importance to the development of a life oriented toward family and neighbors rather than employer. And, to the extent that freedom of movement could be maintained, it provided some constraint on the exactions that could be imposed on rural dwellers.<sup>87</sup>

The category of *morador*, moreover, represented no fixed "racial" identity. The longstanding incorporation of freed slaves into the rural population continued after abolition, expanding the size of a rural free population that had long been composed of folks of African, European, Indian, and "mixed" descent. Although

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logrando resultados pouco compensadores." Of course, what former slaveholders perceived as "expensive" labor may not have involved very high wages. Abreu, *Alguns aspectos*, 68.

<sup>83</sup> See Eisenberg, *Modernization*, 106–07.

<sup>84</sup> See Brazil, Ministerio de Agricultura, *Aspectos da economia rural brasileira*, 435.

<sup>85</sup> On levels of malnutrition, see Jaime Reis, "Hunger in the Northeast: Some Historical Aspects," in Simon Mitchell, ed., *The Logic of Poverty: The Case of the Brazilian Northeast* (London, 1981), 41–57.

<sup>86</sup> For a general discussion of forms of labor exchange in the northeast, see Helio Galvão, *O mutirão no nordeste* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959).

<sup>87</sup> For a geographer's perspective on this process, see J. H. Galloway, "The Sugar Industry of Pernambuco during the Nineteenth Century," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 58 (June 1968): 285–303. On the effects of freedom of movement, see Reis, "From Banguê to Usina."

impoverishment and African ancestry were certainly correlated, plantation labor itself was not segregated by social race.

Much of the coastal region was already occupied, but some former slaves found spaces in which to plant manioc as the economy in sugar faltered, or they moved into tobacco, a cash crop that could be grown on a very small plot of land with relatively modest capital investment. In this respect, tobacco in Bahia may have been comparable to coffee in eastern Cuba or bananas in Jamaica—an area of agriculture in which a smallholding peasantry, including former slaves or their descendants, could produce a cash crop for export.<sup>88</sup> The tobacco factories of towns in the Recôncavo, particularly Cachoeira and São Felix, also afforded possibilities for employment.<sup>89</sup>

To lessen further the web of dependency that seemed inevitable if one remained on the estates, some former slaves in the northeast moved to areas of more open land, particularly the *agreste*, the band of drier but not parched land that lies between the coastal plantations and the drought-prone *sertão*. The cattle-raising, cotton-growing, and food-producing regions of the *agreste* had long been closely linked to the sugar zones, and movement from one to the other was both logical and familiar.<sup>90</sup>

In keeping with the different pattern of life in the interior, seasonal migrants to the coast from the *agreste* and the *sertão* resisted working year-round under the direct supervision of owners and overseers. To modernizing contemporaries, this insistence on the “liberty to wander starving” seemed quixotic. But one need only read a few descriptions of work in the cane or of the twelve-hour shifts in the “devil” of a sugar mill, to understand some of the possible sources of this attitude.<sup>91</sup>

Workers thus asserted fragments of independence from employers and defended certain forms of community. Nevertheless, the rural population as a whole was extraordinarily poor and hungry. Former slaves had a degree of physical mobility, in contrast to the immobility of slavery, and they had greater access to grounds for subsistence or small-scale market production. But they shared with long-free rural Brazilians a sparse and vulnerable existence. Relatively few seem to have become share-tenants in cane, able to attempt to climb the agricultural ladder, and fewer still made it to the next rung.

Concerted efforts to change the structure of power were very rare in the early

<sup>88</sup> Judith Allen has also suggested a parallel between tobacco in Bahia and coffee in Haiti, each providing for a certain amount of what Michel-Rolph Trouillot has called “motion in the system” by offering opportunities to free people of color. Personal communication, 1991. See Trouillot, “Motion in the System: Coffee, Color, and Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Saint-Domingue,” *Review*, 5 (Winter 1982): 331–88). On bananas in Jamaica, see Holt, *Problem of Freedom*.

<sup>89</sup> See Fayette Wimberly, “The African *Liberto* and the Bahian Lower Class: Social Integration in Nineteenth-Century Bahia, Brazil, 1870–1900” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1988), 120–52.

<sup>90</sup> Peter Eisenberg emphasizes the importance of movement to the *agreste* as a form of postemancipation escape from the plantations. Personal communication, 1986.

<sup>91</sup> See the discussion of workers’ resistance to contracts and their preference for liberty, even to the point of wandering starving (“o hábito de sua liberdade, e até o de andar faminto”), from the *Diário de Pernambuco* in 1893, cited in Michael Hall and Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, *A classe operária*, Vol. 2, *Condições de vida e de trabalho, relações com os empresários e o estado* (São Paulo, 1981), 19–23. The image of the “devil” in the sugar mill is from a worker interviewed in the 1970s, cited in José Sérgio Leite Lopes, *O vapor do diabo: O trabalho dos operários do açúcar* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978).

decades of the republic. There seems to be no evidence of formal strikes in the sugar areas. No rural unions emerged comparable to the Workers' Guilds in central Cuba or the Knights of Labor in the cane fields of Louisiana. The most dramatic collective action of the period—the mass movement of the followers of Antônio Conselheiro—originated outside the sugar regions, although it doubtless drew in some former plantation slaves as it gained in strength. Its vision of autonomy and redemption was extinguished in a brutal army assault in 1897.<sup>92</sup>

For the most part, the struggle for control over the terms of labor seems to have been carried out through an insistence on rights to land for the production of subsistence and market crops, through a refusal to commit oneself to full-time wage labor, and through forms of labor exchange among smallholders. The struggle continued into the twentieth century, even though the growth of central mills brought the establishment of fixed residences and rules of conduct intended to force the workers to adopt “*uma vida regular*.”<sup>93</sup>

In 1922, a government commission reported that, although wage-paid day labor was common in the rural sector of the state of Bahia, substantial numbers of laborers worked *por empreitada*, at job work. Wages in the coastal regions were paid in money; but, in more isolated areas, payment was sometimes made in food and merchandise (*gêneros e mercadorias*). The report observed coolly, “Wages do not vary with the form of payment and these are generally accepted without complaint by the workers.”<sup>94</sup> Wages were somewhat lower in Pernambuco, where migrants from the interior arrived in September to work in the cane and where women and children worked by the day. When labor was short, workers could insist on payment by the job rather than the day; some forms of rental and sharecropping were also arranged through oral contracts. The report noted with some puzzlement that there were many workers in Pernambuco who preferred to “live in liberty,” even in miserable hovels, rather than work as wage laborers in agriculture under the direction of owners, administrators, or overseers.<sup>95</sup> Continuity, yes; but it was a continuity of complex negotiations and renegotiations, carried out with few resources and great tenacity.

YEARS AFTER EMANCIPATION, in Cuba, Brazil, and Louisiana, impoverished workers still headed into the fields at first light to carry out the backbreaking work of cutting, lifting, and hauling sugar cane. But the mechanisms by which their labor was elicited, and the class relations in which their work was embedded, had changed markedly since the time of slavery. Moreover, despite the physical

<sup>92</sup> There are many studies of the Conselheiro movement; for a recent examination, and an extensive bibliography, see Robert M. Levine, *Vale of Tears: Revisiting the Canudos Massacre in Northeastern Brazil, 1893–1897* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

<sup>93</sup> See Leoncio G. Araujo, “A Usina de Açúcar na Economia Pernambucana,” *Anuario Açucareiro para 1938*, 313–19.

<sup>94</sup> Wages in sugar had apparently remained stable for a decade between 1912 and 1921. Brazil, Ministério de Agricultura, *Aspectos da economia rural brasileira*, 471–72.

<sup>95</sup> The same report criticized employers for their failure to offer rural workers a degree of well-being and education and to treat them with a bit of civility. Brazil, Ministério da Agricultura, *Aspectos da economia rural brasileira*, 347–48. See also Eisenberg, *Sugar Industry*, 183–90, for estimates of wage levels in Pernambuco before and after abolition.

similarity of their situations, those who grew and cut cane in Cuba, Brazil, and Louisiana were differently situated in terms of access to productive and organizational resources. Equally important, the social relations among workers and between workers and employers reflected very different constructions of race and politics.

It seems clear that the production of sugar does impose certain limits on the kinds of labor systems that can be adopted: cutting and processing must be closely coordinated to prevent loss of sucrose in the cane, and the peak demand for labor during harvest must be met reliably in order to get the cane in before the rains (in Cuba) or frost (in Louisiana).<sup>96</sup> As one economist has noted, a given staple crop, while not determining the socio-political environment, "will imprint certain patterns of its own on whatever environment happens to be around."<sup>97</sup> The variety of labor relations associated with sugar production in the decades after the end of slavery suggests that the "imprinting" process is a complex one. Indeed, however great the temptation to personify sugar itself, it is the worker and the planter who remain central to the story.

Within the overall goal of producing sugar, there were multiple means to each end. Thus the coordinating of cutting and processing could be achieved through the compulsion and intense labor of slavery. It could also be met, however, by contractual arrangements between cane farmers and a locally monopolistic central mill. If the cane farmer had no one else to grind his cane, he could ill afford to ignore the deadlines set by the mill. There were costs to the mill associated with the difficulties of weighing individual deliveries and maintaining quality, but there were also savings in managerial expenses and in the transferring of the risks and tasks of labor control to individual growers. Planters in Cuba were relatively quick to follow this path for a significant fraction of their production.

The need for labor at harvest could be met by maintaining a large number of resident laborers in estate dwellings, as in Louisiana, or by permitting sharecroppers to live on marginal land in exchange for providing labor at harvest, as in Brazil, or by drawing workers out of the towns when needed to supplement a smaller permanent work force, as in Cuba. In each case, additional seasonal labor provided a supplementary work force, with the migration of young men from the cotton parishes to the sugar parishes in Louisiana, the influx of Spanish and West Indian workers to cut cane in Cuba, and the movement of backlanders down to the coast for the harvest in Brazil. But the proportion of each group in the labor force could vary widely, depending in part on the costs and difficulty of maintaining a resident work force and the degree of seasonality of the need for labor.

The overall labor supply in a given region affected the pattern of work that would emerge but not in a linear fashion. Thus, in Cuba, the expansion of grinding capacity and the departure of some freed people created an apparent "labor shortage," and contract cane farming was quickly expanded to attract

<sup>96</sup> Even these exigencies vary somewhat with the geography and climate of the region; in areas with appropriate year-round temperature and rainfall, sugar's marked seasonality is diminished.

<sup>97</sup> See Albert O. Hirschman, *Essays in Trespassing: Economics to Politics and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1981), chap. 4, esp. p. 96.

immigrants and to draw smallholders into sugar production. In Brazil, the growth of population in the absence of alternative forms of employment created a "surplus population," permitting the use of nearly unpaid labor and strongly discouraging substantial immigration. In Louisiana, planters trying to avoid what they perceived as a labor shortage initially sought to bind their existing workers through year-long contracts and later encouraged seasonal immigration from the cotton parishes.<sup>98</sup>

Larger structures of capital and commodity markets could also narrow or expand the range of strategies available to planters. In northeastern Brazil, weak markets and scarce working capital militated against the widespread adoption of wage labor, thus reinforcing the cultural pattern of patron-clientelism. In Cuba, by contrast, the availability of North American capital helped to open up the possibility of rapid growth and the attraction of workers through wage incentives. In Louisiana, Northern entrepreneurs and Northern capital helped to stimulate economic recovery and technological innovation but did not challenge the political and racial order supported by local planters.<sup>99</sup>

In each area, the state showed differing degrees of willingness and capacity to intervene, as well as different policies on the question of labor control. In Louisiana, the Union Army reinforced early efforts to impose annual contracts, but the turmoil of occupation and Reconstruction opened up some space for the freed people to gain ground in their struggle with former masters. Later, strikebreaking was endorsed by the state militia, and waves of repression and disenfranchisement completed the task of silencing workers in the cane. In Cuba, the colonial state's reluctance to provoke opposition restrained efforts at direct labor control, and its encouragement of Spanish immigration helped to guarantee a multi-ethnic rural labor force. But the authoritarian conduct of Spanish officials in the island strengthened Cuban nationalism, reinforcing the separatist ideology that brought black, white, and mulatto Cubans together to challenge colonial domination.

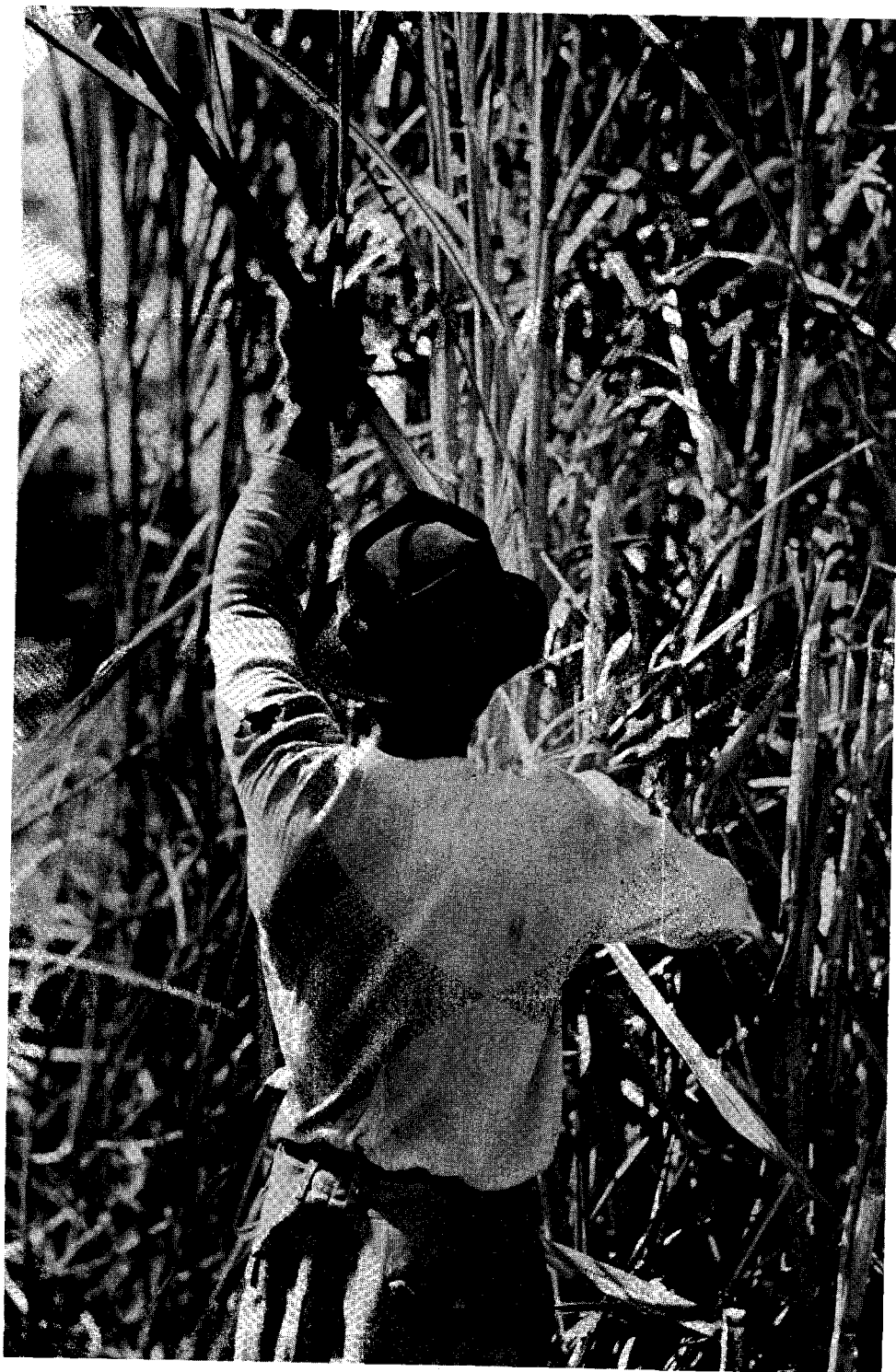
In northeastern Brazil, landholders were prepared to undertake the disciplining of labor on their own terms. The demand for labor, at least in Pernambuco, was if anything in decline as modern equipment increased productivity in a period of limited markets for Brazilian sugar. Northeastern workers thus did not have the leverage that periodic labor shortages in an expanding sugar industry afforded their Cuban counterparts. Stagnation in output was matched by relative stability in social relations. In moments of crisis, however, like the mass movement under the leadership of Antônio Conselheiro, military force was made available to restore the class power of landowners and eliminate the challenge to established social relations.

Planters thus made choices in response to evolving markets, available technol-

<sup>98</sup> An overview of the factors affecting the reorganization of labor after emancipation can be found in Herbert S. Klein and Stanley L. Engerman, "The Transition from Slave to Free Labor: Notes on a Comparative Economic Model," in Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, Md., 1985).

<sup>99</sup> See John Alfred Heitmann, *The Modernization of the Louisiana Sugar Industry, 1830-1910* (Baton Rouge, La., 1987), chap. 4.





Cutting sugar cane in a field near New Iberia, Louisiana, October 1938. Photo by Russell Lee. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

ogy, and the possibility of employing resources from the state. At the same time, however, they had to contend with the efforts of the newly freed to achieve security, voice, and a degree of proprietorship. There would be no cane planted, weeded, cut, or ground without some form of compliance from the workers themselves. In Louisiana, the freed people's dream of proprietorship was thwarted, but repeated strikes raised wages above their immediate postwar levels. In Cuba, a series of tenacious cross-racial movements encompassing sugar workers made it imprudent for any imperial power—Spain or the United States—to attempt direct coercion on the sugar plantations. Spanish forces attempting to take over estates in 1896 were often met with gunfire; employers hoping to pay in scrip in 1901 often found themselves bereft of workers. Even in Brazil, where the continuities of control seem so thoroughgoing, rights to land and subsistence were deeply entrenched, and the final dispossession of the labor force in sugar awaited the middle of the twentieth century.

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# The Transformation of American Family Structure

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STEVEN RUGGLES

**“EXPLODED—‘MYTH’ OF THE VICTORIAN FAMILY,”** screamed the two-inch headline in the tabloid *Daily Mail* on April 5, 1990. The subheadline read, “People Today Care Far More, Historian Claims.” The historian referred to was Richard Wall, one of the foremost scholars of historical family structure, and the occasion for the article was a paper he presented to the British Sociological Association on the history of living arrangements among the elderly. The newspaper quoted Wall: “The image of a golden age in the past when granny sat beside the fire knitting, while helping to look after the children, is a popular myth . . . if anything, family ties were less strong in past centuries.”<sup>1</sup>

Wall was not the first to explode this particular myth. In fact, his paper falls squarely within a prominent historiographical tradition. For more than thirty years, sociologists and historians have been combating the theory that there was a transition from extended to nuclear family structure. Instead, the revisionists argue, family structure has remained unchanged and overwhelmingly nuclear in northwestern Europe and North America for centuries. Recounting this revisionist interpretation has become obligatory in writing on historical family structure.<sup>2</sup>

Funding for data preparation was provided by the National Science Foundation (SES-9118299, 1991-93, and SES-9210903, 1992-95); the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (HD 25839, 1989-93); and the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota (1985-93). The research was carried out under a Bush Sabbatical fellowship from the University of Minnesota (1992-93). My thanks to Bob McCaa, Daniel Scott Smith, and Charles Wetherell for their helpful comments and suggestions; to Michael Haines for advice on nineteenth-century mortality; and to the research and data-entry staffs of the 1880, 1850, and Integrated Public Use Microdata Series projects.

<sup>1</sup> *Daily Mail* (April 5, 1990): 3. Wall's paper was “Relationships between the Generations in British Families Past and Present,” presented at the 1990 annual meeting of the British Sociological Association and subsequently published in *Families and Households: Divisions and Change*, Catherine Marsh and Sara Aber, eds. (New York, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> Following U.S. Census Bureau practice, the term family refers in this essay to any group of related people who reside together, whereas the term household refers to a group of people who share living quarters, regardless of their relationships. A nuclear family is considered to be a married couple and their children residing together, with or without nonrelatives; an extended family is defined as one that includes any relatives beyond the nuclear group. Fragmentary families contain a subset of nuclear family members, and multigenerational families contain two or more adult generations in the direct line of descent. To maximize comparability, persons residing in group quarters under 1970 census definitions have been excluded from analysis except where otherwise noted. For discussions of the temporal comparability of the census concepts of family, household, and group quarters, see Steven Ruggles, “Comparability of the Public-Use Data Files of the U.S. Census of Population,” *Social Science History*, 15 (1991): 123-58; Daniel Scott Smith, “The Meanings of Family and Household: Change and Continuity in the Mirror of the American Census,” *Population and Development Review*, 18 (1992): 421-56.

This essay reexamines the revisionist argument about the history of the family in light of new evidence about long-run changes in American family structure. In particular, I use the new Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, a national database incorporating consistent individual-level data from the U.S. Census over the period 1850 to 1990. I also report findings from the only eighteenth-century American census of sufficient size and quality to permit a consistent analysis of family composition, the 1776 census of Maryland.<sup>3</sup> The evidence suggests that the revisionist interpretation needs revising. In fact, a form of extended family structure was dominant in nineteenth-century America and quite probably in the eighteenth century as well. The American preference for extended family structure disappeared in the twentieth century, and I will offer a brief analysis of some explanations for this change.

Historians and sociologists have expended far more effort attacking the theory of a transition from extended to nuclear family structure than was ever expended promoting it. The notion that our ancestors lived in large extended families is widespread among the general public, but it was never more than a minor theme of sociological theorists. Daniel Scott Smith holds that the theory of an extended-to-nuclear shift in family structure appeared only rarely before the mid-1930s, and even at mid-century the theory remained unimportant.<sup>4</sup> Thus, according to Smith, the thirty-year emphasis of revisionist historians on refuting the myth has been misguided.

Even if it was of secondary importance, the idea of a transition from extended to nuclear family structure was an established part of social theory by the middle of the twentieth century. The leading sociological theorists from the late 1930s through the 1950s, such as Louis Wirth, Ralph Linton, and above all Talcott Parsons, generally endorsed the view that at some time in the past—which could be anywhere from the late nineteenth century to the late Middle Ages—people typically resided with extended kin. Moreover, most of these sociologists regarded the isolated nuclear family as an ideal form for modern industrial societies and an essential underpinning of the American way of life.<sup>5</sup>

The challenges to the extended-to-nuclear model of family history began almost as soon as it entered the sociological canon. Starting in the early 1950s,

<sup>3</sup> The source data used here are described in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Technical Documentation for the 1960 Public Use Sample* (Washington, D.C., 1973); U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1980 Census: Description and Technical Documentation* (Washington, D.C., 1982); U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population, 1940: Public Use Sample Technical Documentation* (Washington, D.C., 1984); Michael Strong, et al., *User's Guide: Public Use Sample, 1910 Census of Population* (Philadelphia, 1989); Steven Ruggles, et al., *1880 Public Use Microdata Sample: User's Guide* (Minneapolis, 1992); Russell R. Menard, et al., *1850 Public Use Microdata Sample: User's Guide* (Minneapolis, Social History Research Laboratory, forthcoming). The 1776 Maryland census appears in Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, ed., *Maryland Records: Colonial, Revolutionary, County and Church* (Baltimore, Md., 1915–28).

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Scott Smith, "The Curious History of Theorizing about the History of the Western Nuclear Family," *Social Science History*, 17 (1993): 325–53.

<sup>5</sup> Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (1938): 1–24; Ralph Linton, "The Natural History of the Family," in *The Family: Its Function and Destiny*, Ruth N. Anshen, ed. (New York, 1959); Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," *American Anthropologist*, 45 (1943): 22–38; Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization, and the Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Ill., 1955); Talcott Parsons, "The Social Structure of the Family," in Anshen, *The Family*.



Marvin Sussman wrote a series of articles with titles like "The Isolated Nuclear Family: Fact or Fiction?" which argued that although most people lived in nuclear families, they routinely depended on their relatives for assistance. By the early 1960s, the sociology journals were overflowing with essays devoted to overturning the Parsonian myth. Survey after survey discovered that Americans frequently had family get-togethers, telephoned their relatives regularly, and provided their kin with a wide variety of services. Eugene Litwak coined the term "modified extended family" to describe the system: it was a "coalition of nuclear families in a state of mutual dependence." The traditional extended family may have been abandoned, but even if relatives no longer lived together, they still relied on one another. Litwak argued that the modified extended family was the most efficient possible system for a society seeking to maximize democracy and technological progress.<sup>6</sup>

Other disciplines reinforced the attack on the myth of the shift to nuclear family structure. Anthropologists showed that many traditional peoples resided in nuclear families and that industrialization did not always lead to simplification of the family. Social gerontologists and social workers echoed the theme of the modified extended family as the characteristic form of industrial societies and extolled the virtues of extended family ties.<sup>7</sup> And, finally, historians entered the fray.

In 1963, Peter Laslett and John Harrison published a delightful article on the social structure of two seventeenth-century English villages.<sup>8</sup> For one of these villages—Clayworth, in Nottinghamshire—Laslett and Harrison had discovered a listing of inhabitants that allowed them to assess household structure. They found that only about one in ten households included any kin beyond parents and children. Thus, in Clayworth at least, the nuclear family predominated long before industrialization. In the next few years, Laslett and his colleagues at the newly formed Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure showed that Clayworth was not unique; population listings were uncovered for a hundred villages, and Clayworth proved to be highly representative. Throughout preindustrial England, extended families were rare.<sup>9</sup>

If the evidence on the lack of extended households in preindustrial England had come to light at another time, it probably would not have made a great impact on sociological thought. But the timing was perfect: the thesis of a shift from

<sup>6</sup> Marvin B. Sussman, "The Help Pattern in the Middle Class Family," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (1953): 22–28; Sussman, "The Isolated Nuclear Family: Fact or Fiction?" *Social Problems*, 6 (1959): 333–40; Sussman, "Relationships of Adult Children with Their Parents in the United States," in *Social Structure and the Family: Generational Relations*, Ethel Shanas and Gordon F. Streib, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965); Eugene Litwak, "Geographical Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (1960): 385–94; Litwak, "Extended Kin Relations in an Industrial Democratic Society," in Shanas and Streib, *Social Structure and the Family*; see also William J. Goode, *World Revolution and Family Patterns* (New York, 1963).

<sup>7</sup> George P. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York, 1960); Sydney S. Greenfield, "Industrialization and the Family in Sociological Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, 47 (1961): 312–22; Ethel Shanas, *Family Relationships of Older People* (New York, 1961).

<sup>8</sup> Peter Laslett and John Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," in *Historical Essays, 1600–1750: Presented to David Ogg*, H. E. Bell and R. L. Ollard, eds. (London, 1963).

<sup>9</sup> Peter Laslett, "Introduction," in *Household and Family in Past Time*, Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, eds. (London, 1972).



extended to nuclear family structure in the industrial revolution was already under attack, so the results from Cambridge found a ready audience.

The historical work cemented a subtle strengthening of the critique of Parsons and the other proponents of a shift from nuclear to extended families. The early opponents of the thesis that industrial society demanded an isolated nuclear family structure had implicitly acknowledged that a shift in living arrangements had taken place, but they argued that kin relationships beyond the household remained strong. Now it appeared that extended household structure had never been the norm of Western society. The new orthodoxy embraced both these ideas. The revisionists concluded that the nuclear family was always the preferred form, but the key to understanding the family lay with the invisible ties that bound family members even when they lived apart.<sup>10</sup>

The revisionist orthodoxy is now ubiquitous. Among both historians and sociologists, the long-run dominance of a nuclear family system is generally accepted as empirical fact. Laslett's publications on the history of the family have generated a vast literature: they have been cited some 3,000 times in journal articles, not to mention citations in monographs, collected essays, and textbooks. This citation record far exceeds that of any other research in the field.<sup>11</sup>

UNTIL RECENTLY, HISTORIANS LACKED SUFFICIENT DATA to trace long-run national trends in family structure. With a few notable exceptions, empirical analyses of family structure therefore ignored the issue of long-term change. Instead, the great majority of historical studies examine living arrangements in one or two communities at a single point in time or over a decade or two. We have had no way of determining if the communities are representative, and comparisons between studies have been complicated by variations in data sources, data collection procedures, and classifications of family structure. Moreover, the community studies have not ordinarily produced statistics that are directly comparable to data from the recent past.<sup>12</sup>

A new data source allows us to generate for the first time a consistent series of national statistics on family structure over the past century. This source is the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS), a national historical census

<sup>10</sup> In the current version of the revisionist interpretation, generalizations about the continuity of nuclear family structure are ordinarily limited to northwestern Europe and the United States. For a recent summary of the revisionist viewpoint, see Tamara K. Hareven, "The History of the Family and the Complexity of Social Change," *AHR*, 96 (February 1991): 95–124.

<sup>11</sup> Laslett's citation record was estimated from the *Social Science Citation Index* (Philadelphia, 1965–91); and the *Arts and Humanities Citation Index* (Philadelphia, 1965–91).

<sup>12</sup> A few studies, mostly by demographers, have attempted long-term comparisons at the national level. These include Frances Kobrin, "The Fall in Household Size and the Rise of the Primary Individual in the United States," *Demography*, 13 (1976): 127–38; Daniel Scott Smith, "Accounting for Change in the Families of the Elderly in the United States, 1900–Present," in *Old Age in a Bureaucratic Society: The Elderly, the Experts, and the State in American History*, David Van Tassel and Peter N. Stearns, eds. (Westport, Conn., 1986); Steven Ruggles, "The Demography of the Unrelated Individual, 1900–1950," *Demography*, 25 (1988): 521–36; James A. Sweet and Larry L. Bumpass, *American Families and Households* (New York, 1987). Prior to the availability of the Public Use Microdata Samples, such studies were plagued by problems of comparability; see Ruggles, "Comparability of the Public-Use Data Files."

**TABLE 1**  
**Percentage Distribution of Household Composition by Race, United States,**  
**1880–1980**

	1880	1910	1940	1960	1980
<b>A. Whites</b>					
Fragmentary Households	13.2	13.6	16.5	19.7	33.5
Primary Individuals	5.0	6.2	9.5	14.6	26.5
Single Parents	8.2	7.4	7.0	5.1	7.0
Married-Couple Households	67.3	66.5	66.0	68.8	59.8
Childless Couples	11.0	14.5	20.6	23.1	24.7
Couples with Children	56.4	51.9	45.4	45.7	35.1
Extended Households	19.5	19.9	17.6	11.5	6.7
N	84,398	70,375	62,641	47,825	66,167
<b>B. Nonwhites</b>					
Fragmentary Households	20.7	20.9	23.4	27.8	42.9
Primary Individuals	9.1	11.5	14.7	18.5	25.0
Single Parents	11.6	9.4	8.6	9.3	17.9
Married-Couple Households	56.8	55.0	49.7	47.6	39.8
Childless Couples	11.6	16.6	19.9	16.3	11.3
Couples with Children	45.2	38.3	29.7	31.3	28.5
Extended Households	22.5	24.1	27.0	24.6	17.4
N	12,697	9,233	6,385	5,191	11,088

**NOTES:**

Group quarters under 1970 census definition excluded

Primary Individuals: persons heading households with no kin present

Single Parents: unmarried heads with children and no other kin

Childless couples: Married-couple households with no kin

Nuclear households: Married couples with children and no other kin

Extended households: Households with kin other than spouse and children

database in preparation at the University of Minnesota with funding from the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health. When complete, the IPUMS will include national samples of consistent census microdata from all census years for which individual-level data are available. The preliminary version of the database used in this analysis includes census data from 1850, 1880, 1910, 1940, 1960, and 1980.<sup>13</sup>

Table 1 provides a general classification of household composition in five census years from 1880, when the federal census first inquired about family relationships, to 1980. The classification used in Table 1 is a compromise between the Census Bureau approach to household structure and the system developed by Peter Laslett and widely used by historians. Households are divided into three broad categories on the basis of the composition of the primary family, which is defined as the group of kin related to the household head.<sup>14</sup> Fragmentary

<sup>13</sup> The final version of the IPUMS is scheduled to be released through both the National Archives and the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research in the summer of 1995; a preliminary test version of the data is available on request from the author. For descriptions of the source data, see note 3. The sample densities used throughout this essay were 1/200 for 1850, 1/100 for 1880, 1/250 for 1910, 1/500 for 1940, and 1/1000 for the remaining years.

<sup>14</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1970*, Subject Reports; Final Report, PC(2)-4A,

households consist of individuals residing without kin and single-parent households. Married-couple households are defined as married couples residing with or without their children but with no other relatives. Extended households include additional kin, such as parents, children-in-law, or grandchildren of the head.

The most striking change shown in Table 1 is the increase of fragmentary households. Most of the increase in fragmentary households came in the subcategory of "primary individuals," who are persons residing alone or with nonrelatives only. In contrast, the frequency of white single-parent households declined steadily from 1880 through 1960. This resulted from declining mortality, which reduced the frequency of widowed parents. Since 1960, the decline of widowhood has been offset by increasing divorce and births out of wedlock, so the frequency of single-parent households has started to rise.

The frequency of married-couple households remained stable among whites from 1880 through 1960 and has dropped modestly since then. However, the percentage of households consisting of childless couples has increased dramatically; among whites, the percentage more than doubled between 1880 and 1980. This change resulted from an increase in empty nest households, those composed of older couples whose children have all left home. If nuclear families are considered to be married couples residing with their children, then the late nineteenth century was the golden age of the nuclear family. In every census year since 1880, the frequency of households among whites consisting of a married couple and their children has declined significantly.<sup>15</sup>

In general, the patterns of change among nonwhites were similar to those of whites, but the magnitude of change was smaller. Moreover, in all census years, nonwhite households were much less often nuclear and more often fragmentary or extended than were white households. As Philip Morgan and his colleagues have recently pointed out, the long-run continuity of race differences in household structure contradicts much historical and sociological writing on the black family.<sup>16</sup>

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Family Composition (Washington, D.C. 1973); Laslett, "Introduction," *Household and Family in Past Time*. For the sake of consistency, persons residing in group quarters under 1970 census definitions were excluded from the analysis. The 1970 definition is the only one that can be applied consistently across all census years from 1880 to 1980; for discussions of the effects of this exclusion, see Ruggles, "Comparability"; and Ruggles, "Demography of the Unrelated Individual." For the 1980 census, the Census Bureau eliminated the concept of household headship and adopted the "householder" concept instead; see the discussion in Smith, "Meanings of Family and Household."

<sup>15</sup> The dramatic increase in primary individuals has generated a large literature; for example, see Kobrin, "Rise of the Primary Individual"; and Ruggles, "Demography of the Unrelated Individual." The long-term stability in the frequency of single-parent households has been widely cited by sociologists seeking to overturn, as Mary Jo Bane expressed it, "the myth of the decaying American family." Bane's influential book, *Here to Stay: American Families in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1976), also stressed the continuity of the nuclear family over the centuries and the continued importance of kin ties beyond the household. The argument that broken homes were almost as common in the late nineteenth century as in the late twentieth century is highly misleading, however. The apparent continuity is merely an artifact of mortality decline, and late nineteenth-century single parents—unlike those of the late twentieth century—did not ordinarily choose their marital status. On the increase in childless-couple households, see the discussion below on changing living arrangements of the elderly.

<sup>16</sup> S. Philip Morgan, Antonio McDaniel, Andrew T. Miller, and Samuel H. Preston, "Racial Differences in Household and Family Structure at the Turn of the Century," *American Journal of*

For the purpose of evaluating the revisionist hypothesis, the most important category is the extended household. From 1880 to 1940, the percentage of extended households was relatively stable. After World War II, the percentage dropped sharply among whites; a smaller drop among blacks began after 1960. Despite these recent changes, Table 1 generally appears to support the basic revisionist position: for at least the past century, only a small minority of households have been extended.

If the revisionist thesis were only concerned about the percentage of extended households, that might be the end of it. Family historians, however, ordinarily argue not only that nuclear families predominated in the past but also that nuclear families were preferred. They take the evidence on household structure to mean, as Wall put it in the *Daily Mail*, that "if anything, family ties were less strong in past centuries." From the original challenges of Sussman and Litwak, the underlying concern of most revisionists has been the strength of ties among kin.<sup>17</sup>

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE and residential preferences is critical, because over the past century the opportunities to reside in extended households have shifted dramatically. Thirty years ago, Marion Levy argued that although the extended family is often the ideal type in preindustrial societies, it rarely predominates in real populations. Levy pointed out that, under high mortality conditions, few people can reside with elderly kin. In particular, three-generation families cannot be the norm in societies in which most people die before their grandchildren are born or very shortly thereafter.<sup>18</sup>

The stem family hypothesis, articulated by Lutz Berkner in the early 1970s, refined Levy's interpretation. In stem families, one child remains in the parental household after marriage, while any other children leave and form new nuclear households when they get married. The younger generation in stem families eventually takes over the farm or business, assuring labor continuity and providing the means of old age support. Berkner pointed out that the stem family is a process, not a particular household type. Each stem family begins with nuclear

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*Sociology*, 98 (1993): 799–828. Also see Steven Ruggles, "The Origins of African-American Family Structure," *American Sociological Review* (forthcoming); Steven Ruggles and Ron Goeken, "Race and Multigenerational Family Structure in the United States, 1900–1980," in *The Changing American Family: Sociological and Demographic Perspectives*, Scott J. South and Stewart E. Tolnay, eds. (Westport, Conn., 1992).

<sup>17</sup> Although virtually all the revisionists are concerned with the strength of kin ties and the quality of relations among kin, the significance of nuclear family structure is variously interpreted; compare, for example, Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975); E. A. Wrigley, "Reflections on the History of the Family," *Daedalus*, 106 (1977): 71–85; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (New York, 1977); Alan Macfarlane, *Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property, and Social Transition* (New York, 1978); Richard Smith, "Kin and Neighbors in a Thirteenth Century Suffolk Community," *Journal of Family History*, 4 (1979): 219–56; Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York, 1980); John Hajnal, "Two Kinds of Pre-Industrial Household Formation System," in *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, Richard Wall, Jean Robin, and Peter Laslett, eds. (Cambridge, 1983).

<sup>18</sup> Marion J. Levy, Jr., "Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure," in Levy, *et al.*, *Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure* (Princeton, N.J., 1965).

family structure, becomes extended with the marriage of a child, and then becomes nuclear again with the death of the elderly parents. Thus the extended family is only one phase of a stem family process. If the parents die early or the child marries late, there may be no extended phase at all. Berkner argued that, under preindustrial demographic conditions, even where stem families predominated most of them would appear to be nuclear families in a census taken at a given moment in time.<sup>19</sup>

The stem family is only one of several possible patterns of extended family structure. In other societies, historians and anthropologists have observed high frequencies of joint families, which include married siblings residing together. Such families were common in places such as nineteenth-century central Italy and late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Russia. These were high mortality societies, but that did not prevent a high frequency of extended families; because fertility was also high, the great majority of adults had surviving siblings with whom they could reside.<sup>20</sup>

In the United States, the joint family pattern has barely existed. At least for the period 1850 onward, the percentage of persons whose spouse is present and who reside with their sibling whose spouse is present is barely measurable, never amounting to more than 0.1 percent of the married population. In every year for which data are available, the dominant form of extended family has been multigenerational, containing older parents residing with their adult children.

The strong aversion to co-residence between married siblings in nineteenth-century America sharply limited the potential for multigenerational families. Because fertility was high and every sibling who was married resided in a separate household, only a minority of households could contain multiple generations. A single set of parents could not live with more than one of their married children.

Mortality and fertility were not the only demographic factors to influence the potential for multigenerational families. Generation length was also important. With relatively late marriage and minimal fertility control, nineteenth-century Americans often bore children late in life. Long generations sharply limited the period during which parents and adult children were both alive, thus reducing or eliminating the extended phase of a stem family cycle.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Lutz K. Berkner, "The Stem Family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth-Century Austrian Example," *AHR*, 77 (April 1972): 398–418; Berkner, "The Use and Misuse of Census Data in the Historical Study of Family Structure," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 5 (1975): 721–38.

<sup>20</sup> David I. Kertzer, who recently observed that "the notion of severe demographic constraints has been hard to kill," argues that demographic constraints on family structure are unimportant on the grounds that there was a high frequency of laterally extended joint families in a central Italian village at the turn of the century; see Kertzer, "Household History and Sociological Theory," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17 (1991): 155–79; Kertzer, "The Joint Family Household Revisited: Demographic Constraints and Household Complexity in the European Past," *Journal of Family History*, 14 (1989): 1–15. But no one, to my knowledge, has argued that such families would necessarily be infrequent under any demographic conditions; from Levy onward, the argument of demographic constraints has always referred to multigenerational extended families. On Russian joint families, see Peter Czap, "The Perennial Multiple Family Household: Mishino, Russia," *Journal of Family History*, 7 (1982): 5–26.

<sup>21</sup> On the relative sensitivity of co-residence to marriage age, fertility, and mortality, see Steven Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections: The Rise of the Extended Family in Nineteenth-Century England and America* (Madison, Wis., 1987); Kenneth W. Wachter, Eugene A. Hammel, and Peter Laslett, *Statistical Studies of Historical Social Structure* (New York, 1978). Both studies find that marriage age is the critical factor,



Mortality, fertility, and generation length shifted rapidly during the demographic transition of the past century, and this profoundly altered the potential for multigenerational family structure. Life expectancy at age 30 rose from about 30 years in 1850 to 46 years in 1980 (to ages 60 and 76), and this raised the proportion of people with an opportunity to reside with elderly relatives. Over the same period, total fertility dropped from 5.4 children to 2.2. Because the elderly almost never resided with more than one of their married children in any period, the high fertility of the nineteenth century meant that most households could not include elderly parents. Mean age at childbirth declined gradually from 1850 through 1980, from 30.7 to 26.5 among women and 35.6 to 29.2 among men, both because of falling marriage age and earlier cessation of childbearing. Long generations, short life expectancy, and high fertility in the nineteenth century meant that there was a small population of elderly people spread thinly among a much larger younger generation. Under these circumstances, the percentage of households with elderly extended kin was necessarily small.<sup>22</sup>

But how small? Determining the effects of demographic conditions on the potential frequency of multigenerational families has proven to be no simple task. Demographers and historians have been working on the problem ever since Levy and Berkner first suggested that low observed frequencies of extended families might be the result of severe demographic conditions. Nevertheless, after almost three decades of debate, there is still no agreement about the effects of demographic conditions on family structure.

The first generation of studies, carried out in the 1960s and 1970s, seemed to confirm Levy's position that high mortality discouraged complex family structure. In 1978, however, Kenneth Wachter, Eugene Hammel, and Peter Laslett published a rebuttal of the Levy-Berkner thesis based on an elaborate demographic model. They concluded that "any resort to demography for the sake of reconciling a theory of stem-family formation behavior with such low levels of occurring complex households appears unjustifiable." Nine years later, I presented a critique of this work using an alternate demographic model and argued that Berkner's position was substantially correct. My analysis in turn has been the subject of sharp criticism by a member of the Cambridge Group.<sup>23</sup>

The clash of demographic models has produced no consensus about the effects

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but since marriage age changed modestly from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century, fertility and mortality are more important in that period.

<sup>22</sup> Ansley J. Coale and Melvin Zelnik, *New Estimates of Fertility and Population in the United States* (Princeton, N.J., 1963); U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, *Vital Statistics of the United States: 1988*, Volume 2, Part A (Hyattsville, Md., 1991); U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C., 1975); Todd Gardner, "Marriage," in *America at 1880: A View from the Census*, Miriam L. King, Russell R. Menard, and Steven Ruggles, eds. (forthcoming). Mean age at childbirth was tabulated from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series.

<sup>23</sup> Ansley J. Coale, "Estimates of Average Size of Household," in Levy, *Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure*; David V. Glass, "London Inhabitants within the Walls 1695," *London Record Society*, 2 (1966), introduction; Thomas K. Burch, "Some Demographic Determinants of Average Household Size: An Analytic Approach," *Demography*, 7 (1970): 61-70; E. A. Wrigley, *Population and History* (London, 1969); Brian Bradley and Franklin Mendels, "Can the Hypothesis of a Nuclear Family Be Tested Empirically?" *Population Studies*, 32 (1978): 381-94; Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections*; Wachter, Hammel, and Laslett, *Statistical Studies*; and, from the Cambridge Group, James E. Smith, "Method and Confusion in the Study of the Household," *Historical Methods*, 22 (1989): 57-60.

**TABLE 2**  
**Actual and Potential Percentages of Households with Co-residing Elderly Kin,**  
**by Race, United States, 1880–1980**

	1880	1910	1940	1960	1980
A. Whites					
Actual percent	11.1	11.7	11.9	8.9	5.2
Potential percent	15.7	18.0	23.2	28.0	31.7
Actual as a percentage of potential	70.7	64.9	51.3	31.8	16.4
Number of actual households	84,398	70,375	62,641	47,825	66,167
B. Nonwhites					
Actual percent	8.5	8.0	10.8	11.0	7.4
Potential percent	13.0	12.1	18.0	23.9	20.6
Actual as a percentage of potential	65.3	66.1	59.9	46.0	35.9
Number of actual households	12,697	9,233	6,385	5,191	11,088

NOTE: See text and note 26 for explanations.

of demographic constraints on historical family structure. Small differences in assumptions yield large differences in results. Demographic modelers can endlessly debate the technical details of our creations, because we lack sufficient historical information to test how well the models work. Moreover, there is growing evidence that all demographic models of kinship are systematically biased. It therefore seems unlikely that the historical debate will be resolved in the foreseeable future by means of the existing approaches to demographic analysis of the multigenerational family.<sup>24</sup>

THE GENERAL STRATEGY OF PAST DEMOGRAPHIC MODELS of historical multigenerational families has been to estimate the maximum possible proportion of multigenerational families under a given set of demographic conditions and then to compare that estimate to the proportion of multigenerational families that actually existed in historical populations. The Integrated Public Use Microdata Series offers the opportunity of doing very nearly the same thing without recourse to an elaborate demographic model.

By necessity, multigenerational families usually include elderly kin. However, the percentage of households with the demographic potential to include co-resident elderly kin has not remained constant. Table 2 compares the actual and potential percentages of households containing elderly persons co-residing with kin from 1880 to 1980. Elderly persons are here considered to be those age 65 or older. The first row in each panel of the table shows the observed percentage of

<sup>24</sup> On the limitations of demographic models, see Steven Ruggles, "Confessions of a Microsimulator: Problems in Modelling the Demography of Kinship," *Historical Methods* (forthcoming); Ruggles, "Family Demography and Family History: Problems and Prospects," *Historical Methods*, 23 (1990): 22–31; Miriam L. King, "All in the Family? The Incompatibility and Reconciliation of Family Demography and Family History," *Historical Methods*, 23 (1990): 32–41; Ruggles, "Availability of Kin and the Demography of Historical Family Structure," *Historical Methods*, 19 (1986): 93–102.

households with co-resident elderly kin in each year. The frequency of such households increased slightly from 1880 through 1940 and then declined sharply.

The second row in each panel of Table 2 shows the *potential* percentage of households with co-resident elderly kin. The potential percentage represents what would have happened if every elderly person moved in with relatives. This is calculated by eliminating from the population all elderly residing without kin and increasing the number of households with co-resident elderly kin by the same amount.<sup>25</sup> The measure is conservative; it slightly overstates the potential percentage of households with co-resident elderly kin, because a few elderly had no living relatives. In 1880, some 16 percent of white households had the potential to include co-resident elderly kin; by 1980, this figure had doubled. Blacks had a smaller increase in the potential for co-residential households, from 13 percent to 21 percent. Among both whites and blacks in all census years, only a small minority of households had the potential to include co-resident elderly kin, and in the nineteenth century the demographic constraints on such households were especially severe.

The third row of Table 2 is the actual percentage of households containing co-resident elderly kin as a percentage of the potential percentage. Among whites, the percentage of potential co-resident households that actually existed declined steadily, from 71 percent in 1880 to 16 percent in 1980. Once again, the trend was the same among blacks, but the degree of change was significantly smaller.

This exercise demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of nineteenth-century households could not have included elderly kin even if every elderly person had moved in with relatives. Given that the average head of household in 1880 was 43 years old and there was on average a 30 to 35-year age difference between generations, multigenerational families ordinarily had to include elderly kin. It is clear, therefore, that the opportunities to reside in multigenerational families were sharply limited in the nineteenth century.

The changing influence of demographic conditions on multigenerational family structure can be clarified through a simple analysis of the changing opportunities of middle-aged adults to reside with parents. Table 3 focuses on persons age 40 to 44 in each census year—about the average age of household heads. The analysis is limited to whites since we lack sufficient mortality data to

<sup>25</sup> To be precise, the potential frequency of households containing elderly persons residing with kin is calculated as:

$$\frac{e_h + e_p + e_s}{nhh - e_p}$$

where  $e_h$  is the number of elderly individuals or couples actually residing with kin,  $e_p$  is the number of primary families consisting of elderly primary individuals or married couples residing without kin,  $e_s$  is the number of elderly individuals or couples residing as secondary individuals or secondary families without kin, including boarders, servants, and residents of group quarters, and  $nhh$  is the total number of households. As defined here, the potential frequency of households with co-resident elderly depends in part on the extent to which adults residing without elderly kin tend to reside together. The rise of primary individuals and decline of secondary individuals have greatly increased the total number of households; if these factors were held constant, the change in the potential frequency of elderly co-residence would be considerably greater than is shown in Table 2. See the related discussion in Miriam L. King and Samuel Preston, "Who Lives with Whom? Individual versus Household Measures," *Journal of Family History*, 15 (1990): 117–32.

**TABLE 3**  
**Effects of Demographic Change on Residence with Parents: Whites Age**  
**40 to 44, United States, 1880–1980**

	1880	1910	1940	1960	1980
A. Estimated percentage with surviving					
Mothers	33.4	40.1	49.6	61.3	72.6
Fathers	18.9	24.4	32.8	38.2	45.2
B. Estimated number of surviving children per parent	4.8	3.9	3.1	3.1	2.6
C. Number of surviving parents					
per 100 surviving children (A/B)					
Mothers	7.0	10.3	16.1	20.0	27.5
Fathers	4.0	6.3	10.6	12.5	17.1
D. Observed percentage residing with					
Mothers	6.4	7.7	8.2	5.9	3.5
Fathers	3.5	4.0	4.4	2.9	1.7
N	20,414	17,883	15,192	10,187	9,403

NOTE: See text and notes 27–28 for explanations.

assess the residential opportunities of blacks. The first row (A) provides estimates of the percentage of those age 40 to 44 with surviving mothers and fathers in each census year.<sup>26</sup> Survival of mothers was always more common than survival of fathers, both because women lived longer than men and because fathers tended to be older than mothers. The percentage of persons age 40 to 44 who had surviving parents more than doubled during the hundred years from 1880 to 1980. About three-fourths of this change resulted from falling mortality, and the other quarter was a consequence of declining generation length. Because people age 40 to 44 only rarely resided with siblings, the level of fertility also influenced opportunities to reside with parents. As shown in Row B of Table 3, the average number of surviving children per parent fell some 45 percent between 1880 and 1980.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For each sex, parental survival was calculated as:

$$\sum_x \frac{l_x + 42.5}{l_x} b_x$$

where  $l_x$  is the number of persons alive at each exact age  $x$ , as determined from a cohort life table, and  $b_x$  is the proportion of children of the appropriate cohort born to people of each age. Cohort life tables for each possible birth year were calculated from period estimates. The period data from 1910 onward came from U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, *Vital Statistics*, Section 6, p. 14; for earlier mortality data, I used regional model life tables from Ansley J. Coale and Paul Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations* (Princeton, N.J., 1983). Following the advice of Michael Haines (personal communication, April 21, 1993; compare Haines, "The Use of Model Life Tables for the United States in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Demography*, 16 [1979]: 289–312), I used Model West level 13.69 for 1900, level 12.57 for 1890, level 10.50 for 1880, level 12.40 for 1870, level 11.40 for 1860, and level 10.40 for 1850 and before. To calculate  $b_x$ , I tabulated the age of mothers and fathers at the birth of their children for women and men with children under two years old in each census year and used interpolation to create distributions of age at childbirth in 1837.5, 1867.5, 1897.5, 1917.5, and 1937.5, which are the birth years of persons 42.5 years old in 1880, 1910, 1940, 1960, and 1980. The parental mortality estimates assume that there is no relationship between age at childbirth and age at death.

<sup>27</sup> The estimates of the mean number of surviving children per parent were carried out according

The number of surviving parents per 100 surviving children (Row C) can be viewed as an index of the opportunities of persons age 40 to 44 to reside with parents. This measure suggests that if residential preferences had remained constant, we might expect there to have been a four-fold *increase* in co-residence with parents. About 41 percent of the overall change in surviving parents per surviving child resulted from declining parental mortality, 14 percent of the change resulted from declining generation length, and 45 percent of the change resulted from declining fertility.

The final row of Table 3 shows the observed percentage of persons age 40 to 44 residing with parents as measured from the historical census files. In 1880, the percentage actually residing with parents was extremely close to the number of surviving parents per 100 surviving children. This reinforces the interpretation that the great majority of those who could have resided with parents were actually doing so. Residence of the middle-aged with their parents increased between 1880 and 1940, but this increase was modest compared to the expansion of residential opportunities in the same period. In recent decades, co-residence with parents has declined even as opportunities to reside with parents continue to grow.

We may conclude from the analyses presented in Tables 2 and 3 that, in the late nineteenth century, the great majority of multigenerational families that could have existed actually existed. Because of declining fertility, increasing life expectancy, and a shortening of generations, by the late twentieth century the opportunities to form multigenerational families had increased dramatically. By 1980, only a small minority of potential multigenerational families existed.

THE APPARENT LONG-RUN STABILITY in extended family structure is therefore largely an artifact of demographic change. The standard measure of extended family structure—the percentage of households containing extended kin—is especially sensitive to changing demographic conditions. We can minimize the intervening effects of changing demography by adopting alternate measures that are less powerfully affected by demographic change. In particular, we can assess

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to different procedures in different census years. For 1910, when the census included a variable on number of children surviving, the number of surviving children was estimated as:

$$\sum_x s_x + 42.5 \cdot b_x$$

where  $s_x$  is the mean children surviving for mothers of age  $x$ , and  $b_x$  is the proportion of persons who were 42.5 in 1910 born to mothers at age  $x$ . The calculation of  $b_x$  is described in note 26. Mothers are defined as those with at least one surviving child; women with no surviving children are irrelevant to the analysis and were excluded. The estimates for the period 1940–1980 are the same, except that the variable on children surviving is not available. Therefore, mean surviving children was approximated by substituting mean children-ever-born to women of each age for mean children surviving and then deflating the total by the proportion of persons of the appropriate cohort surviving to age 42.5. In 1880, there are no variables on either children ever born or children surviving, so I used the 1910 figure adjusted for changes in fertility and mortality. The fertility adjustment is calculated as the total fertility rate in 1837.5 over the total fertility rate in 1867.5, and the mortality adjustment is a ratio of proportions surviving to age 42.5 of the birth cohorts of 1837.5 and 1867.5. I used total fertility rates taken from Coale and Zelnik, *New Estimates of Fertility*.



**TABLE 4**  
**Percentage Distribution of Living Arrangements of Elderly Individuals and**  
**Couples, by Race, Sex, and Marital Status, United States, 1880–1980**

	1880	1910	1940	1960	1980
<b>WHITES</b>					
A. All elderly					
Alone/spouse only	15.9	20.3	30.7	53.4	74.4
With nonrelatives only	9.3	7.2	9.0	5.4	2.3
With any other kin	74.9	72.5	60.4	41.2	23.3
With any own child	64.4	61.4	48.6	29.3	16.1
With adult child	58.1	57.2	46.0	27.4	15.0
With other relative(s)	46.9	44.2	37.7	26.9	13.6
N	13,131	12,074	13,668	11,932	16,998
B. Unmarried women					
Alone	1.8	11.4	19.8	38.3	66.9
With nonrelatives only	10.9	7.3	9.9	7.5	2.9
With any other kin	87.4	81.3	70.4	54.2	30.2
With any own child	72.3	65.9	54.1	36.5	20.4
With adult child	71.3	65.3	53.6	36.2	20.3
With other relative(s)	67.5	58.9	50.3	39.3	20.3
N	4,462	4,658	5,229	4,748	7,367
C. Unmarried men					
Alone	20.8	14.2	22.9	41.8	63.5
With nonrelatives only	13.2	13.7	16.0	11.1	7.5
With any other kin	66.0	72.1	61.1	47.1	29.0
With any own child	54.5	59.7	45.7	31.1	15.4
With adult child	52.5	57.9	44.4	30.2	14.9
with other relative(s)	50.7	52.8	45.3	37.5	22.4
N	2,597	2,365	2,762	1,764	1,869
D. Married couples					
Spouse only	24.1	31.4	44.5	70.3	84.1
With nonrelatives only	6.4	4.1	4.7	1.8	0.5
With any other kin	69.5	64.5	50.8	28.0	15.4
With any own child	62.8	58.0	44.9	22.5	12.1
With adult child	50.8	49.4	39.7	18.8	10.0
With other relative(s)	30.1	26.6	22.4	12.5	5.1
N	6,072	5,051	5,676	5,420	7,762
<b>NONWHITES</b>					
A. All elderly					
Alone/spouse only	17.1	20.4	22.0	37.0	51.3
With nonrelatives only	13.3	8.8	12.0	8.7	5.3
With any other kin	69.7	70.8	66.0	54.3	43.4
With any own child	57.2	55.7	47.5	35.0	28.9
With adult child	40.3	45.3	41.5	31.7	25.2
With other relative(s)	46.2	51.0	48.9	41.8	30.5
N	1,599	1,097	1,115	1,165	2,114
B. Unmarried women					
Alone	1.5	11.0	11.0	26.2	44.7
With nonrelatives only	19.0	9.5	11.8	8.5	6.1
With any other kin	79.6	79.5	77.2	65.3	49.3
With any own child	64.4	60.7	56.1	43.4	31.5
With adult child	61.6	58.3	55.0	42.4	30.5
With other relative(s)	67.5	67.1	64.0	53.3	38.2
N	612	420	453	484	1,001

**TABLE 4 (continued)**  
**Percentage Distribution of Living Arrangements of Elderly Individuals and**  
**Couples, by Race, Sex, and Marital Status, United States, 1880–1980**

	1880	1910	1940	1960	1980
NONWHITES (continued)					
C. Unmarried men					
Alone	32.4	26.6	24.0	39.1	52.2
With nonrelatives only	24.6	17.9	23.7	19.6	12.6
With any other kin	43.0	55.6	52.3	41.3	35.2
With any own child	31.7	45.4	35.7	23.9	19.2
With adult child	25.4	38.2	32.0	22.2	17.3
With other relative(s)	32.0	42.5	39.8	32.6	26.9
N	284	207	246	230	364
D. Married couples					
Spouse only	24.5	26.2	32.7	47.5	59.7
With nonrelatives only	3.7	4.0	5.2	3.3	0.8
With any other kin	71.8	69.8	62.0	49.2	39.5
With any own child	61.2	55.7	45.3	31.7	30.2
With adult child	27.9	36.8	32.5	25.1	21.9
With other relative(s)	33.3	40.2	37.8	34.1	22.0
N	703	470	416	451	749

## NOTES:

Persons in group quarters under 1970 census definitions excluded

Married couples treated as single observations

Elderly are age 65 or older.

Adult children are age 21 or over.

multigenerational family structure from the perspective of the elderly instead of household heads. Under a universal stem-family regime, virtually all elderly with a surviving child would reside with a child.<sup>28</sup> The elderly are the only demographic group whose residential opportunities have remained reasonably stable over the past century. In all periods, the great majority of elderly have had the demographic possibility of residing with their children, even though only a minority of the younger generation has had the opportunity to reside with elderly parents.<sup>29</sup>

Table 4 presents a classification of the living arrangements of persons age 65 or older from 1880 to 1980, broken down by race, sex, and marital status. Married couples are considered to be a single observation because the living arrangements of husbands and wives were not independently determined. The percentage of elderly whites residing alone or with their spouse only has gone up dramatically,

<sup>28</sup> The exception consists of elderly whose surviving children all reside with parents-in-law; if marriage partners were random, this situation would arise less than 5 percent of the time under turn-of-the-century fertility, marriage, and child mortality conditions.

<sup>29</sup> Although demographic changes have had some effects on the living arrangements of the elderly over the past century, it is easy to demonstrate that those effects are modest. The most important factor is the decline in fertility, which meant that the elderly had fewer children with whom they could reside. Offsetting this change was the decline in child mortality and increase in the ages of the elderly. For a general analysis of the effects of demographic change on the living arrangements of the elderly, see Steven Ruggles, "Living Arrangements of the Elderly in America, 1880–1980," in *Aging and Generational Relations over the Life Course: A Historical and Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Tamara K. Hareven, ed. (forthcoming); Smith, "Accounting for Change."

from 16 percent in 1880 to 74 percent in 1980. Unmarried elderly women were especially likely to live with others in the nineteenth century; for this group, the likelihood of living alone increased over thirty-fold between 1880 and 1980. Almost 75 percent of whites age 65 or older resided with kin in the late nineteenth century; by 1980, less than a quarter did so.

About 64 percent of the elderly whites in 1880 resided with their children. I estimate that only about 82 percent of the elderly in that year had any surviving children; therefore, approximately 78 percent of elderly whites who had children resided with them.<sup>30</sup> Unmarried men—mostly widowers—were less likely than unmarried women or married couples to reside with their children in the nineteenth century; still, a clear majority did so. A century later, residence with children was the exception regardless of sex or marital status.

The extent of change was smaller for nonwhites than for whites, but the trend was in the same direction. Until 1940, elderly whites were more likely to reside with children than were elderly nonwhites. In 1980, however, whites resided with children just over half as often as did nonwhites. The long-run decline of multigenerational family structure was thus much slower among nonwhites than among whites, but it was still dramatic enough: in 1880, 57 percent of elderly nonwhites resided with children, compared with 29 percent in 1980.

Although there were far too few elderly in nineteenth-century America to create a majority of multigenerational families, their co-residence with the younger generation was clearly a social norm. Viewed in terms of residential preferences, the thesis that family structure has been stable over the long run cannot be sustained. Indeed, the living arrangements of the elderly have been through a transition of magnitude comparable to the demographic transition itself, and that change is sharply at odds with the revisionist interpretation of family history.

WAS THE CO-RESIDENCE OF THE ELDERLY with their children and other relatives just a short-lived phenomenon of the late nineteenth century, or was it also the norm in the more distant past? Although the 1880 census was the first national census to provide explicit family relationships, from 1850 onward many family relationships can be inferred through information on surname, age, sex, and sequence in the household. For the period before 1850, evidence on family structure is exceedingly rare. Despite the frequent assertions by historians that colonial families were overwhelmingly nuclear, there is virtually no direct evidence on household composition in the colonial period. In fact, only one eighteenth-century census listing has come to light that is large enough and provides

<sup>30</sup> The estimate that 18 percent of elderly had no surviving children assumes that the proportion of people who ever married and who had no surviving children was approximately the same in 1880 as in 1900; the figures on fertility and child survival are based on tabulations of the 1900 Public Use Sample, described in Stephen Graham, *1900 Public Use Sample: User's Handbook* (Seattle, 1979). An additional 2 percent of elderly, approximately, would have been unable to reside with children because all their surviving children were residing with parents-in-law. On the race difference in the proportion of elderly residing in multigenerational families, see Ruggles and Goeken, "Race and Multigenerational Family Structure"; and Ruggles, "Origins of African-American Family Structure."

sufficient detail to estimate living arrangements of the elderly. This is the Maryland census of 1776, which includes information on surname, age, sex, and sequence in the household for some 6,000 whites residing in Harford, Frederick, and Prince George counties. Although we have no way of knowing the representativeness or reliability of this enumeration, I have included it because there is nothing else available for the period.<sup>31</sup>

To evaluate the living arrangements of the elderly in Maryland in 1776 and in the United States in 1850 in comparison to later census years, I developed a system of rules for inferring family relationships. These rules were tested against the 1880 and 1910 census years so that the reliability of the inferred relationships could be evaluated. For simple family relationships, the inference procedure is highly accurate; overall, for example, the rules correctly identify 99.4 percent of explicit spouse relationships and 96.5 percent of parent-child relationships in 1880. But any time the surname of kin differs, the relationship is missed. Thus the rules cannot identify such kin as married or widowed daughters. Because it was fairly common for the elderly to reside with married or widowed daughters, the inferred relationships significantly understate co-residence. The error, however, is reasonably consistent across census years since exactly the same rules have been applied by computer to all the censuses.<sup>32</sup>

Table 5 compares the inferred family relationships of the elderly in Maryland in 1776 and the United States in 1850, 1880, and 1910. The percentage of elderly residing with children or other relatives in 1880 and 1910 is lower in Table 5 than in Table 4 because some family relationships cannot be identified. In particular, between 20 and 25 percent of children are missed by the inference procedure; almost all of these are married or widowed daughters. The category identified as resident with "others—relation unknown" includes both nonrelatives and relatives with different surnames.

The evidence in Table 5 shows that the transformation of residential preferences did not begin in 1880; the percentage of elderly whites residing with identifiable children or other relatives was even higher in 1850. In Maryland in 1776, the percentage of elderly residing with identifiable children was still higher, at 63 percent. If we allow for the married and widowed daughters who cannot be identified, probably almost 80 percent of the Maryland elderly resided with their children.<sup>33</sup> Given that some 15 percent of the elderly would have had no surviving

<sup>31</sup> For examples of assertions by colonial historians that nuclear families predominated, see John Demos, "Families in Colonial Bristol, Rhode Island: An Exercise in Historical Demography," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 25 (1968): 40–45; and Phillip Greven, "Family Structure in Seventeenth Century Andover, Massachusetts," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 23 (1966): 234–56. The 1776 census of Maryland is described in Smith, "Meanings of Family and Household," and is reproduced in Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records*. I am grateful to Janet Lindman for providing me with a machine-readable copy of the Harford County portion of the data.

<sup>32</sup> The complete inference procedure is described in Menard, *1850 Public Use Microdata Sample*. Table 5 excludes persons residing in group quarters under the 1880 PUMS definition instead of the 1970 census definition used in the other tables. This is because the 1970 definition cannot be constructed for 1850 or 1776, since it depends on information about family relationships; see note 14. The 1880 PUMS group quarters definition is described in Ruggles, *1880 Public Use Microdata Sample*.

<sup>33</sup> This assumes that the ratio of inferred children to actual children was similar in 1776 Maryland to the ratio in the United States in 1880.

**TABLE 5**  
**Living Arrangements of Elderly White Individuals and Couples, Family Relationships Inferred, Maryland Counties, 1776, and United States, 1850–1910**

	<i>Maryland</i>	<i>United States</i>		
	1776	1850	1880	1910
Alone/spouse only	9.2	12.2	15.2	20.6
With others, relationship unknown	26.4	28.6	29.1	29.6
With identifiable kin	64.3	60.1	55.5	49.8
With identifiable own child	63.2	54.9	51.4	46.2
With adult child	51.7	49.4	46.3	42.8
N	87	2,363	13,525	12,348

## NOTES:

Co-resident nonwhites excluded

Persons in group quarters under 1880 PUMS definition excluded

Married couples treated as single observations

Elderly are age 65 or older.

Adult children are age 21 or over.

children, this suggests that residence of the aged with children was very nearly universal. Of course, the sample is small, and we cannot generalize from Maryland to other areas. It is nevertheless noteworthy that the only fragment we have of eighteenth-century American evidence on household composition sharply contradicts the revisionist orthodoxy.

THE FINDING THAT MOST OF THE ELDERLY in the nineteenth century resided in multigenerational families is not new. Beginning in the late 1970s, Daniel Scott Smith wrote a series of papers pointing to the marked contrast in living arrangements of the elderly between the late nineteenth century and the late twentieth century. Smith argues that the empirical evidence refutes the dominant interpretation of continuity in historical family structure.<sup>34</sup> Smith's work on the elderly is among the most sophisticated in the field, but it has attracted little notice from family historians.

Although Smith challenges the view that historical family structure has remained constant, he also maintains that the Western family has been characterized by "essential and perdurable nuclearity."<sup>35</sup> According to Smith, neolocal marriage was essentially universal: the younger generation in the nineteenth century ordinarily established new households when they got married. Then, when the older generation became widowed or infirm, they moved in with their

<sup>34</sup> In the present context, the most relevant of Smith's papers on the living arrangements of the elderly are D. S. Smith, "Life Course, Norms, and the Family System of Older Americans in 1900," *Journal of Family History*, 4 (1979): 285–98; Smith, "Historical Change in the Household Structure of the Elderly in Economically Developed Countries," in *Aging: Stability and Change in the Family*, Robert W. Fogel, S. B. Keisler, and Ethel Shanas, eds. (New York, 1981); Smith, "Accounting for Change." The co-residence of elderly with their children was also pointed out early on by Howard Chudacoff and Tamara K. Hareven, "From the Empty Nest to Family Dissolution: Life-Course Transitions into Old Age," *Journal of Family History*, 4 (1979): 69–83.

<sup>35</sup> Smith, "Accounting for Change," 88.



**TABLE 6**  
**Percentage Distribution of Marital Status and Sex of Adult Children by Marital Status of Elderly White Parents, Standardized by Age, United States, 1880**

<i>Marital Status and Sex of Adult Children (Percent)</i>	<i>Marital Status and Sex of Parents</i>		
	<i>Unmarried Women</i>	<i>Unmarried Men</i>	<i>Married Couples</i>
<b>Sons or Daughters</b>			
Currently Married	58.8	59.6	32.9
Widowed/Separated/Divorced	9.5	7.8	9.7
Never Married Only	31.7	32.6	57.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Daughters</b>			
Currently Married	27.5	24.0	12.7
Widowed/Separated/Divorced	6.6	5.9	6.2
Never Married Only	16.9	18.6	29.6
Total with daughters	51.0	48.5	48.5
<b>Sons</b>			
Currently Married	31.3	35.6	20.3
Widowed/Separated/Divorced	2.9	2.0	3.5
Never Married Only	14.9	13.9	27.8
Total with sons	49.0	51.5	51.5
<b>N of Parents</b>	3,162	1,356	3,201

NOTES: In cases where parents resided with more than one child, marital status and sex of child refers to eldest child.

Unmarried parents could be widowed, separated, divorced, or never married.

Standard population = all co-resident parent/child combinations.

Elderly are age 65 or older.

Adult children are age 21 or over.

children. Thus Smith interprets the high co-residence of the elderly and the younger generation not as evidence of a stem family pattern but rather as a conjugal family system with co-residential old age support.

In support of his interpretation, Smith points out that families consisting of two married generations were relatively rare. More often, married elderly resided with unmarried children, and unmarried elderly resided with married children. This pattern is illustrated in Table 6, which shows that in 1880 adult children residing with married elderly were significantly less likely to be married than were adult children residing with unmarried elderly. For Smith, this is evidence of a conjugal family system: single children remained in their parental household until marriage, and widowed elderly moved in with their married children. But there is an alternate interpretation of the pattern. If control over family resources typically did not pass to the younger generation until the retirement or death of a parent, adult children residing with married parents might often have been forced to delay marriage.

To determine whether the co-residence of the elderly with their children in the nineteenth century reflected a dominant stem-family pattern or a system of old age assistance, we have to know who moved in with whom. Census cross-sections cannot tell us how multigenerational families were formed, but they do provide a

few clues. If children established independent households upon reaching adulthood and their parents moved in with them later on, that implies that parents and children ordinarily resided separately for a period. Thus one would expect to find that the proportion of persons residing with children would decline in late middle age as the children left home and then increase again in old age as the parents moved in with their children. Under a stem family regime, by contrast, at least one child would never leave the parental household. One would expect no increase in co-residence of the elderly with increasing age.

Figure 1 shows the percentage of whites residing with their children by age, from 1880 to 1980. In recent census years, there has been the expected rise in co-residence among the very old. This pattern is most clearly evident in 1980, when persons age 80 or over were twice as likely to reside with children as those age 65 to 69. Smith's hypothesis about the formation of multigenerational families—that dependent elderly moved in with their children—fits well with the evidence from the twentieth century. But in 1880, there was no increase in co-residence with increasing age; in fact, the proportion of elderly residing with children actually declined with age. This finding is consistent with the interpretation that the elderly did not typically move in with their children for support; instead, the children never moved out. This stem family interpretation is further reinforced by the data from 1850 and 1776 Maryland, shown in Figure 2: neither data set shows a systematic rise in co-residence with children after age 65.<sup>36</sup>

Headship patterns offer a second clue to the formation of multigenerational families. From 1790 to 1970, the federal census identified a head for every household. The meaning of headship may have shifted over time, but household heads may be assumed in all periods to have had higher status or authority than other household members.<sup>37</sup> Longitudinal evidence using linked censuses indicates that dependent elderly who moved into the household of a child were rarely listed as head of household. On the other hand, in stem families in which the child remained in the parental household after marriage, the child often assumed headship when the parents retired or became widowed.<sup>38</sup> Thus, when the elderly are listed as head, we can reasonably assume that they did not move in with their children; if a child is listed as head, however, that does not necessarily mean that the household was formed independently by the child. The percentage of elderly listed as head can therefore be regarded as a lower-bound estimate of the percentage remaining in their own households.

<sup>36</sup> The age pattern of co-residence with children in 1850 and 1776 is probably affected by the necessity to infer family relationships. Children with different surnames are missed; since such children are always married or widowed, they tend to be somewhat older than children with the same surname as their parents. Thus the inference procedure is likely to miss more children of the very old than children of younger elderly. This age effect would be too small, however, to affect the general conclusion that there was no significant rise in co-residence with increasing age in 1850 or 1776 Maryland.

<sup>37</sup> See Smith, "Meanings of Family and Household," for a discussion of change and continuity in the significance of headship.

<sup>38</sup> In some cases, dependent children moved back in with parents after residing independently for a time, but this appears to have been responsible for a small minority of multigenerational households. On the relationship between headship and household formation, see Stephen Gross, "Family, Property, Community: Persistence and Accommodation among German Americans in Rural Stearns County, Minnesota, 1860–1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1994).

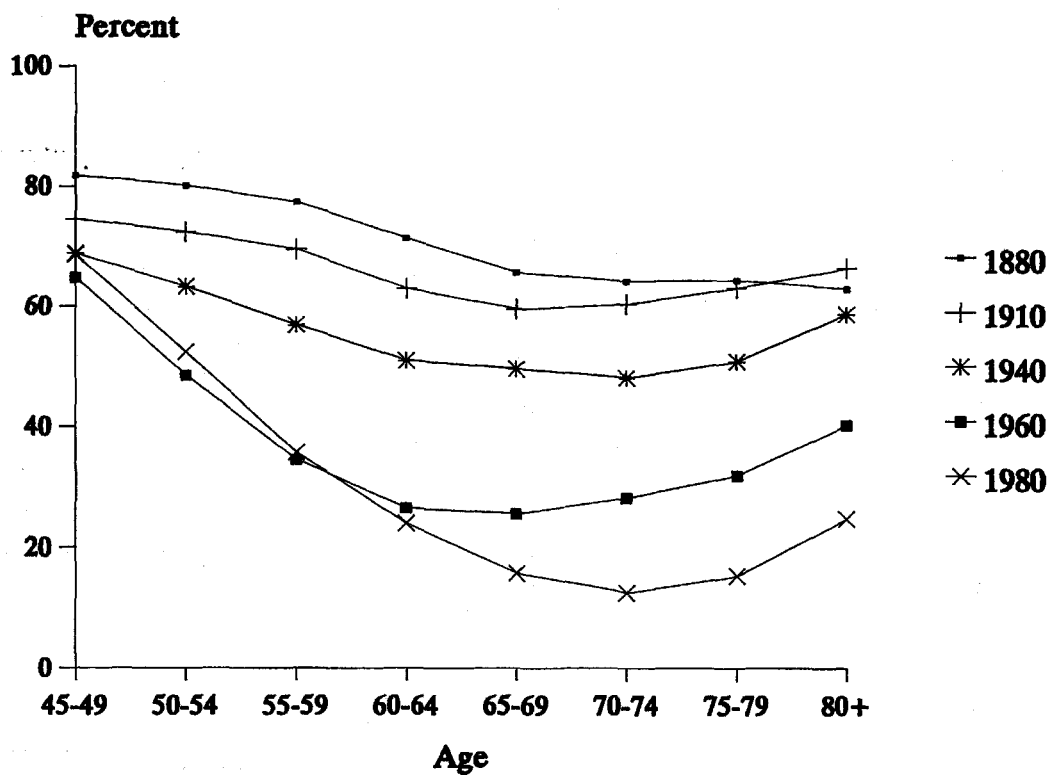


FIGURE 1: Percent of Elderly Persons Residing with Own Child, by Age: United States, 1880-1980.

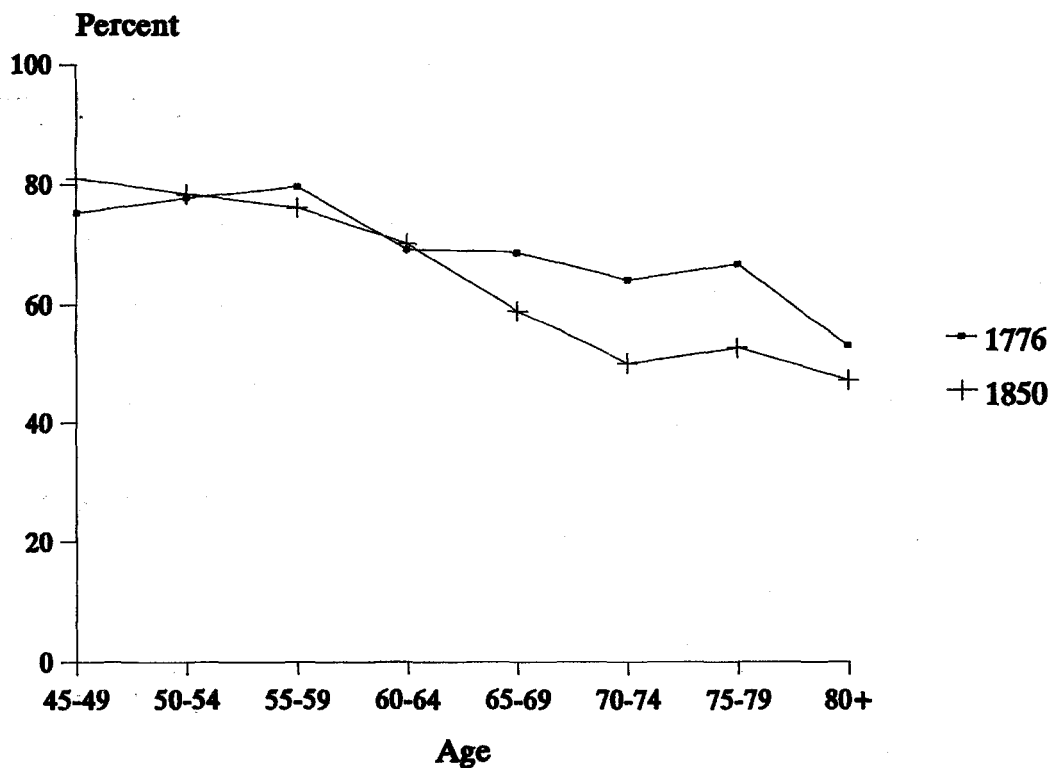


FIGURE 2: Percent of Elderly Residing with Own Child, by Age: Maryland Counties, 1776, and United States, 1850 (Family Relationships Inferred).

The 1880 census reveals that 62 percent of elderly residing with children were listed as head; the figure dropped slightly over time, to 55 percent by 1960. In earlier census years, the percentages were even higher: in 1850, the older generation was head in 69 percent of cases, and in 1776 Maryland it was 78 percent. The latter figures are based on inferred relationships, which may overstate headship of the elderly.<sup>39</sup> But the general conclusion is clear: in all the censuses through 1960, only a minority of multigenerational families resulted from dependent elderly moving in with their children. Moreover, headship patterns for the nineteenth-century censuses and for Maryland in 1776 are entirely consistent with a stem family interpretation.

The censuses demonstrate unequivocally that the great majority of nineteenth-century elderly who had a living child resided with a child. Was this a stem family arrangement? The evidence on headship and on the age pattern of co-residence clearly suggests that most of the co-residence was not merely old age support. Still, some elderly did move in with children during their old age. The most plausible interpretation is that both patterns were fairly widespread: sometimes adult children remained in their parental households, and sometimes the elderly moved in with their children.

Even if both patterns were common, I am persuaded by the evidence on headship and the age patterns of co-residence that the stem family arrangement was the predominant form in nineteenth-century America. This does not contradict Smith's position that marriage was largely neolocal. Under a stem family system in a high fertility population, most people would have established independent households when they married. But in the nineteenth century, one child typically remained behind.

IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, the multigenerational family has virtually disappeared. Once we have accepted that family structure has not remained static, the central question becomes obvious: what has led to the transformation of family structure since the nineteenth century? This question turns out to be more difficult to answer than one might expect.

Sociologists and demographers have devoted much effort to analyzing the increasing tendency of the elderly since 1960 to live alone. The leading explanation: rising incomes allowed increasing numbers of the aged to maintain separate residences. Although there is some disagreement, most recent studies suggest that about half of the recent shift toward separate residence can be explained by rising income.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> This is because children with different surnames were married or widowed, and elderly residing with such children would be less likely to be heads than elderly residing with unmarried children; see note 36.

<sup>40</sup> John C. Beresford and Alice M. Rivlin, "Privacy, Poverty, and Old Age," *Demography*, 3 (1966): 247-58; A. Chevan and J. H. Korson, "The Widowed Who Live Alone: An Examination of Social and Demographic Factors," *Social Forces*, 51 (1972): 45-53; Geoffrey Carliner, "Determinants of Household Headship," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 37 (1975): 28-38; Kingsley Davis and P. van den Oever, "Age Relations and Policy in Advanced Industrial Societies," *Population and Development Review*, 7 (1981): 1-18; R. T. Michael, V. R. Fuchs, and S. R. Scott, "Changes in the Propensity to Live

It is doubtful, however, whether this simple economic explanation can account for the change before 1960. In the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, those elderly with high economic status were the ones most likely to live with their relatives. Very few elderly resided entirely on their own; the poorest elderly were the group that most frequently resided without kin, either as boarders or servants or in institutions. In 1850, for example, there was a strong positive relationship between real property of the elderly and co-residence, and the richest 10 percent lived with their adult children 50 percent more often than the propertyless. An index of occupational incomes yields even more striking results: in 1880, the top economic quartile of elderly resided with kin twice as often as the bottom quartile. With each successive census, the positive relationship between occupational status and co-residence became weaker and weaker. Finally, in 1960, the relationship reversed, and for the first time the lowest quartile of elderly became the group most likely to live with relatives. The association between high socioeconomic status and multigenerational family structure before 1940 is further confirmed by evidence on the presence of servants, homeownership, value of home, farm value, literacy, employer status, and neighborhood socioeconomic characteristics. For the post-World War II period, information on income, home value, and years of education verifies the finding that multigenerational families are most frequent among the poorest and least educated.<sup>41</sup>

The turnaround in the relationship between socioeconomic status and family structure during the past century is of key importance. The association between high economic status and multigenerational family structure in the nineteenth century is precisely what one would expect under a stem family system. Those elderly with an inheritance to offer (especially in the form of a farm or business) were most likely to have a grown child remain with them in old age. As one would predict, farm owners and other proprietors were the occupational groups who most often resided with children. The elderly without resources of their own were sometimes able to move in with children, but they were also the group most likely to end up as boarders, in service, or in the poorhouse.

The concentration of multigenerational families among the poor in the late twentieth century demonstrates that inheritance is no longer a leading motive for the younger generation to reside with their parents. Instead, co-resident elderly tend to be welfare relatives—the infirm, the dying, and the destitute. It is likely that such dependent elderly kin were frequently taken in by relatives in the nineteenth century as well, but before 1940 the elderly with economic power were

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Alone, 1950–1976,” *Demography*, 17 (1980): 39–53; Fred C. Pampel, “Changes in the Propensity to Live Alone: Evidence from Consecutive Cross-sectional Surveys,” *Demography*, 23 (1983): 433–47; Ruggles, “Demography of the Unrelated Individual”; Ruggles, “Living Arrangements of the Elderly”; also see Michael Anderson, “The Impact on Family Relationships of the Elderly of Changes since Victorian Times in Governmental Income Maintenance Provisions,” in *Family, Bureaucracy, and the Elderly*, Ethel Shanas and Marvin B. Sussman, eds. (Durham, N.C., 1977); R. Angel and M. Tienda, “Determinants of Extended Family Structure: Cultural Pattern or Economic Need?” *American Journal of Sociology*, 87 (1982): 1360–83; L. E. Troll, “The Family of Later Life: A Decade Review,” *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 33 (1971): 263–90; Miriam L. King, *Changes in the Living Arrangements of the Elderly: 1960–2030* (Washington, D.C., 1988).

<sup>41</sup> Ruggles, “Living Arrangements of the Elderly”; Ruggles and Goeken, “Race and Multigenerational Family Structure”; Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections*; Smith, “Accounting for Change.”



even more likely to live with kin. As the stem family pattern diminished and the elderly with economic resources began to reside on their own, multigenerational families increasingly conformed to Smith's model of co-residential old age support.

The evidence on the relationship of economic status to living arrangements contradicts the thesis expressed by some historians that the harsh economic conditions faced by the working class under early industrial capitalism strengthened the interdependence of family members and led to a higher frequency of extended families.<sup>42</sup> More important, it eliminates the simplest economic interpretation of the decline of co-residence among the elderly. All things being equal, a rise in economic resources of the elderly between the mid-nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth century would have resulted in an increase of residence with kin, not a decline.

MID-TWENTIETH-CENTURY SOCIOLOGICAL THEORISTS offered an alternate explanation for the decline of the extended family. They argued that industrialization and urbanization led to a breakdown of the traditional family economy. Urban industrial capitalism demanded a flexible and mobile family; the stripped-down nuclear family prevailed because it was functionally adapted to the new economic realities. The United States around the turn of the century provides an appropriate laboratory for testing this hypothesis. Some parts of the country were highly industrialized and predominantly urban, while in other places the agricultural family economy was still the primary mode of production.

To assess the effects of urbanization and industrialization on the living arrangements of the aged, I carried out multivariate analyses of the effects of local urban development and manufacturing on family structure in 1880 and 1910. This study will appear elsewhere, but the main findings are easily summarized.<sup>43</sup> Neither urban development nor manufacturing was significantly associated with separate residence of the elderly. In fact, when we control for other characteristics, urban elderly in 1910 were significantly more likely to reside with kin than elderly in rural areas.

There were two local characteristics related to separate residence in old age: percentage of literate in the county and rate of school attendance. The higher the level of local education, the fewer elderly resided with kin. This finding brings to mind John Caldwell's widely cited theory of fertility decline. Caldwell argues that traditional attitudes about the family have been undermined by individualistic values transmitted through schooling; the same mechanism could prove to be

<sup>42</sup> This thesis was expressed by Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971); Tamara K. Hareven, "The Dynamics of Kin in an Industrial Community," in *Turning Points: Historical and Sociological Essays on the Family*, John Demos and S. S. Boocock, eds. (Chicago, 1978); Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community* (Cambridge, 1982); Katz, *People of Hamilton*; John O. Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns* (London, 1974); John Modell, "Patterns of Consumption, Acculturation, and Family Income Strategies in Late Nineteenth-Century America," in *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America*, Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1978). For further discussion, see Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections*.

<sup>43</sup> Ruggles, "Living Arrangements of the Elderly."

important for the transformation of family structure.<sup>44</sup> Education could also have had a more direct effect. The increasing importance of human capital as opposed to occupational or property inheritance may have undermined the economic logic of the stem family. As life chances were increasingly determined by education instead of inheritance, the incentives for grown children to remain in their parents' households would have diminished.

Another hypothesis was offered by Marion Levy. He suggested that as demographic constraints relaxed and people were increasingly able to reside in extended families, "sources of stress and strain" emerged that led them to change their preferred family form. A similar interpretation has been proposed by Frances Kobrin, who argues that as the ratio of elderly to adult children increased, the norm of co-residence was undermined. In other words, the ideal of co-residence could be maintained only as long as a small minority actually lived with their parents; the demographic transition indirectly led to a transition in residential preferences.<sup>45</sup>

Social norms about multigenerational families clearly have changed. Separate residence is now preferred both by the older generation and by their children.<sup>46</sup> This shift in norms is consistent with the demographic interpretation suggested by Levy and Kobrin. But there is one major problem: the transformation of attitudes about the family has not been confined to the relationship between elderly parents and their adult children. In every sphere of family life, there has been a loosening of bonds of obligation among kin. There has been a revolution in attitudes toward divorce, cohabitation, premarital sex, and single parenthood.<sup>47</sup> It seems unlikely that the shift in attitudes toward co-residence between adults and their parents is unconnected to the broader changes in family values. The demographic thesis is therefore too narrow to explain the larger changes in family attitudes. We are faced, in effect, with explaining the rise of individualism in the twentieth century, a task far beyond the scope of this essay.

MY CONCLUSION THAT A STEM FAMILY PATTERN predominated in nineteenth-century America could be wrong. Although the evidence is entirely consistent with a stem family reading, it could also be interpreted differently. The only way to know for certain whether it was a stem family system or a system of co-residential old age support would be to carry out longitudinal studies, probably using linked census data together with information on inheritance and property transfers. Such studies are feasible and should be pursued.

But my main point is indisputable: the past century has witnessed a radical transformation of residential preferences. The magnitude of change was obscured by changing demographic constraints, so most family historians adopted the view that family structure has been stable for centuries in northwestern

<sup>44</sup> John C. Caldwell, *Theory of Fertility Decline* (London, 1982).

<sup>45</sup> Levy, "Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure"; Kobrin, "Fall in Household Size."

<sup>46</sup> Among many other surveys on this point, see Stephen Crystal, *America's Old Age Crisis* (New York, 1982), 222.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, Arland Thornton, "Changing Attitudes toward Family Issues in the United States," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 51 (1989): 873-93.

Europe and the United States. This view has had a crippling effect on the field: once scholars accepted that no significant change in family structure had occurred, the topic ceased to be interesting. Partly as a result, historians of northwestern Europe and the United States now rarely undertake quantitative studies of historical family structure.<sup>48</sup>

The revisionist interpretation undermined the study of change in living arrangements not just by asserting that family structure had remained the same but also by asserting that family structure was relatively unimportant. For forty years, sociologists and historians have consistently repeated the theme that the key to understanding the family lies with kin relationships beyond the household. They have succeeded in demonstrating that people who live apart from their relatives nonetheless care for them deeply, lend them money in times of need, and telephone regularly. But the very fact that kin do not live together almost inevitably means that they play a relatively small role in one another's everyday life. According to a recent survey, a majority of elderly say they saw at least one of their children within the previous week. A hundred years ago, however, most elderly saw one of their children at breakfast each morning.<sup>49</sup> However great the interaction of kin who live separately, it is bound to be less than the interaction of kin who live together.

Co-residence is not just the best indicator of the intensity of kin interaction over the past century and a half, it is the only consistently available indicator. We have no consistent source of information on relationships among kin who live apart. Long-run changes in kin ties beyond the household are therefore virtually impossible to gauge, and any generalizations about such changes will no doubt always remain speculative.

If we want to understand how family life was transformed, the study of family structure is an essential starting point. The key period of change—the past hundred years—has been neglected by family historians. This is the only period for which we now have consistent, abundant, and high-quality information on family structure. The Integrated Public Use Microdata Series offers unprecedented opportunities to describe and analyze changes in living arrangements. We may never know if people today care more about their families, but, by combining the new data with qualitative sources and longitudinal local studies, we may at least discover how and why the nineteenth-century multigenerational family disappeared.

<sup>48</sup> In a 1991 state-of-the-field essay in the *AHR* on the history of the family, Tamara Hareven cited over eighty quantitative studies pertaining to northwestern Europe and the United States in the modern period. More than three-fourths of these publications appeared in the 1970s or earlier, and 90 percent had appeared by 1983. Many of the studies that were carried out focus on family strategies in a particular period, a style of research that is reminiscent of the static functionalism of mid-twentieth-century sociology. Hareven, "History of the Family."

<sup>49</sup> Ethel Shanas, *Old People in Three Industrial Societies* (New York, 1968).

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## Black Hair and Red Trousers: Gendering the Flesh in Medieval Japan

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HITOMI TONOMURA

"AT A TIME NOW PAST," Fujiwara Tamemoto was the governor of Shimotsuke Province. His house (in Kyoto, the capital) was located to the south of Third Street, to the west of the Western Palace. Around the end of the twelfth month (in about the year 1001), a thief entered this house. Because the neighbors shouted, the thief left without stealing much of anything. Fearing that he would be arrested, the thief abducted one of the ladies-in-waiting as a hostage. As he escaped from Third Street and headed west, he threw the woman on a horse and turned into Ōmiya Street. Then he thought someone was coming after him. So he stripped the outer clothes off the woman, and rode away. The lady-in-waiting, terrified and nearly naked, was in such a state of mind that she fell into the Ōmiya River. The water was freezing cold, and an icy wind was blowing. She managed to crawl back out of the water. She went up to a house and knocked on the gate, but no one heard her. She died that night. Dogs came and ate her body. The following morning, long black hair, a ruddy head, and scarlet undertrousers lay frozen in shreds . . . The story continues with the description of an imperial decree that offers a reward for the thief. A policeman finally captures the suspect and receives the reward. The tale closes with the statement, "Women must be extremely careful while sleeping. If not careful, a woman could be taken hostage. So the tale's been told, and so it's been handed down."<sup>1</sup>

This is one of the thousand or so tales in the collection *Konjaku monogatari shū*,

I presented different versions of this article between 1991 and 1993 at Washington University in St. Louis, the Center for Japanese Studies and the Comparative Studies in Social Transformation at the University of Michigan, and the Conference on Female and Male Role Sharing in Japan, held at the University of Michigan. A Japanese version was presented at a Gender and Culture Conference held in Osaka, Japan. I received invaluable comments from the members of the audience, the unnamed referees for the *AHR*, and other helpful colleagues, in particular: Paul Groner, Helen Hardacre, Anne Walthall, Clay Ramsay, Robert Morrell, Kate Wildman Nakai, Andrea Press, Geoffrey Eley, Tanaka Takako, Kyoraku Mahoko, Sue Juster, Janet Hart, and Ruth Dunnell. I am grateful to the Institute for the Humanities, where I was a resident fellow in 1990–1991, the Rackham Graduate School, the Center for Japanese Studies, and the Department of History of the University of Michigan, for their financial, intellectual, and clerical support.

Note: the names of Japanese authors writing in Japanese are given with the family name preceding the given name.

<sup>1</sup> Tale 29–8, in *Konjaku monogatari shū* (*Nihon koten bungaku taikei*: Tokyo, 1979–80), volume 5. For this article, I read approximately 700 Honchō (Japanese) tales in volumes 3, 4, and 5. Volumes 1 and 2 contain sacred tales from India and didactic and "strange" tales from China—for example, the *Ming-pao chi*, compiled in the T'ang dynasty (684–906 A.D.). Marian Ury, trans., *Tales of Times Now Past: Sixty-Two Stories from a Medieval Japanese Collection* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979), intro., 13.

translated as *Tales of Times Now Past*.<sup>2</sup> Compiled in the early twelfth century, probably by a Buddhist lay monk of aristocratic rank who was well acquainted with classic literary traditions and had a sharp eye for the life of commoners,<sup>3</sup> the tales were probably recited by itinerant sermon (*sekkyō*) givers, a class of professionals often portrayed in such early medieval literature as *Chūyūki*, *Eiga-monogatari*, and the *Konjaku monogatari* itself. We know nothing about the precise size, type, or location of the audience for these tales, but the reappearance of themes from the *Konjaku* in collections of tales from subsequent eras—throughout pre-modern and modern times—attests to their popularity and transmission to later generations.<sup>4</sup>

Most of the tales have three parts: the narrative, the compiler's comment, and an explanation for how "we" came to know the tale. The narrative introduces realistic, historical, symbolic, or supernatural situations played out by women and men of various ages, classes, occupations, geographic locations, sexual attitudes, levels of respectability and spiritual status. Many of the stories have their origins in earlier writings or traditions—including Indian and Chinese Buddhist doctrinal texts, Japanese myths and folk tales, and records of actual political events. Concrete or elaborate details, such as the name of a historical figure or the exact location of a house (as in the case above), cast the narrative into visually accessible configurations of realistic or, in other cases, fantastic images. Often both seriously religious and outrageously funny, the narratives are constructed to appeal to the listener's sense of awe and sense of humor. The compiler's comments appear in his or her own voice or are attributed to "those who heard this story." This section functions as an "opinion page," giving advice on specific practices, such as "women must be extremely careful while sleeping," or imparting philosophical adages, such as "women's ways are wicked." In these self-conscious responses to the tales' semi-legendary or newly constructed situations, the compiler often suggests a new meaning or interpretation for the tale as a whole, quite apart from the narrative itself. Necessarily reflecting certain codes and attitudes embedded in or imaginable to the compiler's society, the comments doubtless enhanced the tales' discursive power to reshape, reinforce, or influence the listener's and reader's conscious and unconscious world views. Finally, stories often close with

<sup>2</sup> This translation of the title is from Ury, *Tales of Times*. Tales in *Konjaku monogatari* are what Japanese scholars call *setsuwa*, translated as "tales," "legends," or "anecdotes." According to Ury, the *Konjaku* differs from Aesop's fables or the *Gesta Romanorum* in its use of concrete examples, instead of allegory, to teach the ways of karma, but it is similar to the German *Legende* in its intention to be read aloud. Ury, *Tales of Times*, 9–11.

<sup>3</sup> *Konjaku* experts share no consensus over the possible identity of the author(s) or compiler(s), other than the likelihood that he (they) was connected with Enryakuji, a formidable Tendai monastic institution, near Kyoto. See, for example, "Konjaku monogatari no sakusha to seiritsu [Authorship and Compilation of *Konjaku monogatari*]," by Nagai Yoshinori, in *Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō kankōkai*, ed., *Konjaku monogatari* (Tokyo, 1970), 111–27.

<sup>4</sup> While *Konjaku* tales reappear frequently in later collections, the title *Konjaku monogatari* itself is first cited in a work dating from 1451. Ury, *Tales of Times*, 22. This by no means precludes the popularity of *Konjaku* tales as demonstrated by, for example, *Uji shūi monogatari*, fifteen volumes of tales compiled around the end of the twelfth century, which contains 84 (out of 196) tales thematically similar to those in the *Konjaku*. Entry for *Uji shūi monogatari*, in Takayanagi Mitsusumi and Takeuchi Rizō, comp., *Nihonshi jiten* (Tokyo, 1979), 98. For an explanation of the structural relationship between *Konjaku monogatari* and *Uji shūi monogatari*, see Shimura Kunihiro, *Chūsei setsuwa bungaku kenkyū josetsu* (Tokyo, 1974), 36–60.



the statement “so the tale’s been told, and so it’s been handed down,” or with a concrete explanation of how the tale was told and handed down. This device genealogically authenticates the tale’s transmission to the “here and now,” thereby helping to legitimate its explicit and implicit messages and integrate them into the listener’s field of vision and knowledge.

IN VOLUME 2 OF *The History of Sexuality*, Michel Foucault asks, “Why is sexual conduct, why are the activities and pleasures that attach to it, an object of moral solicitude? How, why, and in what forms was sexuality constituted as a moral domain?”<sup>5</sup> In this article, I ask similar questions for twelfth-century Japan. But, unlike Foucault, who omits gender categories from his discussions of power configurations,<sup>6</sup> I direct my analyses squarely at gender: how were constructions of sexuality in this twelfth-century compilation of tales gendered? A critical historical problem in Japan’s pre-modern society—the processes and meanings of widening gender asymmetries—informs this inquiry. Based on one text from one historical moment, this study seeks to analyze a small slice in the complex pattern of a multifaceted transformation that is often conceptualized as the growth of patriarchy out of a historical condition (erroneously) characterized as matriarchy.<sup>7</sup>

Leaving aside the framework of debate that uncritically positions the two conceptual categories of matriarchy and patriarchy as being reverse parallel, we can nonetheless see by the sixteenth century the articulation of greater gender disparities in many aspects of social structure and relationships. In the first century and a half (592–770) of Japan’s imperial rule, however, emperorship was accorded to women as frequently as it was to men, until the imperial seat, along with all bureaucratic posts, became gendered male. The Sun Goddess, a female deity, was chosen to be the ancestral deity of the imperial lineage. Marriage practice was more matrilineal than patrilineal. Aristocratic and warrior-class women were significant heirs of property and even adopted children in order to pass down their property. The practice of *yobai* (night crawling) and sex-centered village festivals sanctioned promiscuity for both women and men, although men usually proposed the liaison and women accepted or rejected it. Impurity or pollution was associated with temporary conditions of both men and women. But, by 1500—to take an arbitrary year—women were no longer emperors,<sup>8</sup> occupied no formal governmental positions, rarely held property, and were increasingly considered biologically polluted, while marriage had become patrilineal and descent patrilineal. The Sun Goddess remained the progenitrix of the imperial

<sup>5</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 2, *The Use of Pleasure* (New York, 1985), 10.

<sup>6</sup> This omission has been widely noted. For instance, see *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*, Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby, eds. (Boston, 1988).

<sup>7</sup> Especially by those following Lewis Henry Morgan, Johann Bachofen, and Friedrich Engels. For instance, Takamura Itsue characterizes Japan’s hunting-gathering society as a “mother-centered matriarchal society” in *Josei no rekishi*, vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1972), 15.

<sup>8</sup> The exceptions are two female reigns in the Tokugawa period, during 1630–1643 and 1763–1770.

family, but there was a scholarly attempt in the eighteenth century to change her gender.<sup>9</sup>

Because early Japanese society accorded some degree of parity to the gender roles, much Japanese scholarship has argued against the vision of universal and timeless patriarchy frequently advanced in conventional scholarship of the West.<sup>10</sup> If human cultural forms have not always been male dominant, a historian's task is to know the precise processes and locations that came to define categorically the nature of "women" and to place women's roles in increasingly peripheral or symbolically devalued positions.<sup>11</sup> I approach this task from one angle: analysis of the kinds of social scripts that probably influenced the perceptions of gendered relations, especially in areas of sexual practices and sexuality.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> On female emperors, see E. Patricia Tsurumi, "The Male Present versus the Female Past: Historians and Japan's Ancient Female Emperors," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 14 (1983): 71–75; Takamura discusses the significance of the female-gendered Sun Deity in the world context in *Josei*, 1: 15–21. Haruko Wakita presents an outline of the broad sweep in women's position in "Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan from the Perspective of Women's History," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 10 (Winter 1984): 77–99. There is an abundance of literature on marriage and property rights in Japanese. In English, see William McCullough, "Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Heian Period," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 27 (1967): 103–67; Haruko Wakita, "Marriage and Property"; Hitomi Tonomura, "Women and Inheritance in Japan's Early Warrior Society," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 32 (July 1990): 592–623. See Michiko Y. Aoki, *Ancient Myths and Early History of Japan: A Cultural Foundation* (New York, 1974), for the description of a polyandrous custom found in the Songfest. Karen A. Smyers discusses the signification of menstrual blood in early Japan in "Women and Shinto: The Relation between Purity and Pollution," *Japanese Religions*, 12 (July 1983): 7–19; while Momoko Takemi illustrates the changing concept of menstruation by tracing the development of the "Menstruation Sutra" in "Menstruation Sutra' Belief in Japan," *Journal of Japanese Religious Studies*, 10 (June–September 1983): 229–46.

<sup>10</sup> This vision is closely connected with the binary thinking that splits women and men into two separate spheres such as nature and culture. Peggy Reeves Sanday explains the evolution of this thinking and argues against it in "The Reproduction of Patriarchy in Feminist Anthropology," in *Feminist Thought and the Structure of Knowledge*, Mary McCanney Gergen, ed. (New York, 1988), 49–68. Other works that question the universal patriarchal model include Karen Sacks, *Sisters and Wives: The Past and Future of Sexual Equality* (1979; rpt. edn., Urbana, Ill., 1982); Carol P. MacCormack and Marilyn Strathern, eds., *Nature, Culture and Gender* (Cambridge, 1980); Karla O. Poewe, "Universal Male Dominance: An Ethnological Illusion," *Dialectical Anthropology*, 5 (1980): 111–25; Eleanor Burke Leacock, *Myths of Male Dominance: Collected Articles on Women Cross-Culturally* (New York, 1981); Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Female Power and Male Dominance: On the Origins of Sexual Inequality* (Cambridge, 1981); Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988); Peggy Reeves Sanday and Ruth Gallagher Goodenough, eds., *Beyond the Second Sex: New Directions in the Anthropology of Gender* (Philadelphia, 1990).

<sup>11</sup> I have elsewhere examined how women lost property rights and how this loss was accompanied by a whole set of changes in marriage practices and descent patterns. See Tonomura, "Women and Inheritance."

<sup>12</sup> Sexuality is one area to which otherwise abundant Japanese scholarship has paid relatively little attention. This tendency has been noted by Hagino Miho, "Seisa no rekishigaku: Joseishi no saisei no tame ni," *Shisō*, 768 (June 1988): 73–96. In Western scholarship, the same dearth was problematized by Robert A. Padgug in the now classic "Sexual Matters: On Conceptualizing Sexuality in History," *Radical History Review*, 20 (Spring–Summer 1979): 3–23, later published in Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr., eds., *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York, 1989), 54–64. My article assumes that "sexuality" was operant in Western and non-Western cultures long before sex became a discourse in the Foucauldian sense and long before the appearance of the word "sexuality" in late nineteenth-century dictionaries. See Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1 (New York, 1980). The appearance of the term in the Oxford English Dictionary is mentioned by Arnold I. Davidson in "The Emergence of Sexuality," *Critical Inquiry*, 14 (Autumn 1987): 23.

A SPECIFIC SET OF QUESTIONS GUIDES my reading of these tales: how does this sample collection of literature from twelfth-century Japan depict the bodies of females and males, their sexual attitudes, and their gender relations? In seeking answers, we must take care not always to expect coherent or consistently logical representations or underlying meanings. The *Konjaku* collection as a whole is a text of contradiction and negotiation in which divergent sets of values compete for negation and validation and tales impart meanings that are frequently disparate and divergent. This is especially true regarding gender relations and sexuality. On the one hand, the text often grants women power, autonomy, wit, initiative, and common sense. Women often win the contests between the sexes. A lowly maid in a palace, for instance, outsmarts a male aristocrat in a poetic exchange of sarcasm, and a woman is the winner in a contest with a man to stand a pin on its head.<sup>13</sup> A young wife publicly humiliates her husband, a guard, in front of his comrades for flirting with a young female passer-by, who turns out to be herself.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the compiler's comments attached to the narratives frequently reduce women to an essentialized category and set up boundaries within which female sexuality must remain.

Several factors complicate the tales' representations of gender relations. To begin with, Buddhism is a philosophy with varied and flexible doctrines that offer divergent views and interpretations of various phenomena. Some Indian Buddhist texts bar women from any possibility of redemption, while others allow attainment of Nirvana equally to both sexes.<sup>15</sup> Mahayana Buddhism, which reached Japan, teaches flexibility in the meaning of gender categories, emphasizing that "there are no . . . immutable essence or traits anywhere, no inherent qualities in any being or thing. One only *appears* to be female or male."<sup>16</sup> Although Nirvana was a paradise theoretically attainable only by men, the mutability of the gendered state permitted a woman's body (*mi*) to be transformed into a man's through the power of the Lotus Sutra.<sup>17</sup> A girl who dies of illness and reappears as a snake, therefore, can fly away on purple clouds accompanied by a holy man after hearing the recitation of the Lotus Sutra,<sup>18</sup> and a woman well-versed in the Lotus Sutra can visit Paradise following her death and then revive on earth.<sup>19</sup>

Contradictory and inconsistent messages regarding gender relations also reflect the adjustment occurring between Japan's native belief system (which later came to be called Shinto) and imported Buddhism, a historical process that began with the growth of the first imperial state (from about the sixth through the eighth century). Buddhism and the native belief system easily syncretized at that time to support forcefully the government's economic and political program of centralization. By the tenth century, many Shinto deities and Buddhist Bodhisattvas took on an inseparable unity as they came to represent different manifestations of the

<sup>13</sup> Tales 28–14, 24–4.

<sup>14</sup> Tale 28–1.

<sup>15</sup> Rita M. Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism* (Albany, N.Y., 1993), 10.

<sup>16</sup> Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy*, 68.

<sup>17</sup> In the *Konjaku*, the woman is still called *nyonin* (female) even after her *mi* (body) is transformed.

<sup>18</sup> Tale 13–43. This tale explicitly mentions the "Ryūnyō jōbutsu," the "Devadatta" story of the Lotus Sutra in which an eight-year-old girl is transformed into a male and attains salvation.

<sup>19</sup> Tale 13–36.

same deity.<sup>20</sup> Attitudes toward sex, however, remained the great divide between the two systems. Shinto exalted sex as a major creative force. In the Japanese creation myth, the *Kojiki*, for example, two deities who are sister and brother join one part that is “insufficiently formed” with another part that is “excessively formed” around the heavenly pillar erected inside a cave-like palace. (I am paraphrasing the *Kojiki*.)<sup>21</sup> In Buddhism, by contrast, sexual desires and appetites belonged to the delusory mind of the ordinary person at the lowest of the Ten Stages of Mind that led to complete liberation. Condemned as “attachment,” sexual desire caused the painful cyclical existence, freedom from which was the only path to attainment of Nirvana.<sup>22</sup> Some tales in the *Konjaku* collection project this anti-sex attitude by denigrating sexualized Shinto deities. A phallus-shaped *kami* (deity: *sae no kami*), for example, says to a Buddhist monk, “I want to get rid of my shape, this inferior *kami*, and quickly acquire a virtuous and superior body. Please stay here for three days and recite the Lotus Sutra, so as to help me to transform from the body of sufferance to the body of joy.”<sup>23</sup> (This tale, like many others, is essentially an advertisement for the Lotus Sutra.) The tales also place Buddhism above Shinto in degree of importance, judged from the placement of Buddha before *kami* when the text mentions the two simultaneously. The compound word for Buddha (*butsu*) and *kami* (*shin*) always appears as *butsu-shin*, never *shin-butsu*, in these tales.<sup>24</sup> This is not to say that the tales consistently denounce, as did early Indian Buddhist texts, “sense pleasures, especially sexuality, [for being] extremely dangerous and tempting, for both women and men.”<sup>25</sup> These tales make no attempt to denounce sexual desires per se, and, in this sense, they are perhaps “more Japanese than Buddhist.”<sup>26</sup> They tend to name women

<sup>20</sup> Alicia Matsunaga explains this process from a doctrinal perspective in *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation: The Historical Development of the Honji-Suijaku Theory* (Tokyo, 1969).

<sup>21</sup> The *Kojiki* was completed on the occasion of Japan's first state-making in the eighth century and is a genealogical fiat for the newly established imperial family as well as an origin myth. The stories herald sex as a paradigmatic essence for organizing politics, society, and cosmological order. These two deities together created fourteen islands and thirty-five deities. Reproduction without sexual contact—male deities on their own, for instance—is also prevalent throughout the text. Note the sexual relationship between a sister and a brother, a recurrent theme in Japan's folklore. In English, see Donald L. Philippi, trans., *Kojiki* (Tokyo, 1968), esp. 50–57, for the story about these two deities. Tale 26–10 in *Konjaku monogatari* is constructed around a sister-brother relationship. An excellent anthropological typology of folk tales regarding sister-brother sexual unions is found in Fukuda Akira, “Imose kon'indan no yukue: Kami to hotoke no hazama kara,” in *Kami to hotoke*, Sakurai Yoshirō, ed. (*Bukkyō to Nihonjin*, 1: Tokyo, 1985), 167–224. Attitudes toward sex found in the *Kojiki* also contrast with those in the Book of Genesis and its punitive impulse that drives out the sexualized Adam and Eve. My understanding of the Book of Genesis is greatly indebted to Elaine Pagels, *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent* (New York, 1988).

<sup>22</sup> Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy*, 44. Yuasa Yasuo explains that, according to Kūkai (also known as Kōbō Daishi, 774–835), “the greatest barrier to enlightenment is the struggle with eros.” Yuasa Yasuo, *The Body: Toward an Eastern Mind-Body Theory*, Thomas P. Kasulis, ed., Nagatomo Shigenori and Thomas P. Kasulis, trans. (Albany, N.Y., 1987), 136–43, esp. 141. Another leader, Myōe (1173–1232), also spoke on desires: “Once [monks] take their vows, shave their heads and dye their garments, they should abandon desire and cut off attachment.” This text states that the Five Desires are for property, sex, food, fame, and sleep. Robert E. Morrell, *Early Kamakura Buddhism: A Minority Report* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 50.

<sup>23</sup> Tale 13–34.

<sup>24</sup> Katayose Masayoshi, *Konjaku monogatari* (Kamakura, 1974), 105. Either compound is equally possible.

<sup>25</sup> Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy*, 44.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Groner's comment on my paper at a conference in December 1991.

and their sexual attractiveness as the primary obstacle to enlightenment—of men.<sup>27</sup>

A DISCUSSION OF SEXUALITY IN THE *Konjaku* must begin with the prevailing mode of marriage, which obviously had a direct connection to how sexuality would be viewed and exercised.<sup>28</sup> But marriage in twelfth-century Japan was a social process without a name. There was no word for the noun form of “marriage.” It was a practice free of governmental dictates, of legal definitions and standards against which one could offend, and of expectations for time-bound commitments. Instead of a marital structure that sanctioned certain sexual relations, the boundary of “marriage” was negotiated by, first of all, sexual contacts, which were often expressed in terms of becoming either a *tsuma*, a female lover or a wife, or an *otto*, a male lover or a husband. But this was not necessarily the same as “getting married” in the modern sense of the term. A *tsuma* and an *otto* did not necessarily form a monogamous “couple,” because it seems that even a male stranger-rapist could be considered the woman victim’s *otto*. One story demonstrates that in the aftermath of rape, the victim’s husband (as we understand it) is called a “former *otto*,” with the implication that the rapist is now the new *otto*.<sup>29</sup> Similar confusion surrounds the frequently used verb *totsugu*, which in the later, patrilineal setting, means to “marry into a man’s family,” with the assumption of a patrilocal arrangement. In the earlier, twelfth-century text, *totsugu* refers to activities occurring at the genitals—even a snake entering a human vagina.<sup>30</sup> Yet there are examples of *tsuma* and *otto* who, sharing household space, wealth, and children, constitute something on the order of a “marital couple” as we understand it today. This concept of the couple seems to be present especially with patrilocal marriages and marriages of long duration.

The conceptual ambiguity of “marriage” reflected the actual complexity in social rules regarding its practice. A score of scholars has demonstrated the prevalence of matrilineal marriage and matrilineal inheritance practices for Heian Japan (from the eighth to the twelfth century). In the *Konjaku*, matrilineal and “visiting” marriages (men visiting women for sexual relations) together outnumber patrilocal marriages, the preferred model of later centuries.<sup>31</sup> The wife’s

<sup>27</sup> Indian Buddhism also argues that nothing is “more enticing, so intoxicating, so distracting . . . such a hindrance to winning the unsurpassed peace . . . as a woman’s form.” Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy*, 44–46.

<sup>28</sup> Ellen Ross and Rayna Rapp propose three elements that establish external limits on sexual experience and give shape to individual and group behavior: kinship and family system, social regulation and definitions of communities, and national and world systems. Ross and Rapp, “Sex and Society: A Research Note from Social History and Anthropology,” in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson, eds. (New York, 1983), 54.

<sup>29</sup> Tale 26–21.

<sup>30</sup> Tale 24–9.

<sup>31</sup> For a discussion of matrilineal marriages among aristocrats, see McCullough, “Japanese Marriage Institutions.” Ogata Kazuko and Nishimura Hiroko each independently quantified the marital locations depicted in the *Konjaku* into three categories: (1) patrilocal, (2) visiting and matrilineal combined, and (3) neolocal and matrilineal combined. Ogata counts 240 cases in all, classified as: (1) 55 cases or 22.9 percent; (2) 76 cases or 31.7 percent; and (3) 109 cases or 45.4 percent. For Nishimura, the total count is 191, divided into: (1) 47 cases or 24.6 percent; (2) 57 cases



household had the major responsibility for maintaining the economic arrangement and raising the children.<sup>32</sup> Marriage, as such, was not necessarily a male-centered institution at this time.

This is not to say that there was gender equality in matters of sex. Structurally, it is true, visiting marriages could favor both men and women who wished to have more than one sexual partner. But, according to the tales, men and women have contrasting privileges in this regard. Men often have two *tsuma* and freely exercise their preferences between them. A man in Tanba Province, for instance, keeps two *tsuma* in two houses side by side; the "original *tsuma*" is a native of Tanba and the "*tsuma* of now" is from Kyoto. Although he has been alienated from the first recently, the story goes, he returns to her when he finds that her reaction to a deer's cry is far more poetic than the second *tsuma*'s.<sup>33</sup> Unlike men, women are left without the socially recognized authority to choose and retain a second *otto* alongside the first.<sup>34</sup> Tales depict women having multiple sexual relationships (with men) of their own volition; but two *otto* they never have. Tales draw a clear boundary between a husband and a lover by calling the latter a *mippu* or *maotoko*, meaning a "secret *otto*" or "in-between man," terms suggestive of a relationship that falls outside the legitimate social order.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, a woman's lover is, in most cases, a professional priest or a monk who is occupationally ineligible to be an *otto* in the sense of a "husband-spouse."<sup>36</sup> The meanings of *tsuma* and *otto* are

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or 29.8 percent; and (3) 87 cases or 45.6 percent. The combined instances of matrilocal, neolocal, and visiting marriages total 77.1 percent in Ogata's study and 75.4 percent in Nishimura's findings. Ogata Kazuko, "*Konjaku monogatari* ni okeru kon'in kankei—Takamure Itsue shi no mukoirikon o megutte," *Joseishi kenkyū*, 2 (June 1976): 2–16; Nishimura Hiroko, "*Konjaku monogatari* ni okeru kon'in keitai to kon'in kankei—Takamure Itsue setsu e no gimon," *Rekishi hyōron*, 335 (March 1978): 39–53. The weight of visiting and matrilocal marriages speaks of the vitality of the ancient custom of *yobai*—literally, "[man] creeping in at night [into a woman's place]." The term *yobai* appears in the *Konjaku* tales also. See Tale 20–37, for example, in which local men court a young woman by visiting her nightly.

<sup>32</sup> See, for instance, Tale 30–4, in which a woman insists on separation because she is no longer able to take care of her husband properly after the death of her parents.

<sup>33</sup> Tale 30–12. Another mid-level official also has two *tsuma* in two houses, both in Kyoto. He has moved in with the new *tsuma*, forgetting the old. As in the story above, he returns to the old *tsuma* after realizing that she is more refined: she appreciates and writes a poem about the humorous gestures of shellfish and sea urchins, unlike the new *tsuma*, who only sees food in them. In a third example, a husband leaves the old for the new, taking with him everything belonging to the original *tsuma*. A child is dispatched to the old wife's house to get the last item, a horse feeder. The original wife then writes a poem that touches the husband so deeply that he returns everything to her, including himself; Tales 30–11 and 30–10.

<sup>34</sup> I have already mentioned that a woman's husband (*otto*) comes to be called a "former *otto*" once she has sex with another man, in this case, a rapist.

<sup>35</sup> Tale 29–13.

<sup>36</sup> Priests and monks were popular objects of admiration among women and of derision among men. Sei Shōnagon, a late tenth-century aristocratic woman, notes in her *Pillowbook*, "A preacher ought to be good-looking. For, if we are properly to understand his worthy sentiments, we must keep our eyes on him while he speaks; should we look away, we may forget to listen. Accordingly an ugly preacher may well be the source of sin." She describes a scene in which "a priest was kneeling. He was in his early thirties and quite handsome. Over his grey habit he wore a fine silk stole—altogether the effect was magnificent . . . Then with his eyes tightly shut he began to read the mystic incantations . . . It was an impressive sight, and many of the ladies of the house came out from behind the screens and curtains and sat watching in a group." *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*, Ivan Morris, ed. and trans. (1967; rpt. edn., Middlesex, Eng., 1971), 53, 182. Priestesses, priests, nuns, and monks (a poor translation of a variety of terms denoting people with different types and degrees of involvement in the religious order) in the Japanese context were quite different from those in the Christian

thus asymmetrical. A man's lover is called a *tsuma* more readily than a woman's lover is called an *otto*. A story about a woman who has two visiting lovers—a high-ranking aristocrat and a renowned priest—illustrates some of these points. She is the aristocrat's *tsuma*, but he is not called her *otto*. One day, the woman's maids mix up the clothes of the aristocrat and those of the priest. When the aristocrat goes out with his friends on a hunting trip, he finds in his bag a priest's robe instead of a hunting jacket. The man is publicly embarrassed when his friends also notice this error. He sends the priest's robe back to the woman along with a poem and terminates his visits. The woman is perplexed, but there is nothing she can do.<sup>37</sup> Another tale portrays a situation in a patrilocal household of a middle-ranking provincial official (*zuryō*) who suspects that his wife (called "aruji," meaning "master [of the house]") is having an affair with a priest. He ignores the situation until, one day, he comes home while the priest is there. Noticing the uneasy expressions of female servants and the female "master" herself, he discovers that, unlike on other days, the lid of a large chest is shut. He delivers the chest, with the priest inside, to the priest's temple as a gift, placing the priest in the embarrassing situation of crawling out of the chest in front of his peers and subordinates.<sup>38</sup>

The above two stories differ in their endings: in the first, the woman loses her status as the man's *tsuma*; in the second, the woman loses her lover. But the two tales are similar in that there is no specific censure against the multiple relationships. Neither the male characters nor the compiler of the tales criticizes the women's behavior. Instead, the focus is on the men's respective responses. In the first tale, "men who heard the story" praise the action of the aristocrat; in the second, the compiler finds the official's maneuver praiseworthy and humorous. We presume that the first woman will become a *tsuma* to another aristocratic dandy, and the official's wife, whether or not she takes another lover, will continue to manage the household as its female master.

However, plural relationships do not escape injunctions altogether. Certain types of plural affairs are criticized and moralized. Here again, there are gender-based differences. The compiler judges a man's actions only in their concrete particularities. Women's negative examples, by contrast, serve as the basis for discussing *onna*, or women, and their inherent qualities. Denial of responsibility toward his past bedmate is the crime committed by a samurai who moves with his *tsuma* to a new region, only to fall in love with another woman and forget about his first *tsuma*. Quartered in the new wife's residence, the samurai abandons the original wife and even refuses to know whether she is dead or alive. The woman dies. The samurai's lord (the governor of Chikuzen Province) feels pity for the woman, tells the samurai that he is less than human, and drives him

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institutions of the West. The majority of aristocrats, female and male, took Buddhist vows at some time in their lives and called themselves nuns and monks, but many continued their secular lifestyles, including the pursuit of sexual pleasure and worldly wealth.

<sup>37</sup> Tale 28–12.

<sup>38</sup> Tale 28–11. The husband directs the chest to be opened only with the express permission of the priest (locked inside), forcing the others in the temple to look for him. This scenario sharpens the anticipated sense of embarrassment and thus the narrative tension.

out of the province. After all this, the samurai cannot go to the new wife.<sup>39</sup> Because of his own insolence, the man loses his women, job, money, and honor. In contrast to this assessment of a particular situation, some tales suggest that women can be deceitful, and the compiler's comments warn men of the possible danger posed by their rival lovers. An implication that the sexuality of a wife needs to be controlled underscores the life-threatening situation constructed for the husband. In one story, a man is heading back home after a long journey. Before he arrives, he stays in a stable, where he meets a yin-yang diviner. The diviner advises the man not to go home or, if he does, to be prepared to shoot an arrow into the corner of the room. Once the man gets home, the situation unfolds just as the diviner predicted: there is a monk hidden in the corner waiting to kill him. His wife has ordered her monk-lover to kill the husband. The man takes the monk to the police and disowns the wife. The compiler states, "Do not trust one's wife even if she is a wife of many years past. Some women's hearts are like this."<sup>40</sup> In a similar construction, a woman sheds many tears during the investigation of her husband's murder. It is then discovered that the murderers are none other than the wife and her lover. The tale ends with the compiler's advice not to trust one's heart to a *tsuma* with an evil mind.<sup>41</sup>

Definitions of wife and husband, their functions and relationships to each other, are inconsistent and varied. Women's plural sexual relationships seem commonplace, even if polyandry is not. Individual men in this text have no exclusive claim to their women's bodies. But the tales demand that men consider the negative consequences (murder, for instance) of sexual openness regarding their women. Although, in so doing, the tales formulate female wickedness, the formulation is timid, restricted to "some" women—the specific, double-hearted, murderous ones, not the female sex at large. In these tales, "the feminine" is problematized and sometimes negatively coded, but it is not yet established as a consistent, uniform, and stable category. The term and concept for "adultery," *mittsū* (literally, secret penetration), which is frequently seen in later texts, is absent from the *Konjaku* collection. The clear-cut and operative concept of adultery that presupposes the husband's claim to his wife's body seems to be an adjunct to a later, more completely patrilocal and patrilineal society.

COMPETITION FOR THE ATTENTION OF ONE'S LOVER generates jealousy in both men and women, but jealousy is described differently in the *Konjaku* tales according to gender. In these discursive formulations, jealousy (*shitto* or *netami*) is strictly a feminine attribute; the term is never used in respect to men, and there are no tales that explicitly discuss male jealousy, although male jealousy is illustrated at work. In one example of this, a man lacking Buddhist faith comes home and is enraged

<sup>39</sup> Tale 24–50. The lord, Minamoto Michinari, is praised in the comment as a person with sympathy and skill in the art of poetry (*waka*).

<sup>40</sup> Tale 24–14.

<sup>41</sup> Tale 29–14. Another tale reinforces this view by implicitly castigating a man for his tolerance of his wife's deception. "This is incomprehensible," the compiler exclaims about a man who continues to live with his wife even after learning (from a thief) about her plot to murder him for the sake of her lover (*mippu*); Tale 29–13.

to find that his wife has gone out overnight to listen to a priest chant. He calls the priest “a thief-priest who wants sex with my wife.” He drags her home, pulls her into a sleeping area, and has intercourse (*totsugu*) with her. His penis feels as though an ant is biting it, however. He gets sick and dies. People hearing this tale said that he deserved this retribution because “he swore at the priest and shamed him for no good reason.”<sup>42</sup> In a second tale, a warrior of renown with a young wife is misinformed by his comrade that she is having an affair with a priest-reciter of the Lotus Sutra. He is furious (*ikari o nashite*) and wants to kill the priest. He has several skilled warriors shoot the priest with arrows, but the arrows go astray each time. The priest, meanwhile, simply reads the Sutra. After three tries, the man gives up and also becomes a devotee of the Sutra.<sup>43</sup> Didactic tales such as these are meant to promote the power of the Lotus Sutra and to warn against the sin of blasphemy toward a holy person. The men’s conduct is used to highlight the harm impiety brings. Compare this treatment of male jealousy with the following tales, which directly confront the problem of female jealousy.

A provincial official has a new woman (*onna*) over whom the original *tsuma* burns with jealousy (*netami kuruu*). The official has difficulties visiting the new woman because the wife relentlessly investigates his behavior. When he finally gets away and sleeps with the new woman, he has a dream that his wife tries to crawl in between him and the other woman to separate the two. When he returns home, his wife says that his face tells her he has slept with that other woman. The wife then reveals that she knows this from her dream, which turns out to be identical to the husband’s. The compiler concludes that the wife’s dream is an indication of “[h]ow very deep the original wife’s sin is . . . [J]ealousy is a sinful act. People also said that jealousy necessarily transforms a person into a snake.”<sup>44</sup> A forceful wife who seeks to curb her sexual competitors is thereby condemned on the basis of the sin of jealousy.

Misfortunes visited on a husband are offered as proof that female jealousy is dangerous. A husband gets sick and dies in one tale, in which his wife’s jealousy is “so deep as to make her suspicious for no good reason.” He dies because his wife opens a box that he brings home from his trip. She suspects that he has a lover for whom this box was meant. An unknown woman (who was invisible to others) has entrusted him with the box, to be given, unopened, to another unknown woman living at the foot of a bridge near his home. Before the husband has a chance to deliver the box, his suspicious wife opens it. She finds in the box eyeballs and penises with pubic hair attached to them. When the woman under the bridge finally gets the box, she becomes angry, as she knows that it has been opened. The husband gets ill and dies shortly thereafter. The compiler remarks, “the wife’s deep jealousy that causes unfounded suspicion is unfortunate for the husband. [This man] died an untimely death because of the power of jealousy. Although

<sup>42</sup> Tale 16–38. A similar story appears in *Nihon ryōiki* (compiled by Keikai in about 823; said to be Japan’s first Buddhist *setsuwa* collection), 2–11.

<sup>43</sup> Tale 17–40. A similar tale appears in *Honchō Hokke genki* (compiled in 1040–1044 by Chingen, a monk at Enryakuji). It contains 129 stories, of which 105 are reassembled in *Konjaku monogatari shū*.

<sup>44</sup> Tale 31–10.

[jealousy] is a normal and constant character of women, those who heard this story hated the wife."<sup>45</sup> This tale stands out for its singularly didactic tone.

The closing comment following the description of this visually memorable situation seeks to establish as axiomatic the view that women are universally marred by jealousy. According to both Buddhist and Confucian notions, jealousy is a defining quality of women, and it was later emphasized as a quintessentially feminine trait in such works as *Tsuma kagami* (Mirror for Women), a "popular religious tract" from 1300 "reflecting Buddhist values of a [Japanese] society in transition."<sup>46</sup> Ranked second on a list of "seven grave vices of women" is the sin of jealousy, expressed as, "Women's jealous disposition is never idle." Other expressions of these grave vices of women include: "Women have no compunction about arousing sexual desire in men," "[Women have] a disposition prone to deceit," "Neglecting their religious practices and concentrating on how they may deck themselves out with fine clothes, they think of nothing but their appearance and desire the sensual attention of others," "[Women] take deceit as their guide and . . . often vow to bring evil to others," "[Women] have no shame," and "[Women's] bodies are forever unclean, with frequent menstrual discharges, . . . pregnancy, and childbirth."<sup>47</sup> When the compiler of the *Konjaku* unreservedly genders jealousy, he foreshadows the moralistic discourse of a few centuries later that better articulates these "feminine traits." But there is a clear difference in the representations of jealousy in the *Konjaku* collection and later writings. In the *Konjaku*, women of all classes still openly and directly demonstrate jealous sentiments, as though women themselves have yet to internalize their great flaw. Later literature, in contrast, portrays women as submerging their feelings of jealousy and acting on them covertly.<sup>48</sup>

VISUAL AND LITERARY, ACTUAL AND SYMBOLIC, the representations of female and male bodies reflect and construct a given society's understanding of female and male sexualities. Unlike in other cultures, for example, pre-modern Japanese society evidently paid no attention to virginity. As Kirsten Hastrup has argued, virginity is a boundary-forming concept of tremendous social and psychological significance in most societies, whether it is the whole society's affair, a concern of the woman's immediate family, or simply her own business. The question of virginity may affect the woman's purity, her value as a commodity, and perhaps even the social standing of her family and her community.<sup>49</sup> In pre-modern

<sup>45</sup> Tale 27–21.

<sup>46</sup> Robert E. Morrell, "Mirror for Women: Mujū Ichien's *Tsuma Kagami*," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 35 (Spring 1980): 45.

<sup>47</sup> Morrell, "Mirror for Women," 67. Mujū Ichien took the seven grave vices of women from a seventh-century Chinese text. Other sections of *Mirror for Women* include more positive representations of women, however.

<sup>48</sup> For example, compare a seventeenth-century fictional scene in which a wife holds a "jealousy meeting" with a group of women who physically attack a doll representing the object of each woman's jealousy. Ihara Saikaku, *The Life of an Amorous Woman, and Other Writings*, Ivan Morris, ed. and trans. (Norfolk, Conn., 1963), 165–72.

<sup>49</sup> Kirsten Hastrup, "The Semantics of Biology: Virginity," in *Defining Females: The Nature of Women in Society*, Shirley Ardener, ed. (London, 1978), 49–65.



Japan, there was no term for virginity, and it is not discussed at all—not in terms of marriageability, of pollution, of pregnancy, or of desire. Virginity seems to have had no relevance, with one exception; the society apparently conceptualized a “pure” status for women with no prior experience with men, employed for the express purpose of marriage with the country’s most sacred deities, including emperors.<sup>50</sup> In one *Konjaku* tale, “a young girl who has not been with a man before” is sought for marriage with deities. (I do not know if this phrase means a purely spiritual state or a physical state).<sup>51</sup> This situation apart, there was an utter lack of social prescription regarding virginity, unlike in the medieval West, where virginity was “a defining constant of both theological and literary works” that, according to R. Howard Bloch, helped to transform the antifeminism of early Christian writing into “an idealization both of woman and of love.”<sup>52</sup> Unbound by the restriction of virginity, and accommodated by permissive sexual norms, the Japanese female body was a space with a potential for easy access by more than one man. The concept of private ownership of the female body and a man’s particular proprietary power over it seem to have been undeveloped.

In the *Konjaku*, the differing representations of female and male bodies display the varied meanings the body acquires through the respective gazes of the characters and the compiler.<sup>53</sup> The tales eroticize both the female and the male body. From the standpoint of how male and female bodies are eroticized by their viewers, a desirable man is typically and blandly described as “beautiful” (*tanshō birei*), a gender-neutral term often used for women as well. The male body, as an object of a female viewer, lacks specificity and remains whole and intact. The penis is at times separated and “framed” (of which, more later) but not as an object of female desire. The tales offer ambiguously eroticized male flesh in a body viewed through the eyes of a widow: an apparition of her dead husband in a kimono that is untied.<sup>54</sup> This suggestive scene, however, fails to articulate the scope and focus of the woman’s gaze and to convey what in his body may or may not be erotic. It

<sup>50</sup> Priestesses (*saigū*) of Ise and Kamo shrines, the most sacred imperial shrines, were such women.

<sup>51</sup> Tale 26–7, about gods in the shape of a monkey and a snake demanding the annual sacrifice of a young girl who has no experience in sexual relations. This may mean a “virgin” in our vocabulary or, alternatively, a state of spiritual purity, not the literal unbroken hymen. The way this tale develops, in fact, supports the second interpretation, since a brave hunter comes and sleeps with this year’s sacrificial girl, learns of her fate, and wants to save her. On the day of the ceremony, the hunter is placed in a coffin and presented to the monkeys. There is no discussion of the fact that the girl is no longer a virgin. At any rate, true to form (dogs and monkeys are archenemies in Japan), the hunter’s dogs chew up the monkeys. With the monkeys destroyed, the hunter, the girl, and her parents live happily ever after in a matrilineal arrangement. No more girls are sacrificed, and the province is peaceful.

<sup>52</sup> See R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago, 1991), 10. His chapter “The Poetics of Virginity,” 93–112, helped me to understand different constructions of the meanings of virginity in Western medieval thinking.

<sup>53</sup> There are at least three layers of gaze, if we include the reader’s vision, according to Laura Mulvey’s scheme mentioned by E. Ann Kaplan in “Is the Gaze Male?” in Snitow, Stansell, and Thompson, *Powers of Desire*, 311.

<sup>54</sup> Tale 27–25. Treatment of the flesh is at the center of another tale about a man who goes to a female thief’s house. She dresses herself in a man’s outfit, ties him up, and beats him eighty times on his back on three occasions over about a ten-day period. Each time, she nurses him well and feeds him good food afterward. In the end, she gives him a key to a treasure house. The man’s body remains whole, but whether or not this tale eroticizes his flesh—through the woman’s eyes—is open to interpretation; Tale 29–3.

is as if, although the eyes closest to the man—those of the wife—are eroticizing him, the compiler's brush fails to convey the effect. There is disjunction between the two. The compiler insists on leaving the desired male body in its coherent whole.

In contrast, the female body is often seen in parts only. A tale about the lust of a wizard (*sennin*) illustrates how a female body is processed through a male gaze. It begins with a wizard who is flying around the sky. He spots a young woman down below washing clothes in a river. She has her skirt tucked up to her thighs. He sees how white her thighs are. His heart becomes impure, and he falls—physically and spiritually—before her. After that, he takes her as his *tsuma*.<sup>55</sup> In this scene, the female body becomes an object of male gaze and male desire. We are led to assume that, herself unaware of this gaze, the woman continues with her work. But the tale directs the reader not to any clothes-washing motion she is making but to her “white” thighs, the focus of the male gaze, which become frozen against the textual background with no other color, sound, or motion. In this description, her body is segmented and acquires only the meaning granted by the seer. When the seer acts on his fantasy and takes her as his *tsuma*, the tale assigns the woman no choice. The male gaze, as Ann Kaplan would put it, “carries with it the power of action and of possession.”<sup>56</sup> Consider also the tale with which this article began, the lady-in-waiting at the Fujiwara mansion who is abducted by a thief in the course of his escape.<sup>57</sup> It describes the condition of the victimized female body in parts, with vivid colors and details. Another tale tells a lesson about sacrificing a daughter's body for the sake of wealth. A young daughter is approached by different men nightly. But she refuses them all until she meets one who is very persistent about visiting and who brings various treasures in three carts. The parents see the treasure and permit the relationship. They decide on an auspicious day, and the man arrives. The man and the daughter go into a room and have sex. In the middle of the night, the daughter shouts, “aie, aie,” three times. Hearing this, the parents say, “they have not gotten used to it yet. Intercourse hurts.” The next morning, the mother calls for the daughter, but there is no answer. She then finds only the daughter's head and one finger. The rest is gone, and much blood has been shed. The parents are deeply grieved. The treasure turns out to be nothing but carcasses of horses and oxen. As the compiler recounts, the parents sadly regret that their obsession with treasure has caused this to happen.<sup>58</sup> Here, as in the Fujiwara mansion story, a woman is often a loose collection of body parts, in a manner that a man only sometimes is.

The vagina is explicitly named as a focus of the physical vulnerability of women. Of course, the vagina is much more than the site of male assault; it is the very

<sup>55</sup> Tale 11–24. The ex-wizard is then asked by an official to demonstrate his secret methods of wizardry. He feels unable to do so after having defiled himself by being with a woman. But he stops eating and worships for seven days and nights. On the eighth day, he regains the skill to fly through the sky. He receives a tax-free paddy. With this, he has a temple built. Later, the tale continues, Kūkai (a historical figure, see note 22) places a statue in this temple. Kūkai also finds the text of Lotus Sutra inside the temple, and goes to T'ang China to learn the Shingon School of Buddhism, which he subsequently brings to Japan.

<sup>56</sup> Kaplan, “Is the Gaze Male,” 311.

<sup>57</sup> Tale 29–8.

<sup>58</sup> Tale 20–37. Adopted from a tale appearing in *Nihon ryōiki*, 2–33.

center of the power to incite desire in men, and it thus acts as a formidable obstruction to enlightenment. Vulnerability and power go hand in hand.<sup>59</sup> The text offers numerous examples of how a vagina may be vulnerable to assault. Among the items inserted in it are not only the human penis but other symbolic substitutes, a snake or chopsticks, for instance. When a young girl sees a huge snake at the bottom of a mulberry tree she has climbed to gather leaves, she gets scared and jumps off the tree. As the snake wraps around her and penetrates her vagina, she seems to be dying. Parents call a doctor. The snake remains inside. The doctor prescribes medicine that, after being poured into her vagina and over her head, works to separate the two. As the snake detaches itself, it is beaten to death. The snake's babies also come out. Then the girl wakes up. Her life is saved thanks to the medicine. She lives three more years but again is assaulted by a snake and this time dies. All lament that this is surely karma from a previous life.<sup>60</sup>

A vagina is vulnerable even in the act of urination. A young woman squats to urinate and stays in this position for a long time. Her servant girl begins to cry. A warrior on horseback approaches and asks the girl what is wrong. He looks at the woman's face. It is ashen white like a dead person's. He tries to pick her up, but she is stiff. He glances at the wall against which she was urinating. There is a snake sticking its head out through a hole in the wall. The snake has seen the woman's "front" (*mae*) and is full of lust. After the warrior puts a sword in the hole where the snake is, the man's followers pick the woman up. As the woman is carried away, the snake slithers out of the hole, is cut in two, and dies. The compiler comments that women who heard this story no longer squatted to urinate facing bushes.<sup>61</sup>

The vagina is also a site of explicit male revenge and control. A tale about a man who comes to visit the daughter of an emperor is a case in point. The man wants to become *meoto* (wife-husband) with the daughter. She says, "I have never touched a man, and I won't be persuaded easily. I must tell my father and mother first." He comes nightly but does not touch her until after she tells her father about him. The father declares that this man is not human but must be a *kami*, a deity. The two finally become acquainted after this and grow close. She wants to know who he really is. He says that she should look into the oil box inside her cosmetic box, but she should not be afraid when she looks in. She looks in and sees a little snake. She shouts and runs away. That night, the man comes. His face is pale, and he does not approach her. "You were afraid despite what you promised. This is extremely sad. So now I will no longer come." As he takes his leave, she relents and lies down to offer him sex. He then inserts chopsticks into her vagina instead. She dies. The emperor and empress lament greatly, but there is nothing to be done. The compiler closes the tale by informing the reader that the place called "Hashi no haka" (Chopstick Tomb) in Yamato Province is this woman's grave site.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Carol S. Vance, ed., *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality* (London, 1989), addresses this point.

<sup>60</sup> Tale 24–9, based on a tale in *Nihon ryōiki*, 2–41.

<sup>61</sup> Tale 29–39.

<sup>62</sup> Tale 31–34; a well-known story with many versions appearing in a number of collections from the eighth century, such as *Hizen no kuni fudoki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Kojiki*.

The penis figures prominently in the *Konjaku* tales, sometimes detached from the rest of the male body. A sense of collective male identity is reinforced through the sharing of a common male culture centered on the penis. To illustrate: Minamoto Akisada takes out his penis in the middle of an official ceremony to be funny. Fujiwara Norikuni sees this and laughs out loud in the midst of receiving a promotional document. When he is asked, "Why do you laugh in the midst of a public ceremony?" he cannot reply by saying, "Akisada took out his penis." It was said that people should not make jests inappropriate for the time and place.<sup>63</sup>

A shared experience of a temporary loss of penis is the central theme in a tale that begins with a group of samurai lodging at a superior official's home. The chief samurai finds the wife of the host very attractive. The host leaves the house overnight. The chief samurai crawls into her bed and reaches down to his genital area but cannot find his penis. The hair there feels like the hair on his head. The woman, though seeing how alarmed he is, seems to be smiling. He is so shocked that he has his eight followers, one by one, try to sleep with the wife as well. The experience is the same for each man. The next morning, they leave quickly without seeing the host. A servant runs after them, however, saying that they have left something behind. Wrapped in a white piece of paper, like a bouquet of mushrooms, are nine penises. The servant explains that this is a present from the host. On the return trip, the same group stops at the same house. The host explains that the art of making a penis disappear is a kind of magic that he has learned. The chief samurai wants to learn this magic, too, but falls short of mastering it.<sup>64</sup> While the penis is often presented as an active agent—not a recipient of female (or male) desire, but a thing that is self-assured, powerful, and dangerous, it also represents a vulnerability, a thing to be controlled or taken away, as in the earlier tale of the returning husband's box containing penises with pubic hair and eyeballs that was to be passed from one woman to another.<sup>65</sup> The tales construct the penis to embody both power and vulnerability, just like the vagina.

Compared to male bodies, however, female bodies undergo changes in more ways than one. Perhaps this is the point of sharpest contrast in the tales' representations of gendered bodies. First, female bodies are inscribed with clearly changing values and significance according to their age—the late teens, twenties, or thirties. Men might be called "young" but usually escape specific description by age, although there are a few exceptions: an unknown samurai who unwittingly becomes a lover of a thief's daughter is described as being slender, about thirty years old, with a red beard; a young boy-lover of a monk is described as sixteen or seventeen years old (but he turns out to be a female after all).<sup>66</sup> Young women, whose sexual appeal is obvious, are seen as dangerous to men. Beautiful young women often turn out to be vixens in disguise who tease and deceive men.<sup>67</sup> But women beyond the age of sexual attraction—without clear-cut female sexuality (and thus identity) from men's perspective—are perhaps even more dangerous.

<sup>63</sup> Tale 28–25.

<sup>64</sup> Tale 20–10.

<sup>65</sup> Tale 27–21.

<sup>66</sup> Tale 29–3. He himself becomes a thief, Tale 17–44.

<sup>67</sup> Tales 27–38, 27–39, 27–40, 27–41, for example.

They often turn into *oni*, a kind of horned demon. *Oni* are liminal and ambiguous figures, who usually appear at the borders between this and other worlds or at the boundary between night and day. *Oni* can appear in female, male, or genderless form, and all are shown to be full of potential danger. Female *oni* beyond the period of reproductive capacity often try to eat children, their own and others'. An old woman with gray hair, an *oni* in fact, helps a young palace woman deliver her baby at dawn in the mountains and utters, "How delicious it looks; just one bite!"<sup>68</sup>

Second, the decomposing female body, unlike the male, serves as a pedagogical symbol, a medium through which to convey the Buddhist messages of impermanence. A decomposing female body is a signifier for transmigration, the mutability of human life, and the fragility of physical beauty. When a preferred wife of a man named Sadamoto dies, for instance, he cannot stand to bury her body right away. So he hugs her and lies there with her. After a few days, when he kisses her mouth, a horrible odor comes forth. So he buries her, crying.<sup>69</sup> Another man places his dead wife in a casket. He soon finds that her long hair has fallen off and lies on the pillow; her lovely eyes are now like a tree's empty sockets where limbs once grew; her coloring is blackish yellow; her nose has collapsed, creating two holes instead; her lips are like two pieces of thin paper; and the odor from her mouth and nose is suffocating to breathe. "This vision [of his dead wife's image] made the man realize the true way of the heart even more."<sup>70</sup> With the compiler's help, the female body is used as an object lesson in spiritual training. Granted, the sight of a decaying body can inspire even the worldliest with second thoughts. But what does it mean to illuminate the Buddha's truth consistently through the female body? Does it not configure the female body as an object of observation, an entity dissociated from her own humanity?

BOTH WOMEN AND MEN, SECULAR AND HOLY, are afflicted in the *Konjaku* with the sin of heterosexual passion. A man called Toshiyuki is said to commit two sins: thinking of eating meat and of touching women.<sup>71</sup> A heavenly official judging the deeds of a newly dead woman blames her for two sins: sex with men (*nan'in*) and leaving a sermon before its completion.<sup>72</sup> Even Heichū, the legendary lover of the tenth century, is not free of judgment; he dies from unrequited love after sampling what he believes to be the contents of the chamber pot assumed to belong to his lady. "The man and the woman must both have been hopelessly

<sup>68</sup> Tale 27–15. In Tale 27–22, a mother tries to eat her grown son. Because *oni* appear in a variety of forms, they resist easy classification and characterization. Another female *oni* is depicted as a reasonable *oni*-god (*kijin*) in Tale 27–31. Stories about male *oni* include Tales 16–32 and 27–17. My purpose here is to discuss depictions of old women, not to analyze *oni* as a genre, a subject certainly worthy of further study.

<sup>69</sup> Tale 19–2.

<sup>70</sup> Tale 19–10.

<sup>71</sup> Tale 14–29.

<sup>72</sup> Tale 17–28. The judge promises salvation for her if she would repent these sins, because, before death, she had built a *jizō* statue (Sk. Kṣitigarbha, a Bodhisattva who saves suffering beings in the evil realms).



mired in sin," the compiler comments.<sup>73</sup> The meaning of carnal passion, however, is inconsistent and gender-differentiated. For women, a passion for men is internally generated; women are responsible for igniting the fire within themselves. Men, by contrast, are deluded by women into committing carnal sin. Because men are not accountable for this, they usually escape the kind of direct punishment that women might receive.

A woman's demonstration of aggressive or assertive sexual desire is suspected to be harmful to men and sometimes to a woman herself. The worst consequences are brought about when the desire is directed toward a man who has taken Buddhist orders. A nun, age sixty or so, admits to a monk she has just met that she had no carnal thoughts until she saw him. How sad, the monk says. But those who heard this story reflected that if things are like this with a nun who took a religious vow, how deep must be the sin of women in an ordinary situation.<sup>74</sup> The well-known story about two priests and the Dōjō temple illustrates the harmful effect of female desire. Two priests, one old, one young and handsome, are on a pilgrimage to the Kumano Shrine. They stay at a house in the mountains where the mistress is a young widow. At night, she lies by the young priest's side. "I was drawn to make you my *otto* when I saw you during the day. So I will now achieve my true aim [*hon'i*]," she utters. The priest refuses but finally promises to satisfy her desire after he visits the shrine. But he does not return. She dies from anger and turns into a poisonous snake. The snake swiftly travels the road the priests took toward Dōjōji. Priests at Dōjōji hide the young priest inside the temple's large bell. The snake enters the building, wraps itself around the bell, sheds tears of blood, shakes its tongue, and disappears. There is tremendous heat and smoke. The bell is aflame, and the young priest dies. Later, he appears in a dream to another Dōjōji priest as a bigger snake and says, "I was overcome by the poisonous snake and have become her *otto*. I am suffering from defilement. I have no power to release myself from this suffering. Please help me with the power of the Sutra." The priest copies a certain chapter from the Lotus Sutra to help him. Both snakes are eventually reborn and rise to two different heavens. The compiler remarks that the woman's lust derives from karmic forces from a previous life, and, because "the severity of women's evil heart is like this, Buddha warns against approaching women."<sup>75</sup> Female desires and their negative consequences, transgressions of the Way of the Buddha by men and women, are unjustified. But, like the female body in decomposition, female desires serve to demonstrate the redemptive power of the Lotus Sutra.

<sup>73</sup> Susan Downing Videen has traced the career of Heichū, beginning with literature of Heian times (the eighth to the twelfth centuries) to that of the present in *Tales of Heichū* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). A translation of this *Konjaku* tale, 30–1, is in Videen, 132–35.

<sup>74</sup> Tale 13–12.

<sup>75</sup> Tale 14–3. The original tale is in *Honchō Hokke genki*, 2–129. It reappears in many art forms, including *nagauta* (epic singing), the *noh*, *kabuki*, and *jōruri* plays. "Dōjōji" has been a subject of much scholarly interest recently. A panel was devoted to it at the Association for Asian Studies Meeting in 1990. Susan Blakely Klein discusses, among other things, how, in the *noh* version from a few centuries later, the evil woman remains condemned—unlike the account here. This difference suggests to me the trend toward widening gender disparities in Japan's late medieval age. Klein, "When the Moon Strikes the Bell: Desire and Enlightenment in the Noh Play *Dōjōji*," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 17 (Summer 1991): 291–322.

A woman who is anything more than a passive recipient of a man's advances can come under suspicion of not being a woman at all but a dangerous fox or perhaps a *tengu*, a kind of flying goblin with a large nose and wings. A woman who appears before a man named Yasutaka and asks for a ride at night turns out to be a fox in disguise. Instead of being taken in by her pleasant talk, he wisely suspects her and acts like a clothes thief, threatening her by grabbing her hair and pressing his sword to her throat. The woman at this moment spills fetid urine. As Yasutaka loosens his grip, the woman turns into a fox and runs out the gate, proving his suspicion correct. It was said that Yasutaka was a strong-willed man who did not fall for a woman.<sup>76</sup>

A *tengu* or a fox can possess a person and bring harm to others through its behavior. A sheetmetal worker's wife about thirty or forty years old, whom a *tengu* has possessed for more than a year, tries to seduce a monk (*ajari*). When the monk refuses her advances and recites prayers, she begins to spin in midair. She then screams and hits her head against a pillar forty or fifty times. Finally, she reveals her true identity: a *tengu* living in Higashiyama (in Kyoto) who has possessed this woman and has been scheming to commit mischief. Now with its wings broken, the *tengu* pleads to the monk for forgiveness, which he grants. The woman, no longer possessed, wakes up and returns to her original (human) heart. As a result of this event, the monk becomes more devout than ever.<sup>77</sup>

Conveniently, men's sexual desire for women can be a gateway to greater achievement in the Way of the Buddha. A wealthy widow, for example, allows a young priest to stay at her house. At night, he peeks through a hole and sees her beautiful figure draped by purple clothing and her very long hair. She is a little over twenty years old. He makes an advance. She refuses by holding her clothes closely to her body. She promises him her body if he learns the Lotus Sutra better. This he does. On the second visit, she still does not give in but tells him to attain the level of a scholar-priest (*gakushō*). After he accomplishes this, she sleeps with him. But he awakens to find himself in the middle of a field. It was a Bodhisattva who in this manner induced him to increase his learning. This story was told by the priest himself.<sup>78</sup> In another tale, a perfectly beautiful woman—a disguised guardian of Buddha—similarly incites sexual desire in a priest. She reads his mind and turns herself into an ugly, dangerous form. This change clears the priest's mind, and he grasps the essence of the way of the Sutra.<sup>79</sup> The woman figure is a prop for the man's salvation, for which a man's passion serves as a catalyst. To men, then, a beautiful woman is a tricky proposition. She may turn out to be a benevolent Bodhisattva, an ideal spiritual figure standing above humanity, or a deceitful fox, a being situated in the lower order in the Buddhist law of transmigration.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Tale 27–38.

<sup>77</sup> Tale 20–6.

<sup>78</sup> Tale 17–33.

<sup>79</sup> Tale 13–4, based on a story in *Honchō Hokke genki*, 2–59.

<sup>80</sup> There are six realms (or, ten realms with finer distinctions in the heavens) in which living beings transmigrate, hell being at the bottom and heaven, or the world of the Buddhas, at the top. Human beings are situated just below heaven and animals third from the bottom.

FOR MEN, DESIRES ARE FULFILLABLE in a range of forms, from intercourse with women and young boys to wet dreams and masturbation. These acts, for which there were no separate words, in and of themselves receive no negative judgment. Compared to the scope of sexual activities granted men, however, the tales assign women relationships with men only. Female desire and pleasure disconnected from men fall outside the range of epistemological possibilities. A woman's longing for a man is the theme of a story in which a woman dies in the absence of her husband, who has taken another wife during his sojourn. The husband comes home and sleeps with the woman whom he believes to be his original wife. He then finds out that the body next to him is a skeleton. The compiler explains that the original wife desired him so much that she was determined to have sex with him whether she was dead or alive.<sup>81</sup> The sexual experiences of women are limited, singular, and dependent on men. Within this framework, moreover, desire for men is often viewed as harmful. There is no gender-based self-sufficiency in women's pursuit of sexual pleasure. The male-centered perspective of the text gives women no other choice. The text privileges the male sex organ and makes it the cornerstone of a sexual system for both sexes.

Male desire is inherent, intrinsic, and uncontrollable in these tales. Active male passion is taken for granted and goes uncriticized for what it is, except for the important provisions that heterosexual attachment is dangerous and that semen is considered temporarily impure—a thing to be washed off. Considering the peril women might bring to men, praiseworthy is he who circumvents feminine guile, as does Yasutaka with the fox-woman.<sup>82</sup> Semen resulting from a wet dream demands proper handling in a tale about a married monk who goes to a temple (Miidera) and takes a nap in a large room far from other people. There he has a dream in which he is having intercourse (*totsugite in o okonau*) with a beautiful young woman who came to lie beside him. He is surprised by this and wakes up to find a snake, about five *shaku* long (5 feet), next to him. The scared monk looks more closely and finds that the snake is dead with its mouth open. He then looks down at his front and finds that he is all wet. He realizes that he has been having sex with this snake instead of with the beautiful woman of his dream. He remembers nothing of this and feels frightened. He looks at the mouth of the snake and notices that it has spat out the semen. "I must have had an erection while I slept. When the snake saw IT and put IT in its mouth, I must have thought that I was 'marrying' [*totsugu*] a woman. When I ejaculated, the snake couldn't take it, and it died," he says. He then secretly washes his genitals well and decides that he should remain silent about this matter, since people, upon hearing this story, might say, "This is the monk who 'married' a snake." But finally he tells one monk-friend, who also becomes frightened. The comment of the compiler is a practical one: "Do not take a nap alone away from other people." "When creatures receive human semen, they cannot tolerate it, and they die."<sup>83</sup> There is only mild concern about getting aroused, dreaming about a woman, and having a wet

<sup>81</sup> Tale 27–24.

<sup>82</sup> Tale 27–38.

<sup>83</sup> Tale 29–40. Note the contrast from the first story in which women are advised to be careful when sleeping, in order to avoid abduction, not erotic arousal!

dream, even in a temple. Oral sex, even with a snake, is in and of itself unproblematized, but semen is both dangerous and impure, a substance that demands cleaning and can kill its recipient. The impurity of semen is configured in another wet-dream story about a man who lusts after a statue of a Heavenly Maiden, a *tennyo*. His wish to have a woman as beautiful as this statue leads to a dream in which he has sex with the statue. The following day, he goes to see the statue and there finds his impure semen stuck to the skirt of the *tennyo*. He feels ashamed and keeps this event concealed.<sup>84</sup>

A man may easily relieve his “uncontrollable” lust by masturbating, as does an unnamed man traveling east from the capital. Seized with desire, he takes one of the large turnips growing inside a fence, carves a hole in it, “marries” (*totsugu*) it, and brings his “impurity” to fruition. He then throws the turnip inside the fence and leaves. When the farmer comes out and harvests the turnips, his daughter, about fourteen or fifteen years old, also comes out to play. She sees the turnip with the hole and eats it. As it turns out, she gets pregnant and has a boy. Five or six years later, the man returns from the east and, finding out what occurred after his departure, marries the daughter. Masturbation goes entirely unproblematized. The compiler comments, “It is then said that even when a man and a woman do not have intercourse, once the semen enters the body [*mi*], a child can be born.”<sup>85</sup>

A man’s desire may be directed toward another male as well as toward a female. In fact, a male is a more acceptable choice for a priest or a monk. A poor priest from Mount Hiei is enamored of a beautiful boy (or so he supposes) about sixteen or seventeen years old. They make love. Other priests also admire the boy and are a little envious. But, one day, the “boy” announces that “she” is pregnant. The priest gets upset and wonders how he will explain matters to people who still believe this person to be a boy. The “boy” instructs the priest to set up straw mats for childbirth, which occurs easily. After the birth, the mother disappears and leaves the baby—but the baby turns out to be a large nugget of gold. The priest chips fragments from it little by little and becomes wealthy. He decides that the boy must have been an incarnation of the guardian god of four directions (Bishamon), who is providing him with material reward.<sup>86</sup> Not only is the priest’s sexual preference unproblematized, he is richly rewarded for satisfying his carnal pleasure in the temple with a person believed to be a boy.

Occasionally, male lust explodes in the form of sexual assault against women. Even this expression of male desire escapes serious criticism in the tales. Censure is directed less toward the man’s violation of the female body than toward the woman’s careless behavior and his treatment of her clothes—a symbolic embodiment of all that she is in the eyes of society, representing not only her class, status, and occupation but also her aesthetic sensibility and sexuality. A beautiful daughter of a major governmental official is abducted by a servant who has an uncontrollable passion for her—to the point of being unable to eat and, in fact, being about to die of starvation. It is the woman, on the receiving end of the

<sup>84</sup> Tale 17–45, based on a story in *Nihon ryōiki*, 2–13.

<sup>85</sup> Tale 26–2. Curiously, there is no discussion about the impurity of this semen, which enters the girl.

<sup>86</sup> Tale 17–44.

aggression, who is assigned the responsibility of safeguarding against such a mishap. The tale advises, "A woman must not let down her guard even to a servant in the household."<sup>87</sup> In another case, the compiler blames the victim's independent action for her trouble. A priest visits a hunter's wife, who is home alone, and offers to perform a religious ceremony for her. During the ceremony, which takes place outdoors, the priest is overcome by a sudden surge of lust (*aiyoku no kokoro*). He pulls her into the bushes, draws a knife, and demands that she obey his will (*hon'i*). Isolated and helpless, the woman succumbs to his "embrace" (*kaihō*). But the "former" husband (*moto no otto*) returns, hears a rustling sound in the bushes, and shoots at the sound. The arrow hits the priest's back, and he dies. The husband is surprised to find that the woman under the dead priest is his wife. He asks for an explanation. Seeing holy paper strewn all around, the husband then comprehends the situation. The compiler's comment reproaches the wife for allowing the priest to perform ceremonies while her husband is away.<sup>88</sup>

A beautiful "wife of someone," about thirty years old, is also criticized for her independent action. While on a pilgrimage, and approaching an isolated temple with her servant girl, the woman encounters a low-ranking officer (*zōshiki*) who threatens them with a sword, steals the girl's clothes, and pulls the woman behind a statue of Buddha. The two then "lie down." Because there is no way to escape, the woman obeys the man. The man gets up, takes her clothes, except the undergarments, which he lets her keep, and runs off into the mountains. The servant girl goes to a nearby home of a priest for help. Wearing priests' robes, the girl and the woman sneak back to the capital. The compiler explains that, despite an attempt to keep this story secret, it became widely known. He advises that "travel by women of naïve (or foolish) heart [*kokoro osanaki onna*] must cease," and he castigates the officer—not for violating the woman but for stealing her clothes—"As long as he had become intimate with the woman, he should have left them."<sup>89</sup> The comment condemns the assailant for his indulgent appropriation of the material (clothes) beyond that of the physical.

Another transgressor, by contrast, receives praise for his generosity with a woman's clothes. The person to be blamed in the tale is the victim's unwise husband. A couple is traveling through the mountains. The husband, on foot, carries a bow and arrow. They encounter a young man with a sword. The man asks the husband if he will exchange weapons with him. After the husband gives up his bow and arrow, the man orders them to go deeper into the mountains, lifts the woman down from her horse, and ties the husband up. The thief looks at the woman, whom he finds to be slightly over twenty years old and charming despite her low social class. He disrobes her, and the two "lie down" in front of the husband. Because there is nothing she can do, she obeys him. The thief gets up, adjusts his clothing, puts on his sword, bow and arrow, and climbs on the horse, saying, "Although I regret this, there is little I can do now; so I take my leave. I

<sup>87</sup> Tale 30–8. A similar story can be found in *Yamato monogatari* (compiled in the mid-tenth century by an unidentified author), 155.

<sup>88</sup> Tale 26–21.

<sup>89</sup> Tale 29–22.



will spare the man's life but will take the horse in order to get away." He gallops away. The woman unties the husband and admonishes him for being so unreliable. The closing comment praises the aggressor for not taking the woman's clothes and denigrates the husband for being fool enough to give up his bow and arrow to a stranger in the mountains.<sup>90</sup>

In these examples, men's uncontrollable desire finds an outlet in the body of an unwilling female. Neither the narrative nor the compiler's comment reproaches the man for his sexual act. The tales' masculinist constructions offer little insight into the women's reactions to being (what we would call) raped or to having their clothes stolen. We assume that the actual penetration of the body would be a humiliating and horrifying experience; removal of clothes would bring added shame, embarrassment, and economic loss, while destroying the external markers of status and beauty as well. In the perception of the compiler and the audience, the loss of clothes, with its directly visual—and thus social—consequence may have had a more immediate impact than the physical assault.

The *Konjaku* stories tend to treat the violation of the female body simply as a consequence of male passion, but they sometimes evaluate the situational context and external circumstance in which the act takes place—the sacrality of the space, for example. In one tale, the protagonist is a sutra-copier who has been commissioned to do some work in a temple in 771. There are some women at the temple making ink with purified water. Suddenly, the day gets cloudy and it starts to rain. The women rush inside the hall, which becomes crowded. The sutra-copier's lust is stirred. He stoops down among them, jumps on one woman's back, lifts up her clothes, and "marries" her (*totsugu*). As his penis penetrates her vagina, they both die. From the woman's mouth, foam emerges. People seeing the two find the scene repulsive and drag them out of the temple. They say that this is retribution from heaven.<sup>91</sup> The story implies that the sutra-copier's outburst is a natural occurrence, understandable in a crowded space filled with the intimacy of the women's clothes, hair, skin, and perfume. "But he should have resisted his desires while copying the Sutra, even if his lust was so stirred and his heart burning." "He did not resist, so he lost his life." The man clearly committed an offense not toward the woman but toward the sacred space. The man receives heavenly punishment because he polluted the temple. The woman was an involuntary collaborator in the polluting act and is thus a necessary recipient of heavenly punishment as well. The compiler's voice counsels, "As for the woman, she should not have accepted it, even if he had that sort of intention. They soiled the temple, did not believe in the Sutra, and thus received punishment. Sins of this world are like this."<sup>92</sup> As though she had a choice in the matter, the woman is condemned to share the responsibility for the repulsive act.

Tales tend to gender "men" as an essential category endowed with uncontrollable lust and the freedom to satisfy it. Depending on their status and class background, however, men possess differing privileges to "take" women. When the would-be assailants are beggars, the loss of a woman's sense of *haji* (shame and

<sup>90</sup> Tale 29–23.

<sup>91</sup> Tale 14–26, based on *Nihon ryōiki*, 3–18.

<sup>92</sup> Tale 14–26.

honor of her body) becomes the governing concern. "People said that there are those who knew shame [*haji*] even among the lower classes," states the compiler about a woman who through a trick successfully avoids sexual assault by two beggars. She tells them that she needs to relieve the cause of her stomach ache. She promises not to run away and leaves her child with the beggars as a hostage. Then she escapes. Despite considering her child's fate "sad"—he gets chopped up into pieces—the woman was determined to avoid the beggars' assault. The tale does not castigate the woman for sacrificing her child's life but praises her defense of her *haji*.<sup>93</sup>

In contrast to these beggars, who might taint even a low-class woman with shame, high-ranking aristocratic men seem incapable of violating women. In reality, much of the normalized courting by aristocratic men was little different from what we would classify as rape. Ariwara Narihira, a poet who lived in the late ninth century, appears in a *Konjaku* story as a playboy (*iro gonomi*) who goes after women whether they are "palace women" or "daughters of someone"—a distinction suggestive of the different degrees of sexual access available to men: public servants living with other women as distinguished from women living at home and protected by their fathers. He hears of a beautiful daughter of someone and decides to abduct her (*nusumu*). He takes her to an old abandoned storage shed. He lays down a mat and begins to have sex with her. Then comes thunder and lightning. He gets up, carrying his sword. When the calm returns and the dawn arrives, he looks back at the woman. He discovers that there is only her head and clothes left. The rest of her body has been eaten up by an *oni*. The moral of this tale is that people should not stay at a place like this without proper guidance.<sup>94</sup> There is no injunction against the act of abducting the woman. The playboy was to be blamed only for his poor choice of site for fulfilling his sexual urges. The woman remains a passive victim—abducted, eaten by a demon, and left out of the closing homily.

HOW DO THE SEXUALITIES OF WOMEN AND MEN in the *Konjaku monogatari* compare to other Japanese didactic writings? In the Buddhist *Mirror for Women*, a fourteenth-century writing mentioned earlier, the list of seven grave sins begins with women's shameless ability to arouse sexual desire in men, the central theme that also runs throughout the *Konjaku* collection. Men arouse sexual desire in women as well, but this is a woman's problem, not the man's sin. The *Konjaku* attacks women's jealous disposition, the *Mirror's* second sin, and attempts to construct jealousy as a feminine quality. Men fall outside the epistemological field governed by jealousy. Regarding women's "deceitful heart," some, though not all, women in the *Konjaku* bear that characteristic, harboring murderous intentions toward their husbands while entertaining their lovers—a subtle injunction against

<sup>93</sup> Tale 29–29. The assailant of the "wife of someone," an aristocrat on a pilgrimage with a servant girl, is a samurai who had been jailed for theft but was released. In violating her, this ex-convict clearly crossed the status boundaries. This may contribute to the compiler's condemnation of the man, coded as a criticism over the theft of clothes. See Tale 29–22.

<sup>94</sup> Tale 27–7. A similar story can be found in *Ise monogatari* (compiled in the early to mid-Heian period).

the custom of women taking more than one lover. Men are usually not portrayed as deceitful; since men's multiple sexual interests only infrequently become an issue, they have little need to deceive. Although some women in the *Konjaku* neglect their religious practices, another of the *Mirror's* seven sins, this is an attribute applicable to men also. As promised in the fifth sin, women in the *Konjaku* also may bring evil to others, especially as foxes, *oni*, and *tengu*. But, though less frequently than women, so do men—see, for instance, the husband who causes his wife's menstrual pain by killing living things.<sup>95</sup> Contrary to the characterization in the sixth sin, women are not without shame in the *Konjaku* tales, demonstrated in the story about the would-be rape victim who sacrifices her child. As for purity and cleanliness, it seems that the *Konjaku* mentions instances of male pollution more often—in particular, those associated with semen—than menstruation, pregnancy, or childbirth.<sup>96</sup> There are many cases of miraculous impregnation, but the process of childbirth itself goes without description.<sup>97</sup> Even though the caricature of women in the *Konjaku* collection resembles some aspects of gendered characteristics featured in the *Mirror for Women*, it also displays some important differences—such as the concept of female pollution, little dealt with in the *Konjaku*.

One can also assess gender relations in these tales by reconsidering the discourse surrounding violence against women. A commonly found perception in a society with a male-centered family system is that a man's violation of a woman's body is actually a crime committed against another man, the one with the power and authority over the woman victim. The *Konjaku* narratives defy this construction. Husbands of the violated women demonstrate no personal outrage at having "their" body attacked. The compilation of *Konjaku monogatari* took place when matrilineal marriage coexisted with patrilineal marriage and when women held unquestioned rights to hold property and to adopt children on their own. The proprietary authority of a man over a specific woman, along with the associated concepts of chastity and fidelity, had not yet developed at this time. In later centuries, the concept of *gōkan* (forcible violation, "rape") would collapse with that of *wakan* (harmonious violation, "adultery"). The female victim of *gōkan* would then be legally punishable for allowing her body to be entered by a man other than her husband. This would be a crime undifferentiated from that of taking extramarital lovers. In the *Konjaku* tales, however, assaults bring women no further punishment, either by their husbands or by the law.<sup>98</sup>

Lastly, the representations of sexuality in these tales contrast clearly with the

<sup>95</sup> Tale 12–36. The husband turns into a snake upon death. The wife helps the snake hear the Lotus Sutra, whose power eventually releases the dead husband from the snake form and the wife from menstrual pain. A similar story is found in *Honchō Hokke genki*, 3–86, and *Uji shūi monogatari*, 1.

<sup>96</sup> In one tale, a woman tries to block a man's unwanted aggression by declaring that she is menstruating; Tale 24–56.

<sup>97</sup> Tales 15–16, 11–1, 11–9, 11–12, 12–2, 12–32, 12–34, 26–10, for instance.

<sup>98</sup> *Gōkan* and *wakan* were legally punishable at first by the warrior government (established at the end of the twelfth century) and later by husbands. The penalty for these crimes gradually escalated, from confiscation of property under the first warrior government, to the death penalty according to the warrior's ethical codes established after 1600 by the third warrior government. This change is discussed in my unpublished paper, "Transgressing the Female Body: Sexual Violence in Premodern Japan."

constructions found in the Western world. R. Howard Bloch describes how early church fathers, between the first and fourth centuries, feminized the flesh by associating man with reason and woman with the body, condemning "not only . . . the realm of simulation or representations . . . [but] almost anything pleasurable attached to material embodiment." In the High Middle Ages, as romanticism was invented, desire came to be refocused more on human beings and less on divinity, but romantic notions of idealized woman and love essentialized and dehumanized women.<sup>99</sup> Far from being the embodiment of reason, the men in the *Konjaku* tales appear to be fundamentally corporeal. Unlike the concept of the corporeal in the West, associated with women, the Japanese counterpart finds no renunciation of the (male) flesh and no moral battle waged against the (male) domain of sexuality. Masturbation, sodomy, polygamy, uncontrolled erection, wet dreams, and oral sex are forms socially acceptable for lay or holy men. Women in the *Konjaku*, however, are burdened with the task of managing both their own sexuality and men's basic instincts, not because women are associated with reason but because they have the power to entice men. Consequently, cultural construction rests heavily on the female's shoulders, complicating the anthropological metanarrative that equates men with culture and women with nature.<sup>100</sup> Without renouncing human sexuality per se, the tales nonetheless seek, as in the West, to define and govern the order of sexuality. In constructing the boundaries of legitimate sexual practices, the woman's body becomes a particular focus of prescription. The restrictive attitude toward women's sexuality in this text suggests the discursive possibility of promoting the Japanese version of Bloch's "medieval misogyny."

<sup>99</sup> Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny*, quote on 9.

<sup>100</sup> The classic article on the discussion of culture-nature theory is Sherry B. Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" in *Woman, Culture, and Society*, Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds. (Stanford, Calif., 1974), 67–88. Some ethnologists and postmodernists have since sought to dismantle such binary thinking; see note 10.

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*Review Article*  
**Russian Nationalism and the Cold War**

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DAVID G. ROWLEY

John B. Dunlop, **The New Russian Revolutionaries** (Belmont, Mass.: Nordland Publishing Company, 1976).

Alexander Yanov, **The Russian New Right: Right Wing Ideologies in the Contemporary USSR** (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1978).

John Dunlop, **The Faces of Russian Nationalism** (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983).

Alexander Yanov, **The Russian Challenge and the Year 2000** (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

Stephen K. Carter, **Russian Nationalism: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow** (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990).

Walter Laqueur, **Black Hundred: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia** (New York: HarperCollins, 1993).

OVER THE LAST TWENTY YEARS, the West has been following the growth and development of Russian nationalism with increasing interest, but the subject has never been at the forefront of Russian and Soviet studies. The Cold War has been responsible for this in two ways. First, during the age of superpower rivalry, the most controversial topics were those with policy implications for the West. Thus the social history of Russia received inordinate attention: was the Soviet Union totalitarian and unreformable, or was it socially dynamic and reforming? The answer to these questions would determine whether the West should follow a policy of hostility or accommodation. Second, because the West viewed the world in the Manichean terms of "freedom" versus "Communism," the rise of nationalism in Russia was never seen as a threat to the West. Few scholars believed that it would ever replace Communism as a ruling ideology, and those who imagined the possibility considered it to be a progressive force.

Thus the fall of Communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union have served finally to bring the question of Russian nationalism to the fore. By the time Walter Laqueur published *Black Hundred: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia*, he was able to say that "one of the few certainties at this time is the reappearance of a nationalist movement firmly believing that Russia can only be saved by a strong,



authoritarian government that restores law and order and pursues a conservative policy."<sup>1</sup> Laqueur further predicts that Russia will be governed by an authoritarian system based on some sort of nationalist populism.<sup>2</sup>

To the extent that the West sees Russia's nuclear arsenal coming under the control of Russian nationalists, scholarship on Russian nationalism will have direct implications for Western foreign policy. Consequently, in the 1990s, we can expect the debate over the nature of Russian nationalism to achieve new prominence and perhaps contentiousness. The purpose of this article is to summarize and analyze the development of Western studies on Russian nationalism in the six major books on the topic since Western scholars first took note of it in the early 1970s. I will argue that Cold War thinking has heavily influenced Western interpretations of Russian nationalism.

OBSERVERS HAVE NOTED ELEMENTS OF RUSSIAN NATIONALISM in the Soviet Union from the very beginning. Lenin's decision to accept German demands at Brest Litovsk, Stalin's conception of "Socialism in One Country," and above all Stalin's use of patriotic and religious propaganda during World War II did not go unnoticed by Western historians.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Cold War categories of thought limited the ways in which the West was able to think about Russian nationalism. During the Cold War, the West feared international Communism rather than traditional Russian self-interest. In the 1950s, Frederick Barghoorn summed up

<sup>1</sup> Walter Laqueur, *Black Hundred: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia* (New York, 1993), vii.

<sup>2</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 294.

<sup>3</sup> Of course, Lenin and Stalin may have had motivations other than nationalism—reasons of state or considerations of political expediency. Nevertheless, Western scholars have used these occurrences to question the purity of Lenin's and Stalin's commitments to Communist internationalism. The most extreme position on this question has been taken by Mikhail Agursky in *The Third Rome: National Bolshevism in the USSR* (Boulder, Colo., 1987). Agursky presents Bolshevism as the agent of the Russian state in its geopolitical confrontation with Germany. In his view, Marxism was only a means by which Lenin sought world power and the aggrandizement of the Russian state. Agursky suggests that "National Bolshevism" is something quite different from Russian cultural nationalism or socialist idealism. It "legitimizes the Soviet political system from the Russian etatist point of view, contrary to its exclusive Marxist legitimacy"; xv. Nevertheless, "National Bolshevism does not reject Communist ideology"; x.

This controversial approach has not been pursued by Western scholars. None of the books reviewed here consider the Agursky interpretation of National Bolshevism at any length. Stephen Carter devotes several paragraphs to Agursky but rejects his basic approach. Carter accepts the importance of National Bolsheviks such as Nikolai Ustryalov (the principal theorist and exponent of National Bolshevism in the 1920s), but he denies Agursky's claim that Stalin was a Russian nationalist; Stephen K. Carter, *Russian Nationalism: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (New York, 1990), 48, 50. Walter Laqueur includes *The Third Rome* in the bibliography of *Black Hundred*, but he does not refer to it in his chapters on "Soviet Patriotism" or "National Bolshevism." Neither does Laqueur mention Nikolai Ustryalov.

Agursky will no doubt receive more attention should former Communists, Russian nationalists, and post-Soviet imperialists form a coherent political bloc in the coming years that seeks to expand the power of the Russian state vis-à-vis its European neighbors. In regard to contemporary concerns, surprisingly enough, Agursky sees National Bolshevism as a moderate and positive force. In "The Prospects of National Bolshevism," in Robert Conquest, ed., *The Last Empire: Nationality and the Soviet Future* (Stanford, Calif., 1986), Agursky argues that Ustryalov's version of National Bolshevism is isolationist and inward-looking and does not seek confrontation with the West; 88. He suggests that it is possible that the rise of Russian nationalism will be a progressive force (although extremism is also a possibility); 105–06.

the Western view when he asserted an "insoluble contradiction" between a national culture and a universalist ideology. Pointing to Stalin's use of nationalistic themes during the war, Barghoorn argued that nationalism was only a tool—strictly controlled by the regime and always subservient to Marxist ideology.<sup>4</sup>

From this standpoint, one would logically conclude that the appearance of sincere Russian nationalism would be a revolutionary and destabilizing (and therefore, in Cold War terms, a positive) event. This conclusion seemed to be supported by the appearance of dissident and neo-Slavophile movements in the USSR in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in particular deserves credit for alerting the West to both these trends. From the beginning, the West was aware of his anti-Stalinism, but his *Letter to the Soviet Leaders*, his Nobel Prize speech, and his Harvard commencement address made the new Russian nationalism famous. Some Westerners were surprised and shocked to find that Solzhenitsyn attacked Marxism-Leninism as a Western ideology and that he rejected not only Communism but the entire liberal, democratic, technological Western tradition. Moreover, Solzhenitsyn held that authoritarian rule was inevitable and indeed acceptable in Russia for the "foreseeable future."<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, many Westerners viewed Solzhenitsyn with equanimity. Leonard Schapiro reacted typically: "I believe that, with Russian conditions and history in mind, he is right. For the foreseeable future some form of autocracy seems certain to continue in the Soviet Union—the more practical question for some time to come will be: what kind of autocracy? Here Solzhenitsyn's answer is clear: an autocracy in which the individual lives under the rule of law."<sup>6</sup> Schapiro expressed a common assumption that the new Russian nationalism was both inherently hostile to Communism and preferable to it.

At the same time, the West was made aware that Russian nationalism contained a number of tendencies—not all compatible with one another. In 1973, Dmitry Pospelovsky published an article surveying the varieties of Russian nationalism. This pioneering study introduced many themes that would be covered in detail by later scholars: the ideological bankruptcy of the Soviet Union as the fundamental cause of the need for Russian nationalism, the Rodina Society and the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Historical Monuments as examples of the search by non-dissidents for their Russian roots, the debate on Slavophilism in the establishment press, and several samizdat journals that revealed the role of Russian nationalism as a dissident movement.

Pospelovsky clearly implied that nationalism was not compatible with Communism, but he also suggested that it might not be compatible with Western values, either. In regard to *The Nation Speaks*—the manifesto of an extreme nationalist group that appeared in samizdat in the late 1960s—Pospelovsky wrote, "What the group may be heading for is a type of neo-Bolshevism, without Marx and Lenin,

<sup>4</sup> Frederick C. Barghoorn, *Soviet Russian Nationalism* (New York, 1956), 233. Indeed, even thirty years later, Barghoorn found no need to revise his earlier evaluation of Soviet nationalism. In "Russian Nationalism and Soviet Politics: Official and Unofficial Perspectives," in *Conquest, Last Empire*, he continues to see Russian nationalism as "bridled and saddled" and channeled into "Soviet patriotism." See especially the section "Speculation about the Future"; 71–72.

<sup>5</sup> Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *Letter to the Soviet Leaders* (New York, 1974), 53.

<sup>6</sup> Leonard Schapiro, "Some Afterthoughts on Solzhenitsyn," *Russian Review*, 33 (October 1974): 418.

but with the Church as a moral instrument in the hands of a nationalist state." Making no policy proposals and drawing no overall conclusions about the nature of Russian nationalism, he simply pointed out the trends and raised the questions: "Will Russia follow the path of the current philistinism camouflaged by petrified dogma? Or the path of extreme nationalism and Pobedonostsev-like Orthodoxy towards pogroms and semi-fascism? [Konstantin Pobedonostsev was the ultra-conservative tutor and mentor of Nicholas II.] Or will it move with the enlightened Christian universalism of Vladimir Solovyov and Alexander Solzhenitsyn towards a spiritual and cultural revival?"<sup>7</sup> Clearly, Pospelovsky conceived of the possibility that a nationalist government might replace Communist rule.

INDEED, IT WAS THE DISSIDENT and even revolutionary aspect of Russian nationalism that provided the subject for the first book-length study of the topic. In 1976, John Dunlop had published *The New Russian Revolutionaries*, a history of the "All-Russian Social Christian Union for the Liberation of the People" (VSKhSON) which had been (from 1964 to 1967) the largest and best-organized subversive organization ever to be discovered in the USSR. Its goal was to overthrow the Communist regime and to create a new government based on Russian Orthodoxy and Slavic traditions.<sup>8</sup> Dunlop stressed its antipathy to Communism, but he also recognized the fact that the VSKhSON rejected both "capitalism and its sickly offspring Communism" and sought a "third way." According to Dunlop, "It succeeds in avoiding the principal error of Sakharov and the 'Democrats'—a generally indiscriminating application of Western liberal solutions to indigenously Russian problems."<sup>9</sup>

Dunlop held that Russian nationalism was "better" than Russian "democracy" because it stood a better chance of destroying the Communist enemy. "But it is unquestionably Russian neo-Slavophilism . . . that has the potential clout to sweep aside a discredited but still lethal Marxism-Leninism."<sup>10</sup> Dunlop did not dwell on the anti-Western elements of this neo-Slavophilism; he treated it as an entirely positive development. Indeed, no Western scholar in the 1970s attempted to argue that the Communist regime might be preferable to a government based on Russian nationalism.

Within the Soviet Union, however, the situation was different. Soviet critics and intellectuals had been aware of the rise of Russian nationalism ever since the rise of the *derevenshchiki*<sup>11</sup> in the Khrushchev era. A major debate raged among Soviet intellectuals in the late 1960s over the meaning of Slavophilism in Russian history. Proto-Russian nationalists defended the Slavophiles and were sympathetic to

<sup>7</sup> Dmitry Pospelovsky, "The Resurgence of Russian Nationalism in *Samizdat*," *Survey*, 86–89 (Winter 1973): 62, 74.

<sup>8</sup> John B. Dunlop, *The New Russian Revolutionaries* (Belmont, Mass., 1976).

<sup>9</sup> Dunlop, *New Russian Revolutionaries*, 167, 166.

<sup>10</sup> Dunlop, *New Russian Revolutionaries*, 225–26.

<sup>11</sup> The *derevenshchiki*, or "village writers," include such figures as Vladimir Soloukhin and Valentin Rasputin. They were not dissident or anti-Communist, but they ignored the usual themes of socialist realism. They glorified the Russian land, the Russian peasantry, and Russian Orthodoxy. They opposed industrialization and urbanization and supported environmentalism and the preservation of Russian traditions.

reviving traditional Russian culture in the Soviet Union. Curiously, both pro-Western liberals and orthodox Marxists saw the Slavophiles and Soviet neo-Slavophiles as reactionary and dangerous.<sup>12</sup> One of the liberal participants in this debate, Alexander Yanov, emigrated to the United States, and over the next twenty years he became the principal critic of Russian nationalism.

In 1978, in *The Russian New Right*, Yanov introduced the first note of alarm into the Western study of Russian nationalism.<sup>13</sup> He produced the first book analyzing the full spectrum of Russian nationalism—from the revolutionary nationalism of the VSKhSON, through the dissident neo-Slavophilism of Solzhenitsyn and the establishment nationalism of the Komsomol literary magazine *Molodaia Gvardiia*, to the racist fascism of Gennadii Shimanov on the lunatic fringe. Unlike Pospelovsky, however, who had distinguished between a progressive and a reactionary trend in Russian nationalism, or Dunlop, who saw the VSKhSON as progressive, Yanov did not see any fundamental distinction between dissident and establishment nationalism. He lumped them all together as “Neo-Russite” intellectuals and placed them on the extreme right of a political continuum—to the right even of the “Little Stalins” (conservative local party officials).<sup>14</sup> Yanov argued that “liberal-dissident” nationalism was already converging with “isolationist-totalitarian” nationalism and would soon become “military-imperialist” nationalism. He suggested that another period of repressive autocracy (along the lines of Ivan the Terrible or Stalin) with an ideology of Russian nationalism was likely to succeed the moderate Brezhnev era.

Thus Yanov contested Dunlop's opinions in two important ways. First, instead of focusing on the oppositional and positive features of the VSKhSON, Yanov stressed its authoritarian, chauvinistic, and intolerant nature. He also pointed out its latent anti-Semitism.<sup>15</sup> Second, Yanov used Solzhenitsyn as the centerpiece of his argument that Russian nationalism was inherently and necessarily reactionary and anti-Western. He also rejected Schapiro's and Pospelovsky's claims that Solzhenitsyn was proposing a moderate and progressive form of nationalism. Democracy, Yanov argued, would never be an available option to an anti-Westerner like Solzhenitsyn. “Does not the logic of the struggle against democracy (both as a doctrine and as political practice) lead—in the final analysis—to the justification of even the most extreme, totalitarian forms of authoritarianism?”<sup>16</sup>

Yanov implied that the real dichotomy was not between the “free world” and “Communism” but between Russian chauvinism and “Western Civilization.” He concluded by advocating Western support for moderate Communists in the Soviet Union. In contrast to Cold Warriors, Yanov thought that there *were* greater enemies to the West than Communism.

<sup>12</sup> See Pospelovsky, “Resurgence of Russian Nationalism,” 53–55.

<sup>13</sup> Alexander Yanov, *The Russian New Right: Right Wing Ideologies in the Contemporary USSR* (Berkeley, Calif., 1978).

<sup>14</sup> Yanov, *Russian New Right*, 169.

<sup>15</sup> Yanov, *Russian New Right*, 37–38.

<sup>16</sup> Yanov, *Russian New Right*, 7.

FEW IN THE WEST WERE WILLING to accept Yanov's argument—particularly as it bore on Solzhenitsyn. Leonard Schapiro, for example, was completely unconvinced. Schapiro stressed Solzhenitsyn's "passionate desire for freedom (true freedom—not anarchy)." He characterized Solzhenitsyn as a "liberal conservative" who believed that freedom of the individual "could be safeguarded without democratic rule—as indeed, given a proper legal system, it can."<sup>17</sup> Schapiro continued to insist that nationalism could never be compatible with Communism.<sup>18</sup>

S. Enders Wimbush introduced two themes that would later be used in arguments against the Yanov thesis. First, Russian nationalism is not monolithic but has several variants. "Surely, some nationalist-oriented positions between Stalinism and Westernization can be imagined which are unlikely to be either cataclysmic or overly repressive." Second, Wimbush argued that Russian nationalists were more likely than Russian democrats to win the struggle against Communism. "If the Russian 'liberal intelligentsia' remains so demonstrably weak with no significant following in the Russian masses, then perhaps Western policy should attempt to influence the outcome of future domestic political struggles among Russian nationalists of various shades, rather than invest political capital in a high-risk attempt to bring democracy to Russia."<sup>19</sup>

In 1983, John Dunlop responded to Alexander Yanov with *The Faces of Contemporary Russian Nationalism*, in which he presented a history of nationalistic themes in Soviet society since 1917, a sociological explanation of the rise of nationalism in the 1950s and 1960s, a survey and analysis of the many different variations within Russian nationalism, and a set of policy recommendations.

In his survey of the history of nationalism, Dunlop reinforced the received opinion that nationalism was inherently inimical to the regime. He argued that the Bolsheviks were "antipatriots" and internationalists and that "it would be a serious mistake to conclude that Stalin let the patriotic and religious upsurge get out of hand . . . or that he ever lost sight of the Marxist-Leninist legitimization of his regime."<sup>20</sup> Dunlop recognized the presence of nationalism in the party and in the establishment press, but he stressed that in the early 1970s the Communist Party began to persecute all nationalist writers who did not meld their nationalism with Marxism-Leninism. The crackdown against "Russophilism" in the official press, especially in *Molodaia Gvardiia*, "served to radicalize dissenting nationalists and to alienate them further from the social and political system." Dunlop even portrayed the voluntary societies for preserving historical landmarks and monuments (mostly churches) and for protecting the environment as essentially dissident. "In Soviet society where overt expressions of Russian nationalist sentiment are discouraged, preservation can become an immensely symbolic act."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Leonard Schapiro, *Times Literary Supplement* (November 10, 1978): 1301.

<sup>18</sup> "The evidence for the view that it [nationalism] is today more than a convenient device by the Soviet leaders to bolster their own hold on power seems to me pretty thin . . . But this seems to me a long cry from the replacement of communism, which offers a plausible reason for territorial expansion, by Russian nationalism, which does not, and which above all lacks the power to attract foreign fellow-travellers"; Schapiro, *TLS*, 1301.

<sup>19</sup> S. Enders Wimbush, review of *The Russian New Right* by Alexander Yanov, in *Russian Review*, 39 (January 1980): 93.

<sup>20</sup> John Dunlop, *The Faces of Russian Nationalism* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), 27, 20.

<sup>21</sup> Dunlop, *Faces of Russian Nationalism*, 43, 47, 64.



Dunlop argued that the nationalists would be a progressive force if they were to achieve power. He said that the majority of these dissenting nationalists are "revivalists" (*vozrozhdentsy*). That is, they believe in Russian Orthodoxy, are alarmed at moral disintegration, support an independent judiciary and freedom of religion, and favor an anti-urban and isolationist "third way" between capitalism and Communism.<sup>22</sup>

Dunlop recognized the presence of "National Bolsheviks"—anti-Semitic, anti-Western non-Communists who nevertheless support the Soviet state. "However, if the National Bolsheviks were to come to power, they would be much more vulnerable to the arguments of the intellectually more sophisticated *vozrozhdentsy*, with whom they have numerous ideational and emotional links, than are present-day Marxist-Leninists . . . A possible scenario, therefore, would be a brief National Bolshevik interregnum followed by a *vozrozhdenets* period of rule."<sup>23</sup> Similarly, in his concluding chapter, "Theoretical Considerations," he argued that nationalists were inherently dissidents. He concluded that the West should do all it can to aid the nationalists.

It is no wonder, then, that Dunlop found the approach of Alexander Yanov to be particularly "counterproductive." He quoted from an article by émigré nationalist Boris Paramonov that criticized Yanov's position. Paramonov blamed Yanov for not recognizing the "Himalayas of evil" caused by Marxism, and he rejected Yanov's argument that liberal Communists were preferable to nationalists. Dunlop summarized Paramonov's position thusly: "The West's enemy is not Russian nationalism but Marxist ideology; it is Marxism, not nationalism, which demands the suppression of Western civilization."<sup>24</sup>

IN 1987, YANOV PRODUCED A DIRECT REBUTTAL to Paramonov's words and to Dunlop's argument.<sup>25</sup> *The Russian Challenge and the Year 2000* covered the same topics as *The Russian New Right* but with more historical context and more detailed analyses of nationalist thought. Yanov continued to point out the anti-Western and authoritarian nature of the Russian nationalists and to argue that there was no "third way." In Russia, he argued, nationalism served simply to provide arguments against Western rationalism, individualism, and constitutionalism. Yanov further argued that Slavophilism had degenerated over the course of the nineteenth century into Great Russian racism, political messianism, and anti-Semitism. The choice was not between capitalism and Communism but between democracy and autocracy. The Slavophiles, as authoritarians, would inevitably gravitate into the totalitarian camp.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Dunlop, *Faces of Russian Nationalism*, 243, 253.

<sup>23</sup> Dunlop, *Faces of Russian Nationalism*, 265.

<sup>24</sup> Dunlop, *Faces of Russian Nationalism*, 280–81. The article he refers to is: Boris Paramonov, "Paradoksy i komplekxy Aleksandra Ianova," *Kontinent*, 20 (1979).

<sup>25</sup> Alexander Yanov, *The Russian Challenge and the Year 2000* (Oxford, 1987).

<sup>26</sup> "In a land where the combat between despotism and liberalism had dominated the political tradition for centuries, it sought to be the ideology of the authoritarian 'middle.' Sooner or later there had to come a time when it would become clear that, at the height of a national crisis in Russia, in Aksakov's famous expression, 'there is no middle.' For early Slavophilism, this moment of truth

An important new theme in *The Russian Challenge* was anti-Semitism. Russian anti-Semites, in fact, gave Yanov his title; some of them believe that in the year 2000 Jews and Freemasons will finally realize their conspiracy to destroy Russia. Yanov quoted from Walter Laqueur's *Russia and Germany*, "that the very 'idea of anti-Bolshevism as a central plank in Nazi ideology and propaganda and [the equation of] Bolshevism with World Jewry' was adopted by Hitler from Russian emigres." Yanov held up the specter of Nazism; he argued that Americans like Dunlop had been blinded by anti-Communism to other kinds of evil: "support for a Russian anti-Communist inspired by mediaeval ideas is more dangerous than Neville Chamberlain's appeasement at Munich."<sup>27</sup>

As a consequence, Yanov again reviewed the varieties of nationalism that both he and Dunlop had covered in their first books and pointed out elements of anti-Semitism that had been previously overlooked. Yanov stressed that in the VSKhSON "the born-again Russian Idea was at its very inception permeated with anti-Europeanism, medieval dreams of theocracy, and the fascist principles of a corporate state." Even worse, it was latently anti-Semitic.<sup>28</sup> In regard to *The Nation Speaks*, Yanov directly contradicted Dunlop and Darrell Hammer: Russian Orthodoxy is not a dividing line between "liberal" and "reactionary" nationalism. Rather, *The Nation Speaks* was racist and Orthodox. He also argued at length that Solzhenitsyn's *Lenin in Zurich* and *August 1914* were inspired by anti-Semitism and that Solzhenitsyn blamed the Jews for Russia's problems.<sup>29</sup>

As in his first book, Yanov again showed himself to be a clever practitioner of the history of ideas. He adduced considerable anecdotal evidence showing the presence of strongly held nationalist feelings in the Soviet Union: he summarized them succinctly and insightfully, and he developed a sound argument that Solzhenitsyn had great affinity with the right-wing nationalists. In terms of social context and historical causation, however, Yanov had little to offer. Without convincing evidence that nationalist ideas were widespread, Yanov's theses were suggestive but inconclusive. His prediction of disaster was based on a highly mechanistic scheme that posited cycles of Russian history in which reformers (Ivan III, Aleksei, Alexander I, Alexander II, the New Economic Policy, and Khrushchev) were followed by despotic rulers (Ivan IV, Peter I, Nicholas I, Alexander III, Stalin, and Brezhnev). It is unlikely that this crude, formalistic theory found many enthusiasts in the West.<sup>30</sup>

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occurred in the 1870s. Thus the real enigma of the Russian Idea is that its own political doctrine invariably paralyses it just when it is faced with the kind of political choice that proves imperative at a moment of crisis. Here lies the seed of its degeneration. And, once degenerated, it is transformed into its own opposite—an ideology of 'soul-destroying despotism' and counter-reform"; Yanov, *Russian Challenge*, 52.

<sup>27</sup> Yanov, *Russian Challenge*, 44, 10.

<sup>28</sup> Yanov, *Russian Challenge*, 101.

<sup>29</sup> Yanov, *Russian Challenge*, 159, 208–09.

<sup>30</sup> "The Russian Idea, an ideology of imperial nationalism, arises in situations where the autocratic system has reached a peak and is starting to slip into decline . . . That is what happened in the nineteenth century, and is being repeated in the twentieth"; Yanov, *Russian Challenge*, 259. "Once it has arisen, however, the Russian Idea develops according to its own internal logic, gradually changing from an instrument of struggle against internal and external evil into one of mobilization against an 'outward force,' so assisting the rebirth of a garrison-state mentality among the 'patriotic

Yanov ended his book (again in direct contradiction of Dunlop) by recommending that the West should support the moderate Communist Gorbachev and prevent a systemic crisis.<sup>31</sup> Yanov advised using trade to support the development of a "protestant middle class" in the Soviet Union. Putting pressure on the Soviet Union, attempting to undermine it by winning a costly arms race would be counter-productive. The collapse of the Soviet system would open the doors for an upsurge of Russian nationalism and would produce a disaster on the scale of 1917. He drew a parallel between Bolshevism in 1917 and the Russian Idea in the year 2000.<sup>32</sup>

THE NEXT HISTORY OF RUSSIAN NATIONALISM appeared in 1990. In *Russian Nationalism: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, Stephen K. Carter differed from his predecessors in both the scope of his coverage and in his historical approach.<sup>33</sup> He began his history with the formation of a Russian national identity during the rise of the Muscovite state and followed the development of the "Russian Idea" down to the present time. Carter also put Russian nationalism in a political and a sociological perspective.

In his historical review of nationalism in Russia before 1917, Carter implicitly rejected the Yanov thesis by arguing that there had never been any convergence among the different tendencies within Russian nationalism. As he presented it, the distinction between "dissident" and "establishment" was the most salient feature of Russian nationalism from the beginning. Carter was sympathetic to nationalist intellectuals like the Slavophiles, Dostoevsky, and Konstantin Leontiev, and their "peaceful, moralistic aspirations," and he sharply distinguished them from such establishment nationalists as Sergei Uvarov, Mikhail Katkov, and Konstantin Pobedonostsev, who only served reactionary ends.<sup>34</sup> Carter ignored the topic of anti-Semitism in nineteenth-century Russia.

Carter also brought sociological concepts to his study of the problem of Russian nationalism. He used the term "preservation nationalism" to refer to a ruling group that uses nationalism to perpetuate its caste-like rule and that poses as defender of the nation against a hostile world. (This would include establishment nationalists such as Uvarov and Pobedonostsev.) He used "renewal nationalism" to refer to concepts of cultural unity that arise "outside the main centres of power, and if allied to social discontents, are directed against the incumbent ruler or regime."<sup>35</sup> (This would include dissidents such as Ivan Aksakov, Dostoevsky, and Solzhenitsyn.) "Prestige nationalism," on the other hand, "seeks to redress

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masses' " (*ibid.*). It is curious to note that Yanov's characterization of Brezhnev changed since he wrote *The Russian New Right*. In that book, he referred to Brezhnev as a "soft" alternative to the "rigid" Stalin; 7-8.

<sup>31</sup> Yanov, *Russian Challenge*, 266.

<sup>32</sup> Yanov, *Russian Challenge*, 289.

<sup>33</sup> This work was clearly intended to be an introductory synthetic historical survey, but Carter included original material on nationalist writers in the Brezhnev years, and his policy recommendations were fresh and insightful.

<sup>34</sup> Carter, *Russian Nationalism*, 22.

<sup>35</sup> Carter, *Russian Nationalism*, 5.

grievances and arises from 'a perceived lack of esteem for the past achievements and unrealised potentialities.'" Such prestige nationalism often develops exclusive and Messianic elements—Carter maintains we would call this fascism.<sup>36</sup> (The Black Hundreds would fall in this category.) These conceptual distinctions also tended to reinforce Carter's argument that there was no basic unity or convergence within Russian nationalism.

In regard to the problem of nationalism and Communism, Carter followed the tradition of Dunlop, Barghoorn, and Schapiro. He argued that neither Lenin nor Stalin were nationalists.<sup>37</sup> He also explained the rise of nationalism by the failure of Marxism-Leninism. Khrushchev killed rather than revived Soviet ideology with his superficial reformulations of Marxism-Leninism, leaving an ideological vacuum that nationalism rushed to fill.<sup>38</sup>

Carter continued his sociological analysis by presenting modernization as an important factor in the rise of nationalism. "The cataclysmic disruptions of Soviet life and its very rapid industrialization have clearly created a kind of schizophrenia among the mass of the Soviet public."<sup>39</sup> Urbanization was a problem, according to Carter, because it tended to erode the family. He pointed out that Russian nationalists are against women's liberation and in favor of family values.

Carter also revealed a sympathetic attitude toward the "village writers." He argued that, although they are not actually dissident, they have nothing in common with those right-wing nationalists who support National Bolshevism and tend toward neo-Stalinism. "The motherland is their focus and they have seemingly turned their back on the Communist millennium and foreign 'wars of national liberation.' They are searching for their real roots in the native soil (*pochva*) and their national and cultural heritage. They are truthful in their nostalgia and nostalgic in their ideology. They are wholly comprehensible in their concerns, since they deal with the cataclysmic effects of a radical rural and social transformation and the rediscovery of a falsified national history."<sup>40</sup>

Carter also presents Solzhenitsyn as a moderate, liberal nationalist. Indeed, by choosing the term "renewal nationalism" to apply to both Slavophiles and Solzhenitsyn, Carter affirmed Dunlop's creation of the term *vozrozhdenets* to refer to Solzhenitsyn.<sup>41</sup> Carter dealt very sympathetically with the *Letter to the Soviet Leaders*, and he used *Lenin in Zurich* to prove that Solzhenitsyn rejected not only Stalinism but Lenin and Bolshevism in general. However, Carter did not deal with the question of whether Solzhenitsyn is anti-Semitic, which is curious since Yanov used *Lenin in Zurich* to argue just that point. Carter did defend the VSKhSON and the samizdat journal *Veche* against the charge of anti-Semitism.

<sup>36</sup> Carter, *Russian Nationalism*, 4.

<sup>37</sup> "Lenin was an internationalist and his followers were very largely non-Russian"; Carter, *Russian Nationalism*, 43. "Stalin was ready to use nationalism for his own purposes, but it cannot be maintained that he was already simply a nationalist"; 50.

<sup>38</sup> Carter, *Russian Nationalism*, 2.

<sup>39</sup> Carter, *Russian Nationalism*, 91.

<sup>40</sup> Carter, *Russian Nationalism*, 101.

<sup>41</sup> "Solzhenitsyn is a liberal nationalist who seeks the regeneration of his people after the fall of Communism. Like all such *vozrozhdenets* nationalists, his vision is anti-Communist and there is no logical way in which Solzhenitsyn can be accommodated to any new 'federal' Soviet constitution"; Carter, *Russian Nationalism*, 69.

Carter concluded his book with a reference to the ultra-nationalist, right-wing movement Pamiat': "If Gorbachev fails and a regime sympathetic to Pamyat' succeeds him in power, Armageddon may be much nearer than we think." Nevertheless, his overall conclusions were more optimistic. On the key question of whether dissident nationalism and establishment nationalism would converge, he was definite: "The lines of demarcation between the various types of Russian nationalism are blurred and they overlap in several places, but the two major streams of thought are fairly clear. On the one hand, the Slavophile or *vozrozhdenets* nationalism is genuinely religious, liberal, anti-colonial and anti-Communist. On the other hand, the fascist or chauvinist Great Russianism is anti-Semitic, authoritarian and imperialist in tone."<sup>42</sup>

In considering the Soviet future, Carter posited the possibility of a "Prague Syndrome" (in which openness, the rule of law, and democratization would continue) or a "Tiananmen Syndrome" (in which reaction and repression would set in). In neither of these choices, however, did he expect that Russian nationalism would count for much. He argued that Russian nationalists are only significant in the context of a power struggle between party reforms and conservatives.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, Carter rejected Yanov's proposal for economic aid to a Russian "middle class." "There is very little that Westerners can do to influence events in the Soviet Union and I am not convinced that any such attempts, up to and including a new 'Marshall Aid' programme, would be welcomed."<sup>44</sup>

Even during the last years of perestroika, most Western observers continued to treat Russian nationalism as an inherently dissident and anti-Communist movement. In 1987, Nicolai Petro, examining nationalist opposition to diversion of Siberian river systems, found the values of Russian nationalists to be "fundamentally incompatible with those of the Soviet system."<sup>45</sup> He concluded that such protests must inevitably result in criticism of the entire system of government. Dina Rome Spechler also presented Russian nationalism as fundamentally dissident and destabilizing because it had become a truly mass movement, it contradicted the premises of Marxism-Leninism, and it provided ammunition for Gorbachev's conservative critics.<sup>46</sup>

On the question of anti-Semitism, Petro argued that anti-Semitic groups like Pamiat' are fringe movements and the mainstream nationalists are very close to the liberals. Petro believed that the West should overlook anti-Western overtones of the "rhetoric of national revival" and realize that "the stress Russian nationalists currently place on retaining a strong, central government is not inconsistent with further democratization."<sup>47</sup>

Not everyone in the West was so sanguine. Michael Confino, for example, expressed concern about the possible negative consequences of Solzhenitsyn's

<sup>42</sup> Carter, *Russian Nationalism*, 152, 72.

<sup>43</sup> Carter, *Russian Nationalism*, 149–52.

<sup>44</sup> Carter, *Russian Nationalism*, 148.

<sup>45</sup> Nicolai N. Petro, "The Project of the Century': A Case Study of Russian National Dissent," *Studies in Comparative Communism*, 20 (Autumn–Winter 1987): 250–51.

<sup>46</sup> Dina Rome Spechler, "Russian Nationalism and Soviet Politics," in Lubomyr Hajda and Mark Beissinger, eds., *The Nationalist Factor in Soviet Politics and Society* (Boulder, Colo., 1990), 281, 296.

<sup>47</sup> Nicolai N. Petro, "Rediscovering Russia," *Orbis* (Winter 1990): 39, 45, 48.



political principles. Confino did not suggest that Solzhenitsyn necessarily has anything to do with extreme forms of nationalism: he did, however, argue that Solzhenitsyn's legacy is ambiguous and that he has not distanced himself from proto-fascist Russian nationalism.<sup>48</sup>

Andrei Sinyavsky, Soviet dissident and émigré, expressed a view of Russian nationalism that dramatically contrasted with that of the Western mainstream. In an article titled "Russian Nationalism," Sinyavsky asserted that there was no difference between dissident and establishment nationalism. "Based on these new trends, I tend to think that Russian nationalism is today the womb of violence. It readily combines with the most reactionary wing of Soviet society (the bureaucracy, the army, the KGB) and opposes not only Communism, but democracy and the West."<sup>49</sup>

In a later article criticizing Igor Shafarevich's anti-Semitic *Russophobia*, Sinyavsky repeated Yanov's apprehensions about the danger of anti-Semitism. Indeed, Sinyavsky argued that Solzhenitsyn prepared the way for Shafarevich's anti-Semitism by coining the term "Russophobia," by contributing "our Pluralists" to *From under the Rubble*, and by calling Shafarevich "the greatest Russian thinker."<sup>50</sup>

BY THE TIME WALTER LAQUEUR PUBLISHED *Black Hundred: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia* in 1993, Russian nationalism no longer stood in the shadow of debates about Communism and the Soviet Union; it had finally become a topic of interest in and of itself.<sup>51</sup> The fact that *Black Hundred* was published by a major commercial house and promoted by the History Book Club suggests that a much broader reading public was interested in the topic.

In addressing the new audience, Laqueur covers much the same terrain as his predecessors in terms of historical background, but he goes beyond any of the other studies reviewed here in the detail and breadth of coverage. Dunlop, Carter, and Yanov focused their attention on what might be termed the nationalist intelligentsia, while Laqueur casts his net much wider: he surveys the thought of certain Orthodox church leaders, Cossacks, Monarchists, Russian Fascists in Nazi Germany, and the themes of black magic, astrology, neo-paganism, Eurasianism, and more. Laqueur also delights in portraying the most bizarre and extreme nationalists and in startling his readers with section and chapter titles including such phrases as "the Great Masonic Plot," "Damn Thee, Black Devil," "Judaism without a Mask," and "Villains Galore." It is an entertaining as well as informative and insightful scholarly work.

Like other writers on Russian nationalism—and especially like Alexander Yanov—Laqueur tends to focus on the logic of the ideas themselves without putting them in their social or historical context. Thus, in Part I, "Before the Revolution," Laqueur briefly mentions such thinkers as Nikolai Karamzin, Leon-

<sup>48</sup> Michael Confino, "Solzhenitsyn, the West, and the New Russian Nationalism," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 26 (1991): 630–31.

<sup>49</sup> Andrei Sinyavsky, "Russian Nationalism," *Massachusetts Review*, 31 (Winter 1990): 493.

<sup>50</sup> Andrei Sinyavsky, "Russophobia," *Partisan Review*, 57 (1990): 343.

<sup>51</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, vii.

tiev, and Dostoevsky, but instead of relating them to their own times or to the evolution of Russian nationalist thought, he simply points out themes that reappear in our times. Even in his chapters on the history of nationalism, a large percentage of his footnotes come from the contemporary Russian nationalist press. The same is true of his chapters on the Black Hundred, anti-Semitism, and the Orthodox church at the turn of the twentieth century. For example, the clerical writers whom Laqueur profiles in his chapter on the Orthodox church are chosen not because they were typical of the church but because they show from whom Black Hundred authors took some of their attitudes and arguments.

This is not an unintentional defect of Laqueur's book but an essential part of his presentation. The very fact that Laqueur does not find firm intellectual roots or a social basis for extreme Russian nationalism is an important conclusion. He sees neither a single underlying "Russian Idea" nor intellectual continuity from one generation to the next. This is an implicit argument against Alexander Yanov's assertion that Russian nationalism is monolithic and inescapably developing toward fascism. If the extremism of the past was accidental and peripheral, then there is no good reason to think it will be a central part of the Russian experience today.

Also in opposition to Yanov's position, Laqueur sees nationalism as a deeply divided movement. He distinguishes between moderate and extreme rightists by whether they are introspective and self-critical or whether they blame all Russia's problems on outsiders. He also asserts that "the watershed is not between left and right, but between those who believe in freedom and humanistic values, in a state ruled by law, and those who reject these values with contempt."<sup>52</sup>

In his attempt to achieve a nuanced perspective on the Russian Right, Laqueur conceives of a spectrum of opinion even wider than those proposed by Dunlop and Carter. On the left, he sees "radical democrats" or "liberal democrats." They are not religious believers, they freely criticize the Russian past, and they look to the West for economic and political models for the future. They see no useful Russian tradition, and they fear that the Russian nationalists will lead Russia back to tyranny. Andrei Sakharov was the leader of this tradition. The "national liberals" or "moderate nationalists" include such people as Yeltsin and Solzhenitsyn. These people think that an authoritarian regime is inevitable, they hope religion will play a crucial role in the future, they tend to idealize Russia as it was before 1917.<sup>53</sup> On the right wing are the Black Hundred chauvinists, who glorify the nation above all and who conceive of the nation as being exclusively ethnic Russian and Russian Orthodox. They are xenophobic and fundamentally anti-liberal.<sup>54</sup>

Typically, Solzhenitsyn appears as the crucial figure in this analysis. Like Dunlop and Carter, Laqueur treats Solzhenitsyn as a humanistic and positive force in Russian nationalism. He characterizes Solzhenitsyn as a "liberal nationalist" in the same camp as Yeltsin, and he even minimizes the differences between

<sup>52</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, xv, xvi.

<sup>53</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 274, 275.

<sup>54</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 283–85.

Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov.<sup>55</sup> In his enthusiastic defense, he does not even mention the fact that Solzhenitsyn has been accused of anti-Semitism.<sup>56</sup>

Laqueur speaks in defense of Solzhenitsyn's former dissident nationalist colleague, the outspoken anti-Semite Igor Shafarevich. In doing so, Laqueur tries to argue that anti-Semitism can be understood in terms other than an inevitable precursor to Nazism. Indeed, he practically blames Alexander Yanov for Shafarevich's *Russophobia*. "Yanov was one of the very few writers in the West who had paid attention—perhaps excessive attention—to the antidemocratic and aggressive character of some of the views that had been aired in the Soviet Union, both in samizdat and in mainstream publications, from the 1960s on." Laqueur admits that Yanov used authentic quotations, but he accuses Yanov of writing sensationalist and one-dimensional intellectual history. Yanov, according to Laqueur, saw fascism and anti-Semitism but missed the nuances.<sup>57</sup>

Laqueur insists, as did Dunlop, that real anti-Semitism "developed predominantly inside the government and not within the dissident fringe." Furthermore, he writes, "Cultural anti-Semitism, in any case, is limited in its appeal to sections of the intelligentsia." Contradicting Yanov, Laqueur argues that anti-Semitism is not an essential part of right-wing Russian nationalism and that in the future it will be of "less use" to the Russian Right.<sup>58</sup>

Laqueur had made this point even more strongly in his introduction to the 1990 republication of *Russia and Germany*. He argued that Russians have been so cut off from the intellectual life of the West that they do not realize how taboo it is to employ Jewish ethnic stereotypes. Furthermore, Laqueur pointed out that many of the early Communists who were hostile to Russian culture and traditions really were of Jewish origin.<sup>59</sup>

Laqueur predicts that Russia will probably be governed by an authoritarian system based on some sort of nationalist populism.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, his conclusions are rather optimistic.<sup>61</sup> He anticipates that Russia's government will be an alliance among the Russian Right, the *gosudarstvenniki* (the old Communist elite, known as the nomenklatura), and "gray panthers" (retirees on fixed incomes who have been hurt by perestroika).<sup>62</sup> These last two groups, however, are not extremists, nor do they reject gradual economic and social reform. "The *gosudarstvenniki* want above all order at home and normal relations with the major powers. They want an authoritarian regime but no excesses."<sup>63</sup> "In comparison with the chauvinistic

<sup>55</sup> "The divide between Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov is to a large extent that between conservative and liberal utopianism"; Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 289.

<sup>56</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 98–99.

<sup>57</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 165–66.

<sup>58</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 106, 173.

<sup>59</sup> Walter Laqueur, *Russia and Germany: A Century of Conflict* (1965; rpt. edn., New Brunswick, N.J., 1990), 6.

<sup>60</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 294.

<sup>61</sup> In 1990, Laqueur had already begun to allay Western fears. "How much political importance should be accorded to this new/old trend? . . . Some liberals in Moscow fear that it is only a question of time until Russia will be engulfed by the most reactionary and obscurantist forces. I do not share such pessimism; while setbacks may be inevitable"; Laqueur, *Russia and Germany*, 17. He concludes that Russia will rejoin the civilized world community and not "relapse into barbarism"; 18.

<sup>62</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 295.

<sup>63</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 271.

rhetoric in the successor states of the Soviet Union and other East European countries, Russian nationalism, except in its most extreme manifestations, seems almost moderate." He also suggests that neo-Nazism will not appear, because Hitler immunized Russia against fascism.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the radical Right is unlikely to be successful, because there are no leaders of genius and no common program that could unify the disparate factions of Russian nationalism.<sup>65</sup>

Laqueur's main policy proposal is that the West should not treat Russia and Russian nationalism with hostility. "Russian patriotic writers with little sympathy for the chauvinists in their country have argued for a long time that the West tends to exaggerate the importance of the Black Hundred and their ideology, and even more the role of their successors such as Pamyat. Russians have claimed that this has been done with the intention to discredit Russian conservatives and patriots, and the 'Russian Idea' in general. These complaints deserve to be taken seriously."<sup>66</sup> Once again, Yanov bears the brunt of implied criticism. Laqueur quotes Igor Shafarevich's complaint that Yanov wanted the West to occupy Russia. Indeed, Laqueur could use this to explain why Shafarevich wants Russia to keep its nuclear defense against the West.<sup>67</sup>

Laqueur's conclusions suggest that perhaps the West has learned from the confrontational polemics of the Cold War. Laqueur presents a model of how to study Russia—a balanced portrayal of the most dangerous trends on the Russian far right tempered by a moderation and an optimism that will not feed the paranoia of those same extremists.

IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT LAQUEUR AND THE WESTERN TRADITION of accommodation of Russian nationalism will go unchallenged. Only now that nationalism is an independent and popular ideology in Russia will the debate over its nature really heat up. In the first place, the study of Russian nationalism will no longer be speculative. Now that Russian political life is free of compulsory lip-service to Communism, we will be able to see the real strength, cohesiveness, and practical policy of Russian nationalism. Secondly, there will be the question of Western policy toward the new Russian government. What policies should we support? If Russia turns authoritarian, should we "contain" or "accommodate" it?

Thus the controversy over the nature of Russian nationalism might soon have the same policy implications and therefore the same contentiousness that typified Cold War debates over the nature of Communism. Indeed, the similarity between the Cold War and the debate over Russian nationalism is curious. It seems that a "hard line" and a "soft line" toward Russian nationalism have emerged, and, ironically, those who took a hard line toward Communism are now taking a soft line toward Russian nationalism and vice versa. The hard line (typified by Yanov and Sinyavsky) argues that Russian nationalism is a malignant and monolithic

<sup>64</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 295, 270.

<sup>65</sup> He adds, "a full-fledged fascism still seems unlikely in Russia—if only because in contrast to widespread belief history never repeats itself"; Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 294.

<sup>66</sup> Laqueur, *Black Hundred*, 102.

<sup>67</sup> Igor Shafarevich makes just this point in "Rossiia naedine s soboi," *Nash Sovremennik*, 1 (1992): 8.

force that is unreformable and tends inexorably toward extreme forms of racism and authoritarianism. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, those fearful of Russian nationalism advocated cooperation with the moderate, democratic members of the Soviet ruling elite. The soft line (expressed by Dunlop, Carter, and Laqueur and so far the apparent consensus in the West) holds that Russian nationalism includes many varieties—from liberal and humanistic forms through intolerant and authoritarian forms to racist fascism—and that, in general, nationalism is preferable to Communism. These scholars advocate cooperating with and supporting those moderate nationalists who seem to have most in common with Western values.

Perhaps this is why Solzhenitsyn's name has played such a central role in the debate over the nature of the new Russian nationalism—and why he will continue to be a major focus of Western attention. He is equally opposed in principle to parliamentary democracy and to Communism since he sees both of them as products of an inherently flawed Western Civilization. Those who stress liberal democratic values tend to mistrust Solzhenitsyn and to point out his willingness to accept authoritarian rule. From this, they proceed to a mistrust of Russian nationalism as a whole. Those who have stressed opposition to Communism have been attracted to Solzhenitsyn; they have emphasized his Christian humanism and universalism and have advocated Western encouragement of his kind of moderate nationalism.<sup>68</sup>

There is also the question of anti-Semitism in Solzhenitsyn and the Russian Right in general. Perhaps not all people who are prejudiced against Jews are logically committed to genocidal policies. Nevertheless, one segment of the Russian Right is notorious for its racism and its paranoid fear of a conspiracy between Jews and Freemasons to destroy Russia. It will thus be inevitable that some observers of the Russian scene will suspect the worst of *all* expressions of anti-Semitism in that society—no matter if they are written by literary geniuses or lunatic hacks. Furthermore, anti-Semitism may function in future controversies in the same way that anti-Communism functioned in past Cold War debates—as a rhetorical device used by “hard liners” to discredit opposing views.

The fact that Walter Laqueur places Solzhenitsyn and Yeltsin in the same camp is also significant. This bracketing will stimulate controversy, since Yeltsin is generally viewed as a proponent of Westernization in both economic and political

<sup>68</sup> Solzhenitsyn's recent book, *Rebuilding Russia: Reflections and Tentative Proposals*, Alexis Klimoff, trans. (New York, 1991), will not end debate about his political attitudes. He has retreated from his earlier acceptance of authoritarian rule for Russia and now advocates free enterprise, ownership of private property, and democracy for Russia. On the other hand, his vituperation of Western popular culture (44), Western-type consumerism (36–37), and unrestrained industrialism (4) has not moderated, and his support for democracy is very qualified. His call for new boundaries between Kazakhstan and Russia (8) and his suggestion that Ukrainian separatism should be decided by local votes (18) are troubling. Solzhenitsyn offers a plan to build democracy up from the grass roots, but his reference to Montesquieu (60) suggests that a large country such as Russia might need a strong central authority. He speaks of “temporarily preserving the existing formal features of the central authority” (61), and he suggests the creation of a consultative body that might appear to some to be the basis of an aristocracy. (See “A Consultative Body,” 99–105.) His quotations from Western political theorists all stress the dangers that democracy poses to individual liberty. It remains unclear how much authoritarianism he would actually accept.



life.<sup>69</sup> Yet Yeltsin's recent dealings with the Russian parliament, constitution, and press may cause Westerners to fear the rise of a new, intolerant authoritarianism. This will not surprise critics of Solzhenitsyn and Russian nationalism.

To the extent that Russian nationalists come to dominate Russian government, the questions raised about Solzhenitsyn will be examined and debated with greater intensity: Will a government dominated by Russian nationalists reject democracy and yet produce a political system that is an improvement over Communism? To what extent will a government based on the Slavophile philosophical antipathy to Western Civilization be able to coexist peacefully with the West? Can Russian nationalists entertain prejudices against religious or ethnic groups and yet not follow racist policies toward them?

If the Cold War analogy holds true, the way these questions are addressed will be shaped as much by Western political attitudes as by events in Russia. Indeed, one might phrase them another way: To what extent will the West *perceive* Russian nationalists to be authoritarian, anti-Western, or racist? To what extent will this perception affect the West's ability to cooperate with the new Russia? These questions will provide the context for future scholarship on the nature of Russian nationalism.

<sup>69</sup> It is clear from John Dunlop's recent book, *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Union* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), that he would not accept Laqueur's characterization of Yeltsin as a nationalist. By "the rise of Russia," Dunlop does not mean the rise of Russian nationalism but the creation of the Russian Republic under the leadership of Yeltsin. In this work, Dunlop is not concerned with the relationship between Communism and nationalism or with the spectrum of opinion among nationalists. Instead, he focuses on the contest between "democrats" and "statists." "Statists" include right-wing nationalists and former Communists, while the "democrats" are those who want to realize Western political and economic ideals. Dunlop does not discuss where moderate nationalists might fit in. Solzhenitsyn, for example, seems to be neither one nor the other; 143–46. Yeltsin, however, is clearly cosmopolitan, Western-oriented, and non-chauvinistic. See especially Chapter 2, "Yeltsin and Russia."

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## Featured Reviews

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DYAN ELLIOTT. *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 375. \$39.50.

In this stunning book Dyan Elliott examines spiritual marriage, "a legally binding marriage in which sexual relations have been remitted by the consent of both parties for reasons of piety" (p. 3). Her narrative of this practice reveals the deep tensions and ambiguities about sexuality and marriage in the Christian church as attitudes evolved from apostolic times to the sixteenth century. Although her study is of a particular—and limited—pious practice, because chaste marriage was "a distinctive mode of female spirituality" (p. 83), its investigation contributes to our understanding of medieval women's spiritual life as well as to the history of Christian marriage.

This monograph can be envisioned as a planetary system. The central solid core of matter is a thoughtful and thorough reading of Latin vitae, which yielded fifty-eight cases of lay spiritual marriage known in the West. This primary research floats in four broad rings of Elliott's extensive synthesis of scholarly work done on the church, marriage, spirituality, and gender. Flashing at the edges are bright moons of interpretations and possible ramifications anchored by the gravity of the author's weighty research core. Elliott presents her research with quiet authority, its synthetic setting with appreciation for the shoulders of others on which she stands, and her conclusions with modesty. The whole is written with a graceful turn of language and sensitivity to the lives of her subjects.

The early Christian church struggled to balance its eschatological goal of virginity with a growing need to emphasize the sanctity of marriage in the face of heretical challenges. Augustine, in this as in so much of Christian thinking, formulated the solution, that marriage is associated with the three goods of procreation, fidelity, and indissolubility yet is most holy when the couple espouse chastity. His schizophrenic formulation became normative, "thus allowing for a protected, but uncomfortable, middle ground between celibacy and marriage in Christian practice" (p. 50). Even within chaste marriage, however, Au-

gustine asserted that a wife owed full obedience to her husband to counterbalance the potential autonomy women could experience through their chastity.

In the early Middle Ages no amount of clerical theorizing could stem the yearning of deeply pious women for spiritual marriage, which a wife engineered by rational arguments, canny outflanking maneuvers, or even outright defiance. From the fourth through the eighth century the popularity of the legend of St. Cecilia (a wife who retained her virginity by converting her husband) and the importance of virginal queens promoted by monastic propaganda attest the power inherent in the model of the virginal wife. By the ninth century, however, the number of spiritual marriages dwindled as the church bent its efforts to suppress clerical unions and dampen female spiritual enthusiasm expressed in chaste marriages.

The reform movement of the eleventh century sought to reorder society, a key part of which effort became the separation of clergy from laity by elevating the celibacy of the former over the sexuality of the latter. Pressure intensified on priests over the course of the century, culminating in the ruling of Lateran II in 1139 that the higher orders of the priesthood must remain celibate. Besides the immediate result that priests were forced to abandon their wives, the reform program had a number of unexpected results; one such was inadvertently fueling the growth of popular heresies that internalized admiration for chastity, eschewed marriage for the laity, and thus erased the line dividing clergy from people.

In the middle of recounting this well-known narrative, Elliott introduces with great caution a provocative possibility—one of her satellite moons, this one trailing gender implications—that she entitles "a tentative sketch of female spirituality" (p. 109). She posits that male piety may have been expressed by sharply distinguishing the worldly from the spiritual and fleeing one for the other, while female spirituality strove to interweave the two worlds. Thus, during

the central Middle Ages, lay women's penitential activity mixed the *saeculum* with the *aeternum* to smudge the reform movement's clear divisions. "The many crossings and recrossings between these rather artificially polarized states—between sexual activity and celibacy—not only tended to blur these boundaries but also gave rise to some notable hybrids" (p. 95). One such hybrid, the cult of the virgin king, replaced that of the earlier virgin queens and signaled that lay people, even rulers, had to "attain a monastic level of purity" to be holy (p. 125). (It also disguised the repudiation of a childless wife by her royal husband.)

During the later Middle Ages clerical writers swung the pendulum away from the reformers' ascetic extremes by reasserting the merits of marriage and forcefully reaffirming husbands' dominion over their wives. Indeed, Gratian so persuasively articulated the ecclesiastical case for husbands' authority that civil lawyers used the *Decretum* to argue the rights of husbands over the dowries of their wives. The responsibility of spouses to meet their partners' sexual needs was also underlined. However egalitarian this sounds, it was inevitably wives who were urged to be sexually attractive by dressing provocatively and making their bodies "suitable for many uses, because fleshy members befit the office of the flesh," as Thomas of Chobham bluntly asserted (p. 152). (What a shock it would have been if any author had earnestly exhorted husbands to bathe or dress to attract their wives!) The many restrictions on married women's independence contained one small loophole: although a wife's vow of chastity could only be undertaken in concert with that of her husband, she could—even if he demanded his marital rights—vow to make no sexual demands herself, thus creating an autonomous area for her spiritual expression.

Lay piety acquired a new tone in the thirteenth century as women responded enthusiastically to mendicant preaching by internalizing penitential practices and undertaking lives as tertiaries, beguines, and chaste wives. When married men felt drawn to penitence, they usually converted in adulthood after a major life setback by choosing to leave their wives and entering a monastery. In contrast, their female counterparts generally felt called in childhood to chastity, but when later forced into marriage they worked to transmute their traditional unions into spiritual marriages, which, having "no clear blueprint" (p. 252), offered greater latitude than institutional solutions. When pious wives endured forced marriages that carried sexual obligations, their identity and spirituality suffered. To offset these strains they practiced extreme asceticism and endured sexual relations without pleasure or even as acts of penance. The

results were that "penitential life laundered secular life, especially matrimonial sex" (p. 204) so that the numbers of the saints were swelled after years of drought with a flood of women, many of whom were married. Sometimes a couple decided mutually to live in chastity. More often it took years for a determined wife to talk her husband into accepting chaste marriage. In both cases, the wife's autonomy was increased, although the writers of female hagiography usually stress her obedience to her husband so that her submission "overshadows subversion in the hands of a skilled narrator" (p. 165).

Elliott compares the fifteen women from the later Middle Ages who converted normal marriages to spiritual unions with nine royal or noble female contemporaries who revived the ancient practice of virginal marriage. The women who had experienced sexual relations practiced a much fiercer asceticism than did the virginal wives; they were more subservient to their husbands than their married virginal sisters, and were better rewarded by the church, since four of them were canonized, an honor accorded none of the virginal wives. Elliott posits that in a startling about-face, virginity, long a highly praised goal for Christians, had been recognized as engendering independent—even subversive—female behavior, while a woman whose marriage evolved into a chaste union was perceived as submissive and obedient to her husband. Ecclesiastical writers controlled the story of pious women's lives so that "the submissive matron was more zealously promoted by the ascendant powers than her virginal counterpart" (p. 300); yet at the same time, the clergy could not eradicate or fully domesticate the female "charismatic gift of chastity" (p. 301).

I loved this book for its magnificent scholarship, clarity of expression, provocative ideas, and scholarly modesty. Elliott works to present her material without hyperbole and, in fact, could have been bolder in her conclusions, while the work deserves a title that better represents its scope. She succeeds in her goal "to show how this widely known collective construct acts as a vehicle for human thought and action" (p. 11), but, limited as she is by her proscriptive and theoretical documents, she can less successfully demonstrate the social impact of spiritual marriage beyond a small circle of practitioners. There is little cause for alarm, however, since others will rise to this challenge. I would anticipate that, like the work of John E. Boswell and Caroline Walker Bynum, Elliott's book will generate major interest and multiple responses as historians pursue the interaction of the themes of chastity, spirituality, gender, and independence.

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RICHARD A. GOLDTHWAITE. *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. 266. \$29.95.

This book-length essay by Richard A. Goldthwaite on the economics of art and the material culture of Renaissance Italy will surely elicit much discussion and reexamination of older theses about the connection between Italian economic, social, and political life and the amazing culture we know as the Renaissance. Today, Jacob Burckhardt's classic *Civilization of the Renaissance* (1860) is more nodded to than seriously read. That situation may change, now that Goldthwaite provides fresh support for the venerable Swiss art historian's broad assessment that Renaissance Italy saw the beginnings of the modern era. Were he alive today, Burckhardt would undoubtedly find Goldthwaite's perspective of material culture and nascent consumerism an intriguing addition to his own appreciation of the Renaissance as harbinger of things to come in the rest of Europe. (Goldthwaite suggests that the perspective of material culture provides the missing link between Burckhardt's views on Renaissance art and his more famous overview of Renaissance society and culture in the *Civilization* [p. 255]). But Burckhardt would likely find Goldthwaite's perspective unsettling for its assertion that Italian culture between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries found focus in possessions and things, therefore making the Renaissance the birthplace of a modern consumer society.

Of late, scholars have called for new syntheses of all the specialized literature on various aspects of the Renaissance, the fruit of a generation's painstaking work in archival and manuscript collections. Goldthwaite has already made notable contributions to this bulging corpus of studies through his work on family accounts, on the construction industry, and on the new ceramics (*maioliche*). More than anyone, he has made speak the remarkable assortment of private household and business accounts that survive from the period, using them to illuminate patterns in the disposition of private wealth and consumptive habits, and he has speculated about the economic and social import of those patterns. He now argues that the careful record-keeping practiced in Italy, which details everything from a family's purchase of household linens to its palace building, testifies in itself to a Renaissance preoccupation with material things.

The present book offers a welcome synthesis, one that reaches well beyond the scope of his earlier efforts. Goldthwaite is attempting an original and ambitious market analysis of Renaissance art viewed in terms of demand and supply. This first volume of two concerns demand. The author treats art not in terms of its form or content, but rather in its functional capacity as object serving a variety of purposes: painted wooden panels in their capacity as altar decorations; decorated  *cassoni*  in their function as

storage chests; tin glazed  *maioliche*  as tableware. Obviously, function lends itself more easily to economic analysis than content. The author explains the marked proliferation of these kinds of objects in the churches and households of Renaissance Italy in terms of increased demand, which in turn stimulated production and competition. Seen from this perspective of economic function, the Renaissance becomes an era of conspicuous consumption immersed in a whole new world of things.

The demand side of Goldthwaite's market equation is itself divided into two parts, the demand for religious art and demand in the private world, which, together with a general overview of the structure of wealth in the Renaissance, constitute the major sections in the book. Goldthwaite's argument is richly complex and carefully worked. It draws on a massive reading of current research on early modern society and culture and incorporates comparative material from Northern Europe, especially England. The comparisons with the north serve to highlight the extent to which the Italian experience differed from transalpine Europe, primarily because of Italy's higher urban density and the concentration of wealth in the hands of an independent, urban aristocracy rather than a rural, feudal one. In Italy wealth circulated more widely, and the ranks of the elite remained open at least until the end of the sixteenth century. These social characteristics of wealth in Italy constitute the permissive cause of the elite's rising consumption of material goods during the Renaissance and help account for the structure of demand for art that expressed itself first in the ecclesiastical environment and subsequently in the secular world.

The book will also send readers back to Roberto Lopez's well-known treatment of the relationship between economic conditions and culture ("Hard Times and Investment in Culture," in *The Renaissance: A Symposium* [1953], 19–34). Goldthwaite, however, turns Lopez on his head by arguing, as he has elsewhere, that the economy of the Italian city-states following the Black Death did not fall on such hard times as Lopez suggested. More importantly, however, Goldthwaite's supply and demand model for understanding the investment of accumulated wealth in art relies on more complex dynamics than the earlier thesis, which had suggested that the Italian elite sank its money noticeably in buildings and art when business opportunities shrank. Goldthwaite identifies the interaction of urban environments and an increasingly monetized economy with increased demand for religious services and new, accompanying accouterments better suited to urban tastes, as the initial impetus for the Italian investment in art.

In the section on religious art he argues that a

certain "spiritual restlessness," experienced primarily by urban populations, lay at the heart of the Renaissance demand for more religious services fashioned to their needs, and hence of new forms and quantities of religious art. This "restlessness" remains undefined, but it is typified by the religious needs to which the new mendicant orders of the thirteenth century ministered. Franciscans and Dominicans, with the help of urban governments, built huge basilica-like churches with vast interior spaces crying for decoration. The demand sparked by the new urban spirituality, Goldthwaite argues, helps explain the sheer volume of frescoes, panel paintings, altar furnishings, reliquaries, and the like that were produced in Italy during the Renaissance. Today, the remains of this stimulated production of religious art adorn the walls of many art museums. Goldthwaite pointedly labels these museums "temples" of conspicuous consumer demand in the Renaissance.

Beginning in the fifteenth century, but at a slightly later date than the increased demand for ecclesiastical art, demand for material goods in secular environs accelerated. The demand took the form of civic monuments and sculptures, private urban palaces, and a wealth of household furnishings, which gradually filled up the vast interiors of patrician dwellings. Over time fashion further stimulated demand for more specialized and elaborate furniture. Dinnerware and place settings proliferated, and these replaced common food bowls and finger-licking at table. In the sixteenth century, travelers from the north would marvel at the new fork and the elaborate table manners practiced in Italy. This new world of things and the dynamic role they played in the culture of the day lie at the heart of a new consumer culture. To Burckhardt's oft-repeated phrase that the Renaissance was the discovery of the world and man, Goldthwaite has now added the discovery of the world of things.

But what accounts for the continual accumulation of possessions on the part of Italian patricians and their ongoing patronage of art in churches? And why was the phenomenon of a consumer culture largely limited to the upper echelons of society? They, for one thing, had the disposable wealth that permitted

investment in luxury durable goods and expensive architectural monuments. But Goldthwaite suggests a more fundamental sociological explanation for their abundance of material possessions and their unrelenting need to surround themselves with things. The reason involves the particular sociopolitical situation enjoyed by the Italian aristocracy. Unlike the aristocracies of Northern Europe, Italian urban elites for the most part were independent of the society of a central court and were quite conscious of their autonomy. Their brand of nobility was solidly grounded in the urban experience. Their principal residences remained in the city, not in feudal estates located in the rural hinterland. Their urban environment created different demands, and, unlike their northern neighbors who maintained large retinues, Italian elites invested in durable goods rather than services.

Wealth, not land, gave the Italian elites of the Renaissance their social identity, and luxurious possessions indicated status and power. Imposing monuments and buildings performed a didactic function. They gave the impression of authority and commanded respect, which helps explain why wealthy Italians spent so lavishly on their homes and furnishings and were such active patrons of the kinds of art that helped propagandize their elevated status in society and which was shaped to their tastes.

This summary does not do justice to Goldthwaite's extensive vision of material culture, to the intricacies of his argument, or, particularly, to the original and suggestive nature of his work. His book deserves to be read widely. Readers may find his treatment of religious art in economic terms unusual but nonetheless illuminating. And one cannot help but wonder how such a market analysis, so appropriate to the late twentieth century, would have been received by people living at the time. After reading the book I yearned for the intangibles of spirit and aspiration and the exquisite sense of beauty and proportion, which, although outside the purview of Goldthwaite's study, nonetheless were also part of the Renaissance and equally present in the material culture of the day.

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DONALD F. LACH and EDWIN J. VAN KLEY. *Asia in the Making of Europe*. Volume 3, *A Century of Advance*. Book 1, *Trade, Missions, Literature*; book 2, *South Asia*; book 3, *Southeast Asia*; book 4, *East Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. lxxvi, 597; lvii, 601–1110; liii, 1111–1561; cxii, 1563–2077. \$300.00 the set.

Volume 3 of *Asia in the Making of Europe* marks the mid-point of an ambitious project first begun under the editorship of Donald F. Lach, but which now includes one of his former students, Edwin J. Van

Kley. The "passing of the mantle," so to speak, may not simply reflect the result of a long mentor-student relationship but also the obvious realization of the need for the younger generation to complete the



project. In volume 1 of this work, which appeared in 1965, Lach traced the genesis of the study to his desire in the 1940s to "investigate the significance of the discoveries [of Asia] in the development of Western civilization" (p. xi). By the time the work was finally published, his introduction had also absorbed the concerns of academics and students in the 1960s regarding European/American neocolonialism. Thus, while Lach generally accepted the view that Western European civilization dominated Asia through the last two centuries and even for much of the early modern period, he chastised scholars who had "neglected to point out that an eclipse is never permanent" (p. xii). In 1994, some twenty-nine years since the first publication of the project, his words have assumed a prophetic ring as Western countries retreat before a major Asian economic onslaught.

Lach originally planned a series of six volumes, with two volumes each for the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The first volume of each century was to examine the prevailing European views about Asia, while the second was to be an analysis of the impact of this new knowledge about Asia on European institutions, arts, crafts, and ideas. The conception was indeed ambitious, and the scale of the effort became apparent with the publication of the first two "volumes" for the sixteenth century. In fact the first volume consisted of two, and the second volume of three, separate books. Although the first volume was published in 1965, the second was completed only in 1977. Some fifteen years after the completion of this second volume, the first volume of the seventeenth century has now appeared as volume 3 in four books: Book 1 on Trade, Missions, Literature; Book 2 on South Asia; Book 3 on Southeast Asia; and Book 4 on East Asia. The second volume for the seventeenth century, which will examine the impact of Asia on Western Europe, is yet to come. Because there is far more material available on Asia from the seventeenth than the sixteenth century, the time needed to analyze the material for publication may take even longer than the twelve years that separated the two volumes for the sixteenth century.

An immense effort has gone into the research and publication of this ongoing project. One cannot but envy the project's access to financial support, for this has enabled the editors and their team of scholars the luxury of time to explore European and Asian libraries and pore over the range of relevant publications located there. In reviewing the first volume of this work in the *New York Review of Books* (April 22, 1965), Geoffrey Barraclough expressed a sentiment that captures nicely the admiration mixed with reservation with which he regarded the entire enterprise. "Already one can say," he wrote, "that nothing of this scope and magnitude has been performed before, and nothing is likely to be performed again" (p. 23). Barraclough's comments, reflecting respect for the breadth of research that the volume represented as well as reservations regarding the study's feasibility,

are equally applicable to the four books of volume 3 under review here.

Without doubt volume 3 fulfills one of Lach's original intentions, "that the series as a whole . . . provide a general background for the more intensive monographs of the specialists in the various disciplines" (vol. 1, book 1, p. xv). The research is thorough, bringing to light much previously neglected material in European languages. Each source is discussed within its historical context, permitting an understanding of the author, the work, and the channels by which its information was disseminated in Europe. The discussion combines paraphrases of the original author's comments with editorial interjections to clarify otherwise confusing or opaque references. This method retains the flavor of the original, while drawing on current scholarship to expand or clarify the original text. One strength of the volume is to remind researchers on Asia of the value of the records of the various Catholic orders, especially those of the Jesuits.

In books 2, 3, and 4, which deal with the various parts of Asia, the editors have followed a country-by-country treatment, an approach that is useful not only for area specialists but also for the growing number of scholars interested in cross-cultural studies. It has also produced some unexpected results, such as the discovery of documents dealing with Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam in the Jesuit reports on Japan (vol. 3, book 1, pp. 304–05). Indeed, the sheer quantity of detail amassed in this volume on so many different areas of Asia is a tribute to the dedication and thoroughness of the editors and their team of researchers. Except for the occasional minor errors, unavoidable in a project of such immense proportions, the material is carefully documented and clearly presented. Any scholar desirous of obtaining an overview of early modern European perceptions of and activities in Asia could do no better than to begin here.

It is not the scholarship but the conception of the entire enterprise that poses difficulties. In the attempt to demonstrate that "Europeans' view of Asia was not a static one" (vol. 1, book 1, p. xiv), Lach formulated a method for an assessment of the impact of Asia on Europe and set about systematically gathering the relevant material. Yet in the process, the collection of information has assumed a life of its own, divorced from the major theme of the work. So much of the material, especially that dealing with internal political events of the various Asian states, seems to have little bearing on the general thrust of the argument. What is lacking is a greater effort at synthesizing the information with the project's fundamental conception clearly in mind. The short summaries at the end of each section provide little guidance to the themes that are driving the study.

With hindsight, one might also suggest that the amount of time required to examine just one century should have alerted Lach to the enormous scale of the

project and perhaps the need to reformulate the methodology. The material on sixteenth-century European accounts of Asia alone required one book and part of another, plus an additional three books for the seventeenth century. Because of the proliferation of writings about Asia in the eighteenth century, one would be justified in expecting at least another three books or even more for this period. And still remaining would be the books dealing with the impact of these Asian ideas on Europe. Some twenty-two years have already passed since the publication of the first volume, and the work has only reached the half-way point. At this rate it will take another quarter century before it is completed. By that time it will very likely not be Lach himself but a younger member of his team who will have the formidable task of providing the overall assessment.

At the same time, any conclusions reached can only be tentative because of Lach's initial decision to base his research and discussion on extant printed materials. He himself acknowledged that these "are not completely representative of what was then in circulation" and admitted that manuscript and oral reports were certainly as influential as the published sources in shaping Europe's views of Asia (vol. 1, book 1, p. xviii). To document the dissemination of information through oral sources would have been virtually impossible, and to attempt to consult the vast array of European archival sources would have been impracticable. From the outset Lach therefore decided to rely on published documents.

Although most historians would commend this decision as the only feasible one, it has nevertheless restricted access to undoubtedly the richest European archives for the study of Asia in the seventeenth century: the Dutch East India Company (VOC) records. The VOC maintained posts in Japan, China, Southeast Asia, and India, and had long and sustained dealings with local societies. The reports from these posts were of course restricted to the VOC officials themselves, but much of this information would have reached Europe through unofficial channels. The Netherlands was already the leading publisher of books, pamphlets, and newspapers, as well as the greatest book market in Europe in the seventeenth century (vol. 3, book 1, p. 302), and the new information on Asia brought by returned servants of the VOC and by those officials involved with its world-wide operations would have found ready listeners in the vibrant intellectual atmosphere of their homeland. Judging by the reports contained in archival documents, these VOC officials would have had access to information far more elaborate and detailed than many published accounts. It is difficult to measure the movement of oral information in a society, but a record of what was known may help to extend the boundaries of what contributed to the European ideas of Asia.

In the final analysis, the success of the project hinges on the ability of the editors to demonstrate

convincingly the direct correlation between the vast amount of information collected on Asia in the European accounts and the extent and nature of its impact on European civilization. Demonstrating an impact will not be as difficult as attempting to assess its extent and nature. Did this new information on Asia, for example, transform European ideas or simply coexist with the hugely popular books on the "Marvels of the East"? Even up to 1625 the largely imaginary fourteenth-century *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* was reprinted in Samuel Purchas's *Purchas His Pilgrimes* because of its continuing popularity. It has been argued that images of Asia, which had been structured in earlier centuries by such works as Mandeville's *Travels* and the equally fantastic but entertaining sixteenth-century *Cosmographia* by Sebastian Münster, fulfilled an emotional and intellectual need by Europeans to explain the new societies that were beginning to impinge on their comfortable perception of the world (Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* [1964], 71; Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* [1991], 22–23).

To what extent, then, was this image transformed by the new information seeping into Europe in these centuries? Judging by the material presented thus far in the series, it is obvious that European observers of the early modern period were on the whole incapable of transmitting the highly complex religious, philosophical, and technological ideas they encountered in Asia. Even the highly gifted Jesuit scholar, Matteo Ricci, could only touch on a minute part of China's scientific advances so admirably documented in Joseph Needham's multivolume study (Joseph Needham, ed., *Science and Civilization in China* [1954]). Moreover, for much of the seventeenth century Japan was closed to the outside world. It was only in the nineteenth century, with the growth of scientific societies to encourage a systematic study of Asian civilizations, that Europeans finally began to appreciate the complexities of the ideas and institutions they encountered. Prior to this period the nature of the printed European sources was mainly impressionistic and superficial.

It is highly unlikely, therefore, that such writings would contribute to any qualitative change in European civilization. In 1965, when reviewing the first volume of this series, Barraclough argued forcibly that "it is hard to think that the impact of Asia on Europe has been more than peripheral, an embellishment rather than a driving force" (Barraclough, *New York Review of Books*, p. 24). Based solely on European written documents, such a view is perhaps unavoidable. Some may unfortunately conclude that somehow this demonstrated Europe's innate superiority to Asian civilizations. But it must be remembered that the perception contained in printed documents represents an imperfect understanding of Asia, and that a vast corpus of indigenous oral and written documents was inaccessible to almost all of the European

observers in this early modern period. The printed European sources merely highlight the disparity between the perception and the reality. Perhaps the fundamental message of volume 3 is that Europeans in the seventeenth century were simply ill-equipped

to begin to understand or appreciate the sophisticated civilizations they encountered in Asia.

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BRADFORD PERKINS. *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations. Volume 1, The Creation of a Republican Empire, 1776–1865*. Warren Cohen, series editor. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 254. \$24.95.

WALTER LAFEBER. *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations. Volume 2, The American Search for Opportunity, 1865–1913*. Warren Cohen, series editor. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 263. \$24.95.

AKIRA IRIYE. *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations. Volume 3, The Globalizing of America, 1913–1945*. Warren Cohen, series editor. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 240. \$24.95.

WARREN COHEN. *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations. Volume 4, America in the Age of Soviet Power*. Warren Cohen, series editor. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 283. \$24.95.

Since the beginning of this century, Cambridge University Press has commissioned leading scholars to participate in multiauthored, multivolume histories of the major continents, nations, religions, philosophies, and literature of the world. It has intended these volumes to be both the first and last word on the subject, in the sense that they would summarize knowledge in the field to date and at the same time serve as introductory surveys for scholars and the "Western history-reading public." (This phrase is from the introduction to *The Cambridge History of China. Volume 10, The Late Ch'ing 1800–1911, Part 1* [1978], p. v.) The result has been a series of prestigious, erudite, dense, and often traditional surveys to which scholars and very dedicated members of the general public could turn for an authoritative factual summary of a field.

*The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations* is not quite in this same mold. As general editor, Warren Cohen has indeed assembled a prestigious group of historians to write this four-volume history, including Bradford Perkins, Walter LaFeber, Akira Iriye, and Cohen himself. But these are very brief volumes. At 60,000 words each they are more like the essays within the volumes of other Cambridge histories than the typical Cambridge volumes themselves. Together they are no more lengthy than the standard textbook on American diplomatic history.

They also differ from previous Cambridge histories in being less concerned with a detailed narrative that would "cover the ground" and serve as ready reference works. Although they adequately survey the events of American diplomatic history, they are less magisterial summaries than they are combative interpretive essays with idiosyncratic emphases and strong points of view. Thus, although they are written in a vigorous anecdotal style that should make them more accessible and attractive to a general audience than most Cambridge histories, they probably will not be the first recourse for scholars and readers who seek a detailed factual summary of an event or period.

Neither will these essays serve as a last word in the field despite the fact that the end of the Cold War has provided a neat and fortuitous interim conclusion to America's diplomatic history. The startlingly contrasting views and approaches of these volumes reflect a field that is still too much in turmoil to allow even the most magisterial summary to serve, however temporarily, as a last word.

The field has been in turmoil in part because of a widespread feeling that the discipline of American foreign relations has not kept pace with other fields of history. Critics have accused it of being methodologically antiquated, impoverished in its theoretical basis, too parochial in its concern with American as opposed to international history, too narrow in its con-

centration on "what one government's clerk said to another" as opposed to the deeper cultural, social, and economic relations between peoples, and too elitist in its study of male WASP decision makers rather than the deeper domestic roots of American policy that would include women and minority constituencies. (See especially Charles S. Maier, "Marking Time: The Historiography of International Relations," in *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States*, Michael Kammen, ed. [1980], 385–87; and Christopher Thorne, "After the Europeans: American Designs for the Remaking of Southeast Asia," *Diplomatic History* 12 [Spring 1988], 201–08.)

The authors of these volumes have been among the leaders in correcting one or more of the field's shortcomings. All have been multiarchival and multilingual in their research. All have tried to assess the domestic roots of foreign policy in the United States and elsewhere. Moreover, all have gone well beyond narrow diplomatic history, especially Iriye in his emphasis on international cultural relations and LaFeber on international economic relations. But the field is still changing so rapidly that a summing up is very difficult. In addition, the advances in methodology and emphases have done little to mitigate another reason for the turmoil in the field, the continuation of deep ideological cleavages between diplomatic historians. Such cleavages, fully exemplified by these volumes, run counter to the perception of some historians that the field has mellowed into a "postrevisionism" that combines the best insights of the combatants into a mutually satisfactory melange.

Bradford Perkins's excellent essay on the period 1776 to 1865, an essay that is particularly strong in analyzing the precedents for future American policy set by the Constitution and other events of this epoch, approaches the subject from a classic realist viewpoint. As a realist he can be harshly critical of the United States and its leaders. Perkins calls Thomas Jefferson and James Madison inept failures, he regards Alexander Hamilton as near treasonous, and he accuses James K. Polk of purposely provoking the Mexican War. He points out that Americans preferred to annex land rather than people (especially people of different colors whom they did not want as part of the Union), but, unlike nationalist defenders of U.S. policy, he does not use this argument to minimize America's aggression by insisting that America was "expansionist" rather than "imperialist." Whereas he credits American imperialists with a willingness to admit new territories as equal states and with a sincere conviction that U.S. expansion increased the area of freedom and republicanism, he is contemptuous of American self-righteousness and states that the American rationale for expansion is difficult to treat with respect today. He insists that "the processes of American expansion underline the role of power rather than, as many citizens liked

to think, that of virtue or moral principle" (Perkins, p. 170).

Critical as Perkins is of American policy in these years, as a realist his criticisms are different in kind and intensity from those of revisionists. He assumes that, human nature being what it is, any strong nation would have expanded into the North American power vacuum if given the opportunity. He condemns not the fact that America expanded, but that it was so unrestrained in doing so. Unlike the revisionists, his criticisms of territorial expansionism do not extend to trade expansion except when Jefferson and Madison insisted on risking a major war to defend the reexport trade America was taking over from France during the Napoleonic wars. The heroes of his history are people like George Washington and John Adams, who respected the balance of power, showed moderation in pursuing America's interest, and thus avoided war. He implies that Polk is to be criticized not for trying to acquire Oregon and California but for risking or provoking war when more patient and peaceful measures might have accomplished similar purposes. And, while he denounces excessive expansionism, he can also reproach Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams for not gaining more of Canada during the peace negotiations that ended the American Revolution. Meanwhile, the primary victims of America's expansionism, Native Americans, receive rather little space in Perkins's account of U.S. foreign policy.

When Walter LaFeber takes up the story of American foreign relations in 1865, he shifts the focus drastically. His highly original and fascinating revisionist account stresses the domestic factors shaping U.S. foreign policy far more than Perkins does. LaFeber argues that American foreign policy was simply "the overseas representation of . . . domestic interests," which he characterizes as "the iron rule of the new corporation" established by such architects of the Second Industrial Revolution as Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Cyrus McCormick, J. P. Morgan, and E. H. Harriman (LaFeber, pp. 21–23). Thus, U.S. leaders sought markets abroad to relieve the glut of industrial products that were accumulating because of a twenty-five-year depression. This new American imperialism was different from that of the Europeans or Japanese in that it sought markets rather than territory, but LaFeber sees it as no less evil. The development of the capitalist economic machine was "awesomely destructive, especially when pushed by state powers" (LaFeber, pp. xiii–xiv). The new world order of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century capitalism was "horrifying, disordered, wasteful and destructive" (p. 39).

Contrary to Perkins, LaFeber spends a good deal of time spelling out the effects of American policy on its domestic victims as the federal government "invaded" parochial areas to integrate them into an industrializing railway-linked world. The need to compete in the international marketplace brought strikes and



bloodshed to the domestic marketplace. Combined with American racism it brought grief to Native Americans, women, African Americans, Asian immigrants, farmers, and laborers.

LaFeber also describes the effects of American policy on peoples abroad. In the most original thesis of his essay, he asserts that the United States, rather than seeking to protect order and the status quo abroad as most historians aver, instead sought trade and economic opportunity regardless of the chaos and revolution such a policy produced. Only after creating havoc did America seek to restore order so as to renew opportunities for further economic expansion. Thus, for instance, William Howard Taft's policies "perfectly illustrate the quest for overseas markets that were needed to deal with the requirements of the Second Industrial Revolution . . . and how that quest led to disorder and even revolution" (LaFeber, p. 233). Taft's dollar diplomacy used dollars not as a substitute but as a supplement for bullets. By forcing other nations to accept trade on terms favorable to America, the United States played a role, often a "determinative" role, in producing revolts in Russia, China, Mexico, Cuba, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Panama, El Salvador, and Hawaii.

In this essay, LaFeber makes his points far more bluntly than he has in his other recent works. There is little or no ambiguity. LaFeber offers no discussion of any moral reasons Grover Cleveland might have had for rejecting Hawaiian annexation. He asserts that William McKinley had no choice but to fight Spain because the post-Civil War system required it. Between 1906 and 1912, he argues, "the United States set out to create disorder in Central America, especially in El Salvador, Honduras, and, above all, Nicaragua" (LaFeber, p. 218). Twentieth-century presidential power grew because U.S. economic and foreign policy produced so much disorder that a powerful president was necessary to exploit or stop it. Such power was necessary because the attempt to compete in the international market required "not order, but cheap labor, cheap capital, and hard-driving managers" (LaFeber, p. 40).

After reading this denunciation of American foreign policy in pursuit of trade expansion, the reader will find it a shock to turn to Akira Iriye's account of "The Globalizing of America" from 1913 to 1945. Iriye praises many of the things LaFeber condemns, especially international trade and America's support of it. Iriye sees America's attempt to internationalize economic along with security and cultural affairs as a positive step toward a peaceful world. For instance, Iriye directly contradicts LaFeber by saying that Taft's dollar diplomacy was intended to bring stability and prosperity to Asia and Latin America by using dollars rather than bullets. Iriye also argues that America became more involved in Asia not so much out of economic interest but because the United States was the only power capable of influencing the acrimonious quarrel between Japan and China.

The hero of Iriye's volume is Woodrow Wilson, the ultimate liberal Open Door imperialist of LaFeber's revisionists and the epitome of excessive idealism for Perkins's realists. Iriye argues that Wilson's intervention in Latin America was different from European imperialism because it was for political reform. He says nothing of economic motives or of idealistic overreaching. He sees Wilson's motives for intervening in Siberia as simply the rescue of the Czech legion. He attributes Wilson's policy in Eastern Europe to the president's belief in self-determination without mentioning his willingness to delay recognition in hopes of wooing Austria-Hungary from its German alliance. He has rather kind words for Wilson's mandate system as an attempt to extend national self-determination to the non-Western world. In sum, he sees the Treaty of Versailles and Wilsonianism in general as generous attempts to combine America's military power, economic resources, and cultural initiatives to transcend traditional world affairs in which sovereign nations had pursued their interests with little regard for the welfare of the entire globe. He argues that realists have unfairly criticized Wilson for a policy that was not so much idealism as an internationalism "solidly grounded on shared interests of nations and on aspirations of men and women everywhere transcending national boundaries" (Iriye, p. 72).

Iriye praises Wilson's corporatist Republican successors for their attempts to continue the Democrat's internationalist policies with measures such as the Dawes Plan, debt settlements, and adoption of the gold standard. He sees American foreign investment as something that "contributed to world economic recovery and development." American investment encouraged a business civilization that sought "understanding and harmony" among nations weary of geopolitics and ideological crusades. American investment also played a beneficent role in bringing China, Mexico, and others into the global economy (Iriye, pp. 95-96, 101). He regrets only that the rising American tariff and more restrictive immigration policy made the United States less open to foreign goods and people than it should have been.

Iriye sees the Depression of 1929 as responsible for world intellectual leadership passing from the Frederick Taylors and Henry Fords, "who spoke the language of universally valid principles," to the Charles Beards, Franklin Roosevelts, and Father Charles Coughlins, who emphasized domestic needs (Iriye, p. 129). He welcomes the revival of Theodore Roosevelt's realist "power-political" thought in the 1930s only because it helped generate opposition to Japan and Germany. He praises the elements of Wilsonianism in Franklin Roosevelt's essentially power-political arrangements and seems to believe that an extension of those cooperative elements by Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin could have prevented the Cold War.

As Warren Cohen picks up the story of American foreign policy during the Cold War, he seems to be



trying to mediate between the conflicting views of the other authors in a good example of postrevisionist impartiality. Cohen blames both sides almost equally for the Cold War. He presumes that although Stalin was ruthless, he was also cautious, and that therefore the Americans and Soviets could have gotten along were it not for "the security dilemma." Cohen, borrowing heavily from Melvyn Leffler's recent monograph, *A Preponderance of Power* (1992), defines the security dilemma as one in which actions taken by one side to increase its own security automatically and inadvertently decreases the security of the other. He then proceeds to examine the major events of the Cold War from the American, the Soviet, and sometimes the Chinese perspective to show how the great powers misunderstood one another.

On the one hand, for instance, Franklin Roosevelt "blundered" by rejecting Soviet participation in the surrender of the German Army in Italy, of which Stalin was "naturally" suspicious (Cohen, p. 16). On the other hand, Stalin inflicted Soviet control on Poland "with less subtlety than that of the American machine politicians whom Roosevelt had expected Stalin to emulate" (Cohen, p. 17). Meanwhile, Soviet dominance in the rest of Eastern Europe was matched with America's "comparably arbitrary behavior" in Japan (Cohen, p. 25).

Despite the suspicions these actions aroused, they did not involve a conflict of vital security interests until the West began to strengthen Germany. This policy, as embodied in the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, constituted a "sound, measured, manageable set of steps" toward preserving U.S. interests and keeping Western Europe from collapsing. The Soviets, however, regarded a strong Germany as a mortal threat. At the same time, American leaders who were prepared to concede the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe were worried that Soviet actions in Iran, Turkey, and Greece, along with later defensive moves to shore up the Eastern European sphere in Czechoslovakia and Berlin, indicated a possible Soviet intent to dominate the Eurasian continent. That intent was confirmed for many Americans by North Korea's attack on South Korea, a result of Stalin's misjudgment in supporting Kim Il Sung's decision to invade. From that point on, the United

States and the Soviet Union escalated the Cold War to an ideologically driven militarized and globalized confrontation.

As far as Cohen is concerned, some of these actions of the Soviets and Americans were "predictable" because, when there is a chance to expand national influence, "historically . . . nations have seized the [opportunities]" (Cohen, p. 56). The conflict escalated and became more dangerous, however, because of two unique circumstances: the immense brutality of the Soviet regime and the need for American leaders to magnify the Soviet threat to win popular support for what were often properly limited goals. Exaggeration of the Soviet threat threw political power into the hands of anticommunist demagogues who were militant opponents of social justice and who left little room for the nuances between Soviets and Chinese or between communists and nationalists.

As even-handed as Cohen and other postrevisionists try to be, however, they satisfy neither the revisionists nor more conservative historians. For all of Cohen's emphasis on American economic interests in seeking international trade, convertible currency, and economic hegemony, he still sides essentially with the realists in seeing American economic influence as relatively generous, in putting security and balance of power issues above economic ones, and in concluding that "despite the many failings of the United States, there was no doubt that the world, for all its misery, was a better place than it would have been without American resistance to Joseph Stalin's vision" (Cohen, pp. 260–61). Revisionists reject that argument out of hand. (Bruce Cumings, "'Revising Postrevisionism,' or, The Poverty of Theory in Diplomatic History," *Diplomatic History* 17 [Fall 1993].) So do conservatives, who believe that the Soviets were aggressive rather than cautious and that only America's hard line contained them, brought their bankruptcy, and ended the Cold War. Sorry, Virginia, I'm afraid there is no postrevisionism. But there is an excellent series of essays in *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations* that will illustrate the continuing arguments over past U.S. foreign policy.

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WILLIAM H. CHAFE, *Never Stop Running: Allard Lowenstein and the Struggle to Save American Liberalism*. New York: Basic Books. 1993. Pp. xix, 556. \$28.00.

A white (uncomfortably) Jewish male, Cold War liberal, activist, mentor to many young men, probably gay, charismatic, frenzied, Allard Lowenstein was an important political figure in the postwar period, especially during the late 1950s and 1960s. Born in 1929 in New York City, he was murdered there by a

former radical protégé in 1980. His assassin was insane, but, given the subtitle to William H. Chafe's biography, it seems symbolic of the fate of liberalism that a 1960s radical murdered Lowenstein, the quintessential liberal. Lowenstein was part of an in-between generation, between the old and new Lefts, a

young adult in the late 1940s and 1950s and not the 1960s, but in his quest for a democratic America, his constituency was always college students. He worked with young people (men mainly) because he was attracted to them and they were malleable and available to his message, organizing them into the liberal wing, in contrast to the radical Left, or "sliding off into the lunatic fringe" (William O'Neill, *Coming Apart* [1971], 361) of the civil rights, student, and antiwar movements. He was always afraid that "those more radical than he would prevail" (Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties* [1987], 296) and organized against Left and New Left perspectives and individuals as energetically as he did in favor of working within the system. He was an ardent individualist and peripatetic anti-communist organizer of campaigns to use the system to make liberal capitalism work. His idols were Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, Frank Porter Graham (liberal president of the University of North Carolina when Lowenstein was an undergraduate in the late 1940s), and Robert F. Kennedy. The National Student Association (of which he was president in 1950–51 and which linked him indirectly or directly to the CIA), Americans for Democratic Action, and the Democratic Party help to locate him in postwar America.

Lowenstein believed that America could be made better through individual will, mainly his: people had only to follow his leadership and get involved in mainstream politics (vote, register voters, campaign, lobby politicians, become politicians). There was no questioning of capitalism or the sources of economic inequality. Although Lowenstein never found a mass base or stable constituency, politics were his life.

In 1966, at the age of thirty-seven, Lowenstein married a woman fifteen years his junior; they had three children. His political activity and difficulties with intimacy contributed to the break-up of his marriage ten years later. Allard Lowenstein was driven. He went to South Africa and wrote a book against apartheid, crossed the country ceaselessly, speaking mainly on campuses, never had a regular job (he was supported by his father), was involved in the 1963 and 1964 Mississippi Freedom votes (claiming he devised the strategy), and eventually broke with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee for being too radical and tolerating communists (and they with him for being an intrusive and elitist northern liberal). Lowenstein is best known perhaps for organizing the successful 1967–68 "Dump Johnson" campaign as a way to end the war in Vietnam. He worked ambivalently for Eugene McCarthy and wholeheartedly in Robert Kennedy's campaign for president, was devastated by Kennedy's assassination, was a congressman for a term, and ran for office unsuccessfully throughout the 1970s. Chafe argues that by the end of his life at age fifty-one, in many eyes a sad figure, he was nevertheless beginning to stop running, consider his priorities, and deal with his homosexuality.

Ethnicity, gender, and sexual preference were powerful factors in his story, although he never acknowledged them. As Chafe tells it, Lowenstein's frantic life can be explained by an unbearably pressured childhood and adulthood in which his humorless, disappointed, immigrant father and stepmother poured all their hopes and high aspirations into him (sounding in their letters and exhortations for all the world like a Dale Carnegie primer for success), the late-discovered secret that his stepmother was not his biological mother, his confused—another secret—sexuality, status strivings, and enormous drive and talents. At the center of this dynamo of political activity, according to Chafe, was a man tortured by anxiety and lack of confidence regarding his physical appearance, Jewishness, and sexuality. Although books on the 1960s have only sparse references to him, numerous, perhaps hundreds, of young men were changed by Allard Lowenstein. An inspiring speaker who powerfully influenced his young listeners, he usually chose young, good-looking WASP protégés whom he flattered, tutored, changed, and desperately needed. He converted young people to political activism, unquestionably one of his finest achievements. But, unable to tolerate disagreement, a striking flaw, he could not maintain the relationship when his disciples became too radical or questioned him. He demanded devotion to his leadership and person, needing to be recognized, powerful, adored perhaps, and certainly served. Many fell away or became embittered in the process of growing up (David Harris, *Dreams Die Hard* [1982]).

I would have hated him. Women were not high on his list of interests (although he had devoted women friends). Nor were New Leftists. Or feminists.

Lowenstein's was a male scene. He hung out with young men, operated in a male political world, challenged many of the infatuated to wrestle him. (Wrestle him? They were twenty years old and he was thirty-five or forty, and after long political discussions he would inevitably challenge them to wrestle!) He expected his protégés to taxi him around to speaking engagements and meetings and, in some cases, function as his valet, and they felt special by being among the chosen. There was clearly an erotic component to the relationships, in some cases physical although apparently not explicitly sexual.

Years ago I became fascinated with white male activists' memoirs and accounts of the 1960s. Chafe's book, of course, is a biography, yet the similarities are striking: the subjects all share a sense of power and effectiveness. What impresses one about Lowenstein is that success in the world accompanied the self-hatred and self-doubt. He was an egomaniac (Chafe's term). Despite, or constitutive of, his tortured sexuality, he was unmistakably masculine in his sense of efficacy. Lowenstein was a man with secrets; he repressed his sexual attraction to young men, was perhaps miserable, a 1950s person really, but he managed to function dynamically in the political

arena. Brimming with intensity, drive, and talent, he was plagued by deep insecurities and erratic behavior, had no job or career other than unofficial politician and activist, could not settle down, and manipulated people, especially the young whom he wooed. But Lowenstein was not incapacitated by his sense of inadequacy; in fact he was voraciously ambitious and harnessed that ambition to become a powerful public figure respected by politicians, celebrities, and young people.

So many talented women of his generation were damaged by narrow feminine expectations for women and by the frightened, secretive 1950s. Many who had careers or aspirations were plagued by self-doubt about their abilities. But the privileged and masculine expectations directed at Lowenstein, rarely directed at women, inflated his ego and aspirations, driving him to succeed in the public sphere where he thrived, even though he was barely presentable sardoniously, always late, often inconsiderate, and demanding. A woman could not have gotten away with that, could not have deflected her insecurities into a political career filled with devoted young fans.

Perhaps one had to experience his charisma in person, but, as a former female white New Leftist and a feminist, I do not find Lowenstein inspiring. Chafe clearly does, as did so many during the 1960s, presenting with great skill, care, and respect a complicated man and his times. Lowenstein and this admirable book are interesting for what we learn about American liberalism, although Chafe never addresses whether Lowenstein's failures were postwar liberalism's failures. They were. The obsession with communism at home and abroad, support of American foreign interventions, caving in to the military, assumption that economic equality and racial justice could be had by all through free enterprise instead of building a real welfare state, embrace of conservative

programs and values, worship of corporate growth and prosperity at any price, and, in Lowenstein's case, commitment to individual will as the engine of change were among liberalism's weaknesses.

Lowenstein hated the New Left. His anticommunism and antiradicalism were early and sustained passions; one can not help but wonder why they ran so deep. His love of Bobby Kennedy, which he shared with other 1960s white male political activists, mystifies me: why did they love Bobby so much? Perhaps because he changed, seemed to come around; because he was a ruling class man who became interested in Left and liberal perspectives, and in them. Perhaps because he reminded them of themselves: they could fantasize themselves in his place. I state these views self-consciously, aware that many have accused the New Left of undermining liberalism and that I am reiterating New Left analyses. But, notwithstanding Dennis Sweeney's literal and symbol-laden murder of Allard Lowenstein, liberalism undid itself by failures of nerve and imagination. I am aware, too, that the Democrats are all "we" have now and so I say these things gingerly.

It is difficult not to feel sorry for a man who cared deeply about many people, dedicated his life to making the United States a more just place, and was murdered by a former white protégé whom he had recruited from Stanford to Mississippi. At the same time, liberalism's weaknesses are muted in Chafe's heartfelt biography of Allard Lowenstein. He was a man whose life clarifies, perhaps in more ways than Chafe intended, why, by the late 1960s and beyond, black and white radical anger flourished and the women's and gay liberation movements were under-way.

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## Reviews of Books

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### GENERAL

DANIEL SHANAHAN. *Toward a Genealogy of Individualism*. (Critical Perspectives on Modern Culture.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1992. Pp. x, 158. \$25.00.

Daniel Shanahan intends to offer a new approach to the subject of individualism, one that differs from what he calls the "traditional" approach of authors such as David Riesman, Louis Dumont, and Steven Lukes, and from the "transformational" criticisms of Marxists and postmodernists. After a brief chapter of definition, six chapters trace the development of individualism from antiquity through early Christianity, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Reformation, "The Age of Individualism" (roughly the Enlightenment through romanticism), and into the modern era of "authenticity." The final two chapters, "Escaping from the Labyrinth of the Self" and "Beyond Individualism," present a critique of individualism and suggestions for transcending its shortcomings. This is a good deal to cram into 135 pages, even for an introductory and interpretive work.

Shanahan criticizes the traditional approach for its "psychological naiveté" as well as for its narrowness in focusing on social institutions and political philosophy. In some respects his own definition of individualism is both narrower and less differentiated than that of Lukes, for example, who distinguished eleven different usages of the term and found four of them central to modern ideals of individual liberty and equality. Shanahan defines individualism simply as "*that system of beliefs in which the individual is not only given direct status and value but becomes the final arbiter of truth*" (p. 3; italics in original). He is right, however, in suggesting that Lukes ultimately wanted to establish theoretically the political and economic conditions necessary to promote what he regarded as true individualism. With all its troubling vagueness, Shanahan's definition is clearly concerned with the essentially philosophical question of the relationship of the individual self to fundamental values, an issue that he seems to see, although he does not say so explicitly, as theoretically prior to concrete political and economic arrangements. The emerging notion of the individual self as the sole foundation of values is for him the

ultimate condition of possibility of individualistic institutions. In his concern with the grounding of values, his enterprise parallels that of Charles Taylor's in *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (1989), a book, however, that Shanahan does not mention and does not seem to have engaged.

Like *Sources of the Self*, Shanahan's book is an intellectual history of the emergence of the modern conception of selfhood from antiquity to the present that focuses largely on the traditional canon of great ideas and thinkers. Like Taylor, Shanahan sees a major historical break point in the loss of belief in objective value with the decline of the theistic framework. Here, however, the resemblance ends. Taylor's conception of the modern self is complex and nuanced, and his analysis of its development is full of detailed and original comments on primary texts from Plato to Jürgen Habermas. Shanahan relies almost completely on a small handful of secondary works for the characterization of individualism in each period and gives brief summaries of each, beginning with Julian Jaynes's controversial thesis of the emergence of subjective consciousness from the bicameral mind in early antiquity, and proceeding to such writers as Erich Fromm, Paul Johnson, Colin Morris, Max Weber, Steven Lukes, and Lionel Trilling. In the highly schematic history of the self that results, Jaynes's self-conscious, metaphorically spatial "analog self" is seen as having been expanded by Christianity to the "authorized self," charged with individual responsibility for moral self-perfecting, hence having the power to fashion itself, and ultimately extended to the "empowered self" of modernity which at its most extreme, in twentieth-century existentialism, became the sole legislator of value.

There is nothing substantially new in this stringing together of existing accounts of stages of individuation. Indeed, by attributing such importance to Jaynes's sociobiological, that is, causal, notion of the origins of consciousness, Shanahan introduces logical incoherence into a narrative that otherwise documents products of consciousness—changing conceptualizations of the self's relation to value. Given the book's brevity, Shanahan inevitably skates over important controversies in the interpretations of the periods he discusses, oversimplifies ideas sometimes to the point of distor-



tion, and leaves out topics crucial to his subject. He says almost nothing, for example, about the concept of reason in Western thought, although, as Taylor demonstrated, the evolution from substantive to instrumental reason is crucial to our modern understanding of which truths we think purely individual consciousness can and cannot arbitrate. When he writes that the Romantic self is "not only the author of itself, its powers of perception make it the virtual author of the universe" (p. 92), he so homogenizes the complex dialectic of romanticism that the kernel of truth in his characterization turns into the virtual opposite. At times compression seems to force him into apparent contradiction: on the same page he writes of Sigmund Freud that "the needs of the self are at the center of psychoanalysis" and that Freud "might even be termed anti-individualistic" (p. 105).

Shanahan's self-differentiation from existing critical approaches to individualism rests on equally shaky ground. It is based on his use of Jaynes, but his apparent unawareness of the fundamentally unhistorical nature of Jaynes's thesis leads him into confusion. Thus, he dismisses the Marxist characterization of individualism as a "bourgeois fiction," insisting instead that "individualism was a technology developed in response to a universal need that emerged as early civilizations proved themselves too inflexible to maintain coherence as size increased" (p. 9). Yet he also approvingly cites Marx as the chief source of the argument that individualism is not universal but rather a distinctive feature of the Western intellectual tradition, and he adopts what he acknowledges is an essentially Marxist perspective in arguing that the central error of modern individualism is its false (ideological?) posing of an inevitable conflict between self and society. These confusions stem in part also from Shanahan's desire to find a standpoint that will allow him to defend individualism while attacking and trying to rectify its flaws, a common enough enterprise these days. His specific suggestions bear the marks of contemporary disillusion with Marxist remedies, but they are somewhat trite and display the problems characteristic of the work. One suggestion is to look to the potentially beneficent influence of non-Western traditions that emphasize communal rather than individualistic norms. Unfortunately, the first of these two examples of exemplary non-Western traditions is from a book on the Catholic culture of Latin American countries. A second suggestion relies on a study of children living on both sides of the Mexican-American border that shows stronger diffusion of Mexican values among Anglo children than the other way. This result encourages Shanahan to hope that individualism itself "may have provided sufficient ego strength to allow those who live in its domain to selectively assimilate aspects of pluralistic cultures they now encounter" (p. 135). Because he does not concern himself with the economic and social underpinnings of individualism, however, he

does not discuss how cultural diffusion might modify the structural pressures of individualistic institutions.

At best this book is a primer on its subject. It might be recommended as such if the reader observes due caution with regard to its interpretive and prescriptive oversimplifications.

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JOHN CHRISTIAN LAURSEN. *The Politics of Skepticism in the Ancients, Montaigne, Hume, and Kant*. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 35.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1992. Pp. 253. \$71.50.

It is fitting that John Christian Laursen's learned and often penetrating examination of the relationship between early modern skeptical traditions of argument and liberal politics should appear in Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, one of whose editors, Richard Popkin, occupies the most prominent place among students of the great skeptical revival initiated by the translations of Sextus Empiricus by Henri Estienne and Gentian Hervet in the 1560s. Building on what has become a considerable body of scholarship indebted to Popkin's pioneering work, Laursen seeks to uncover what he claims is an unacknowledged historical relationship between skepticism and modern liberalism by way of examining the political thought of Montaigne, Hume, and Kant.

After an inventory of the textual remains of the classical Pyrrhonian and Academic strands of skeptical philosophy, one which can serve as an introduction to the subject for non-specialists, Laursen critically reviews the continuing debate among contemporary philosophers, most notably Miles Burnyeat and Jonathan Barnes, about the objects and status of skeptical challenges to dogmatic traditions of epistemology and moral philosophy, and about the possibility of the skeptic's coherently leading a life devoid of cognitive and ethical certainty. Laursen's object is, first, to show that although skepticism in its classical form had little directly to say about political life, certain skeptical ideas and practices have important implications for attitudes, strategies, and actions in the public realm; and, second, by drawing out the political implications of recent philosophical debate, he argues that the standard question, "Can the skeptic live his skepticism?" can usefully be rephrased as a question of political philosophy: "Can skeptics live a skeptical politics?"

The central chapters of Laursen's book, some of which have previously appeared in abbreviated form as journal articles, can profitably be read as free-standing inquiries into the skeptical sources and strategies of Montaigne, Hume, and Kant. Taken together, however, they are not only meant to enlarge our understanding of these figures from the point of view of the skeptical tradition, and to emphasize the



continuing importance of this tradition in the Enlightenment and beyond, but also to argue that the skeptical practices of these three thinkers should properly be understood as providing adequate foundations for a modern skeptical liberalism. After placing Montaigne's career within the range of Hellenistic skeptical traditions, Laursen carefully works through the various revisions of the *Essais* to establish the existence of strong anti-Stoical implications in Montaigne's political stance. The acceptance of Pyrrhonian rules for living, as he sees it, encouraged in Montaigne a vision of politics that entails an anti-quietist morality of opposition to cruelty and intolerance and a skeptical individualism at times surprisingly subversive of the authority of tradition. Laursen similarly seeks to counter the view that Hume endorses a conservative politics by treating his philosophy of custom and politics of opinion as skeptically informed consequences of a science of man in which vocabularies of politeness, manners, and opinion play a central, and implicitly liberal, role. Laursen's final two essays on Kant are his most original and rewarding. In showing how Kant's pre-critical and critical periods are connected by attempts to come to terms with skeptical arguments, Laursen offers perhaps the best short account to date of Kant's defense of a politics of publicity, one in which intellectual freedom and open communication within an enlarged public sphere emerge as necessary foundations of any enlightened polity.

Although a relatively short book, Laursen's study is a scrupulous work of enormous intellectual ambition, informed by a lightly worn familiarity with the relevant scholarship in all major European languages. Readers may be disappointed with Laursen's compressed and incomplete account of the philosophical foundations and civil requirements of a liberal state and therefore remain unpersuaded by his largest claims. But they will find themselves challenged and rewarded by many of the essays in this admirable work of philosophically grounded history and historically sensitive political theory.

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G. R. ELTON. *Return to Essentials: Some Reflections on the Present State of Historical Study*. (The Cook Lectures Delivered at the University of Michigan, 1990.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 128. \$29.95.

This book by G. R. Elton fits comfortably into a genre: distinguished elder statesman examines the nature of history and falls on his face. Two of the reprinted essays in this volume are inaugural lectures delivered in England in 1968 and 1984. They have been included not only because they show the continuity of Elton's reflections on history but also, in part, because "they help to provide a little more body to the

volume" (p. ix). The earlier lecture was delivered without a script and with very few notes and is fundamentally the verbatim tape of what was said. It is about the study of English history but has almost no coherence or substance. The lecture from 1984 concerns the teaching of English history in England. It makes the case for the justifiability of this practice.

Three more connected essays, the Cook Lectures at the University of Michigan from 1990, begin the volume. In the first of these Elton denies the claims of grand theoreticians, mainly Marxists and followers of Arnold Toynbee, to understand the past. The second lecture takes on various new influences: Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Hans-Georg Gadamer, and the like. The final lecture reasserts the verities of traditional narrative history and offers a few sensible prescriptions for its study.

I am sympathetic to the full range of Elton's claims, but with friends like him you don't need enemies. One can be an excellent swimmer without being able to describe how to swim. Elton may be a great historian, but he does not have much sense of how to analyze the craft.

Here is one example of many confusions. Elton conflates two senses of the concept of law: the word as it is used in philosophy and in science to describe a behavioral regularity, and "law" as it is used to describe those stipulations that prescribe conduct in various societies. The latter notion may have a compelling force on some citizens (they obey the law). Elton argues that because this force exists, scholars who look for laws in history (in the first sense) deny free will to human beings (pp. 6-8).

Much of Elton's reasoning is simply derogatory invective, sometimes quite funny. One sort of *ad hominem* argument running through the lectures appealed to me. Many of Elton's adversaries are academics who actually have not written much history, having perhaps only published their dissertation or worked in literary studies. Their ideas can be dismissed, Elton implies, because they have not had the experience of writing history and so cannot be expected to comprehend it. In the cases Elton cites, his conclusion, I believe, is true even if it does not follow from his premise. The trouble is, as Elton himself demonstrates, writing a lot of good history is no guarantee that you can explain how it is done.

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HERBERT APPLEBAUM. *The Concept of Work: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern*. (SUNY Series in the Anthropology of Work.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 645. Cloth \$74.50, paper \$24.50.

In this work, Herbert Applebaum seeks to compress into a single volume the parallel histories of work and of thinking about work in Western Europe. Part 1 is

devoted to ancient Greece and Rome, part 2 to the Middle Ages, and part 3 to "Work in the Modern World." This last section, covering the period 1500–1990, concludes with several chapters that focus on certain developments in the late twentieth century deemed fundamental to the "modern" conceptualization of work: rapid technological change, "consumerism," and the emergence of leisure as an alternative to work. Applebaum ends with a brief discussion of the interaction among these developments and their implications for the future of work and the work ethic.

Although the general scheme of his book is chronological, Applebaum, who has previously published comparative studies of work in premarket and market societies, is an anthropologist, not a historian. Essentially, this book consists of summary accounts of varying length that tell us what a rather arbitrary sampling of authors, most of them not "workers" themselves, had to say about work since the days of Homer. In the earlier sections, Applebaum tries to relate the ideas about work of his thinkers to the nature of work in their societies, and to help the reader understand the perspective from which they viewed the subject.

As we approach the present, and although (or perhaps because) Applebaum deals with a growing number and variety of writers, we are told less and less about the personal and social context of their ideas. About some authors, Applebaum supplies a great deal of biographical information, much of it irrelevant detail. We do not really need to know that Francis Bacon's mother Ann "was noted for her erudition" (p. 343). About other writers, we are given no background information at all. Discussing Karl Marx without placing him into context may be excusable, given the amount of readily available biographical material on him. But it would have been useful had Applebaum told us something about, for example, Adriano Tilgher, author of *Work: What It Has Meant to Man through the Ages* (1930). Not only does Applebaum draw heavily on Tilgher's pathbreaking study throughout but also, in the chapter on the twentieth century, Tilgher appears in his own right (together with Thorstein Veblen, Henri Bergson, Hendrick de Man, Hannah Arendt, and Pope John Paul II) as someone with important things to say about work in modern society. Yet we learn nothing whatsoever about Tilgher as an individual.

Applebaum also fails to make clear what criteria he applied when he decided which thinkers to cover, and at what length. For example, one wonders why he chose to allot more pages to de Man's dated psychological analysis of the factors promoting and inhibiting joy in work than to Marx's thoughts on alienated labor.

It is evident that Applebaum has read and learned from the writings of an incredible number of individuals who have expounded on the topic of work through the ages. He has also made extensive use of the secondary English-language literature on work

and on the ideology of work. As a historian (and one of those whose work he generously cites) I would, however, have wished that he had subjected his sources to more critical analysis. Too often, Applebaum, after presenting his own description of a thinker's views, introduces, without comment, a series of (sometimes contradictory) accounts or appraisals composed by others. Apart from leading to a great deal of repetition, this practice leaves the reader confused about what Applebaum himself thinks, or what he wants us to come away with.

Through the years, Applebaum has amassed a huge quantity of fascinating information. He introduces the fruits of his efforts to the reader in an ordered fashion, using everyday language. I do not believe, however, that many readers, even those who, like myself, share his belief in the central importance of work, will have the fortitude to follow his trail from beginning to end. A plodding style (the text badly needs careful editing and proofreading) and the absence of a clear authorial voice make reading the study a chore. Those interested in particular periods or thinkers will certainly want to consult this book, but to achieve clarity they will then need to search out the original sources for themselves. Readers wishing to track the history of particular concepts through the book will be hampered by the spottiness of the index.

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RICHARD A. GABRIEL and KAREN S. METZ. *A History of Military Medicine*. Volume 1, *From Ancient Times to the Middle Ages*; volume 2, *From the Renaissance through Modern Times*. Foreword by JOHN KEEGAN. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 124.) New York: Greenwood. 1992. Pp. xxi, 247; xxi, 304. \$75.00; \$65.00.

Warfare has had a profound impact on the development of medicine in the West, while the medical ability to ameliorate some of the suffering caused by situations of extreme violence has helped people to keep fighting. The treatment of wounds, the development of hospitals for the sick and injured, the formulation of rules of public health, the rise of modern health care systems such as the Veteran's Administration in the United States and the National Health System in England, the organization of the Red Cross and the negotiation of the Geneva conventions, the investigation of tropical diseases, the furthering of research on all sorts of remedies (from salves to transfusions to penicillin), the professionalization of female nursing, the establishment of qualifications for regular medical practice, and the growth of specialities such as neurology, psychology, and aerospace medicine: these and many more aspects of modern medicine have been greatly influenced by the need to keep the soldiers, sailors, and civilians who support them healthy. This is not a book to raise such

matters, let alone to weigh them, however. Richard A. Gabriel and Karen S. Metz instead limit their survey to the development of a professional military medical service from the archaic period to the present.

Little can be gained for military or medical history by looking for the origins of a professional military medical service before the early modern period, even in the case of the Romans. Conceptualizing military medicine in terms of the first appearance of special personnel trained to treat wounds or prevent disease ("trained combat medics") for the purpose of "reducing manpower losses caused by enemy fire" (vol. 1, p. 2) necessarily makes for anachronisms. The authors pay little or no attention to what the soldiers and officers might have done medically for one another, or to how local people and camp followers might have helped the sick and injured (if and when they did); and they say virtually nothing about the changing manpower needs of military organizations. The volumes are nevertheless devoted mainly to the period before the time when their analytical categories begin to make sense: the first volume begins with the Sumerians and concludes with the European Middle Ages; only after about a hundred pages into the second volume do we encounter what military historians have called "professional" military organizations and their medical attendants in the eighteenth century.

As convinced as they are that their presentist categories are sufficient for analysis, the authors are willing to fit all sorts of information and speculation into their framework. For example, the wounds mentioned in the *Iliad* are tabulated and compared to modern casualty rates as if the epic poem were a battle report; and they even read the religious dictates of *Leviticus* as evidence of "the first organized military medical sanitary corps" (vol. 1, p. 111). Their text consequently shows a lack of an informed grasp of either the documents they mention or the history of the cultures they discuss. The problems range from minor to major, and they crop up repeatedly. For instance, the authors naively insist that treating the different civilizations of the ancient world separately is not a matter of convenience but a reflection of the fact that they commonly "existed side by side without being aware of each other" (vol. 1, p. xx); their account of the consequences of medieval bubonic plague is astoundingly simple-minded; they suggest that Napoleon's army used "factories" as hospitals in an age before continental industrialization; they are content with syntax such as "it is no accident that both Edwin Klebs and Robert Koch were also Germans" (vol. 2, p. 154); the story of Henri Dunant, the Red Cross, and the Geneva Convention is hopelessly confused (and reduced to a single paragraph); the U.S. Army's work on yellow fever after the conquest of Cuba is given cryptic passing mention, and Sir Ronald Ross's proof that mosquitoes can transmit malaria is not even mentioned. Even when one gets to the chapters on twentieth-century war-

fare, the account remains anecdotal and loosely thrown together rather than engaging in any serious discussion of how, when, and why military organizations developed the kinds of medical infrastructures they did.

Moreover, Gabriel and Metz clearly show little understanding of the history of medical ideas and practices: they place the appearance of the circulatory system anachronistically in the ancient world, and they repeatedly, strenuously, and wrongly insist that with the end of ancient civilization tight bandaging of wounds became the norm "until at least World War I" (vol. 1, p. 150). Elementary information about many of the great names of Western medical history are garbled: they transform the great philosopher-physician Galen into a surgeon, and discuss the inventor of the stethoscope, Laennec, under the name "Laennec." Perhaps it is unnecessary to mention that an aggressive teleology and naive grasp of the history and philosophy of science and medicine also mar the work. Empiricism, professionalism, and specialization are admirable, while religion and superstition prevent the forward march of humanity; philosophy is mainly bad but sometimes helpful, depending on what suits the authors' purposes at the moment. The bibliography is long, but it does not contain some of the best modern studies dealing with military medicine. They even comment in a note that David M. Vess's dissertation on French military medicine during the revolution "deserves to see public print" (vol. 2, p. 207) without realizing that it was published in 1975 (*Medical Revolution in France, 1789-1796*).

The result is a work of such crude history, slapdash writing, factual inaccuracy, and rampant speculation that these volumes will be worse than useless, despite the eminent names praising the work on the dust-jacket blurbs and authoring a foreword: they are positively misleading. The authors conclude that the destructive capabilities of modern warfare have outpaced the abilities of medicine to "provide the kind of survival assistance that the modern soldier has come to expect." But to support that view, it would be better to have a study of modern military medicine than a misinformed survey. It is quite unfortunate that the first work to review this important subject since Fielding Garrison's *Notes on the History of Military Medicine* (1922) is not better conceived, especially given the exorbitant price.

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JERRY H. BENTLEY. *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 220. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$14.95.

Jerry H. Bentley has given us a sound and even exciting addition to the growing literature on the

premodern world system. Globalization in the contemporary world can be seen as taking place along three dimensions: the political, the economic, and the cultural (see Leslie Sklair, *The Sociology of the Global System* [1991]). The same distinction may be needed in evaluating narratives of the premodern world. In this trinity of explanatory "causes," Bentley comes down squarely on the side of culture, although he uses this tool not as a hammer but rather as a subtle shuttle for some detailed and complex weaving.

Until fairly recently, global histories of premodern times were heavily focused on political and military empires, which may account for the error Immanuel Wallerstein (*The Modern World-System*, vol. 1 [1974]) made when he claimed that before the sixteenth century there were only world empires, not world economies making up a singular world-system in which trade and an international division of labor yielded an increasingly globalized system. It has been the task of other scholars to support the primacy Wallerstein gave to economic factors, but to argue that such world economies were found much earlier and in non-European places (see the works of Kajsa Ekholm, Philip Curtin, as well as my own). These studies demonstrated that at a number of times and places in the premodern period, complex interregional, if not international, trading systems developed whose range far exceeded that of any empire.

Building on these works, but paying far more attention to ideological, religious, and cultural forces, Bentley gives us a reconceptualization of the global system, primarily between A.D. 800 and 1500 but with slight glances backward to even earlier moments of international connectedness. There are considerable strengths in his detailed, if somewhat discursive, text. First, Bentley's approach is admirable in its non-Eurocentrism. This allows him to give the Mongols, the Arabs, the Ottomans, the Indians, and the Chinese credit for their accomplishments and permits him to reconceptualize the period between A.D. 600 and 1000 (despite its association with the Dark Ages) as being more active than any previous period in history (p. 110).

Second, he argues convincingly, using copious illustrations, that the world's "great" religions played central roles not only in spreading cultural patterns but also in channeling trade and shaping political alliances in the premodern world. Using paths of religious conversion and selective migratory movements of traders, jurists, and priests as his most powerful explanatory variables, he reminds us secularists that we cannot afford to ignore religious factors if we are to understand the causes and consequences of the specific geographical expansions that shaped global patterns over centuries of fluidity and change. If Lewis B. Namier was right in calling religion the nationalism of the premodern world, then Bentley is clearly right in treating religion(s) as the cultural capital of the premodern age. He does this with finesse, always stressing the interrelationship

among the three dimensions of politics, economy, and culture, and being ever sensitive to the two processes of acculturation and assimilation that occur whenever powerful systems meet.

I have only two criticisms, neither of which should keep readers from this fine work. The first concerns Bentley's tendency to be somewhat uncritical in accepting sources of dubious provenance or bias when they prove his point. The second concerns the concluding pages of the last chapter, where Bentley steps beyond the boundaries of his period and, to my mind, actually undermines the theoretical premises he has worked so hard and so eruditely to establish in preceding chapters. He attributes the "rise of the west" in the post-fifteenth century period to two factors: technological superiority and biological immunities. These are so inconsistent with his earlier arguments that they constitute an anticlimax in an otherwise exciting book. If there is to be a second edition, I recommend that he either expand this section in a manner more consistent with his thesis or, better yet, omit this weak coda entirely.

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DAVID E. STANNARD. *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 358. \$26.00.

There is no satisfying explanation for the destruction during the last 500 years of millions of Indians and a great multitude of Native American cultures. Hopefully, we will never be satisfied with any "explanation" of how one individual—never mind a dozen or a hundred—could slaughter pregnant women or children. This was, in part, the American holocaust, as was the introduction of Old World pathogens and numerous European institutions that starved, enslaved, overworked, and simply murdered Native Americans. David E. Stannard focuses on these latter institutions and, perhaps more importantly, aspects of the Christian tradition that dehumanized Native Americans. He does so in a critical analysis of American history, from pre-Columbian to modern times, revealing the ethnocentric and often racist attitudes toward Indians of everyone from George Washington to ourselves. "We" likened Vietnam to "Indian country" and most recently employed a similar dehumanizing logic to transform the people of Iraq into "collateral damage." Indeed, as Stannard's book unfolds it becomes apparent that what is at issue is not simply an understanding of past events and processes, but our own present and future. Sadly, we have to be reminded that genocide is omnipresent. This study deserves reading precisely because it challenges us to accept responsibility, while at the same time helping us to do so by clarifying the contingent factors that govern our perception of self and others.

In terms of content, Stannard's book can be divided



into two parts. In the first five chapters he addresses a number of issues that clarify how the destruction of Native American peoples and cultures constitutes genocide. He initially surveys Native American prehistory, reminding us of the tradition and rich diversity of languages and cultures in the Americas on the eve of Columbus's fateful voyage. He then contrasts the New World with the disease-ridden and violent societies of sixteenth-century Europe. He explains how many European structures and institutions (for example, total warfare, slavery, torture, and private property), buttressed by philosophical and theological ideas that developed during the Middle Ages, were brought to the Americas, where they had devastating consequences. Although Stannard might at times overstate his case with respect to the comparison of Indian and European cultures (he claims that the people of the New World were already well established when the people of Europe were scratching their first carvings onto cave walls [p. 11]), he nevertheless soundly delivers the larger point: we have never adequately recognized the accomplishments of Native American peoples, and we have never appreciated the many frightful aspects of Western civilization during the age of "discovery."

The most significant parts of the book (chaps. 5 and 6, and the epilogue) are grouped under the title "Sex, Race, and Holy War." As this title suggests, Stannard explores how "Christian" values and beliefs played a major part in an ideological and institutional cycle of Native American degradation. In doing so, Stannard effectively shows how various modern institutions and structures (slavery, private property) stimulated, and were stimulated by, values and beliefs that evolved over the course of a millennium.

Much of this study focuses on what is today Latin America, and on the Spanish conquest of the New World. Stannard is careful, however, to examine the Anglo-American experience in North America, showing how it followed and in some ways diverged from the Iberian invasion of the Americas (outright extermination of Indians). In North America, the Puritans and, later, the Founding Fathers were decidedly racist, as have been modern Americans such as Teddy Roosevelt, who unabashedly condoned the destruction of the Indian. In the epilogue, Stannard clarifies the similar roots of the Judeocide and the American holocaust. The perpetrators of both events turned to the same Christian authorities, who were preoccupied with human depravity, purity, and purgation, and who were intolerant and unabashedly violent toward those who disagreed.

In the years leading up to the quincentenary there were a number of authors who anticipated many of Stannard's points regarding the complexity and diversity of Native American cultures, the profound differences between European and Indian cultures, and the tragic consequences of Westerners' perceived "possession of the truth." The great strength of this book is the clarification of the many institutional and

ideological contingencies that contributed to the American holocaust as well as subsequent genocides.

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BERNARD SMITH. *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 262; 215 plates. \$70.00.

Because we live in the age of photography, preserving images of people, plants, and animals is something most of us take for granted. Not Bernard Smith. He has spent many years thinking about these images and their creation during the Pacific explorations of the eighteenth century when artists rather than cameras did the work. His starting point is so obvious that most people miss it: whether just sketching or executing a more elaborately painted picture, the artist brings to bear both training and life experience. Particularly in the early years of Pacific voyaging by Captain James Cook, while working on board his ships, the artists Alexander Buchan and Sydney Parkinson produced images that to a large extent reflected their views of the non-Western world. Then the engravers, Giovanni Cipriani and Thomas Chambers, published what they thought their fellow countrymen expected to see. As Smith demonstrates, the first results were something on the order of ancient Romans in turbans. He goes on to show that with each successive voyage the artists, first William Hodges and then John Webber, tried to find ways of coming to grips with the "strangeness" they encountered. Smith claims that their efforts laid the foundations on which Joseph Turner, John Constable, and even Pablo Picasso subsequently built. He further contends that the theories of Charles Darwin and Alfred Wallace were shaped by the new ideas Captain Cook's artists helped set into motion.

To put this work in a somewhat broader context, starting as a tentative trickle and now becoming an impressive stream, scholars from many fields have noted that the so-called Columbian exchange was just that, an exchange. It was not a one-way process by which the rest of the world became Europeanized. In Smith's view, the same holds true for the Pacific, but, breadfruit aside, what the Europeans absorbed lay more in the realm of ideas than material things.

Smith uses a series of loosely linked essays to bring forth this view. It is a device that is not without pitfalls. Some of these essays appeared earlier, while others are lectures published for the first time in this volume. As a result, the material is sometimes repetitious. Not unexpectedly, since the essays were written over several decades, they are of uneven quality. Perhaps the weakest is a piece, originally published in 1956, on Samuel Taylor Coleridge's creation of "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner." Yet if there are some weak points to this book, there are more strong ones.



Of special note is the way in which the text is seamlessly blended with the illustrations so that they complement one another. On balance nothing can detract from what Smith achieves here: a distillation of a lifetime's work and thought about the art and culture in the Pacific and its impact on eighteenth-century Europe. These essays do what good scholarship should do. They leave you wanting more.

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JAMES C. BOYAJIAN. *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 356. \$48.95.

James C. Boyajian makes a number of contributions to our rapidly developing understanding of the commerce and political economy of maritime Asia in early modern times and the place of Europeans in that economy. Most important is the great wealth of detail, much of it drawn from inquisitorial archives on three continents, on the participation in Portuguese trade with and in Asia of "New Christian" merchants. These traders were members of a large and sophisticated community that had been swelled by Jews fleeing from the forced conversions in Spain in 1492. They made themselves indispensable as investors in intercontinental trade and royal financiers, but after 1498 they had to endure forced conversion in Portugal and were subject to investigation and punishment when they were accused of Jewish practices. Boyajian's chapters are full of names, family connections, and investments in commerce of the "New Christians," both the large Lisbon community and those settled in Goa, other Portuguese ports in Asia, Manila, and Mexico City. The author sensibly points out that the wealth of inquisitorial records in his source base may lead to some exaggeration of the role of this community, but clearly it was very important, and this is some of the best detail on Portuguese Asian trade that has been found anywhere.

Boyajian also provides a great deal of evidence for a shift from royal investment in spice cargoes to private investment in a wider variety of Indian goods, especially textiles, around 1600. This is an important revision of earlier pictures of the precipitous decline of Portuguese trade of all kinds once it faced Dutch and English competition. It also shows that Portuguese private traders already discovered, about a hundred years before the Dutch and the English, that the real opportunities for expansion of Asian-European trade were in textiles, not in spices.

There are some substantial weaknesses in this book. There are too many passages of awkward, vague, or muddled exposition. Development of interpretive issues, especially those raised by Niels Steensgaard, is patchy at best. The available information on prices and quantities of goods for Portuguese Asian trade is

so uneven that we want to have all the available data, but we also want to see its reliability carefully examined. In this book we find figures thrown together from sources of obviously varying quality, uneven citation of sources for individual figures, and some shaky quantitative reasoning. For example, in his effort to compare total Portuguese public and private investments in Asian trade with those of the Dutch East India Company, Boyajian fails to consider as investments the profits of trade within Asia that the company retained and reinvested in Asia (p. 115).

Boyajian has fascinating information on Portuguese private trade and settlement in various ports of Asia, but he is not at home in dealing with Asian contexts, least of all with those of China and Japan. The entire text should have been reviewed before publication by a specialist in maritime Asian history. There are major gaps in his bibliography. V. M. Godinho's *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial* is cited in the first edition, not the second. No reference is found to important works relevant to Boyajian's themes published in 1990 or before by James D. Tracy, Jonathan Israel, S. Subrahmanyam, M. N. Pearson, K. N. Chaudhuri, Teotonio de Souza, Denys Lombard, and Pierre-Yves Manguin.

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JOHN HEDLEY BROOKE. *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives*. (Cambridge History of Science.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 422.

In justifying its choice of John Hedley Brooke's book as the recipient of the History of Science Society's 1992 Watson-Davis Prize for the best work in the history of science directed at a wide public audience or for undergraduate teaching, the prize committee emphasized its subtle and nuanced account of a set of complex interactions that have too often been treated in extremely simplistic and openly polemical terms. I agree completely with this characterization, and I would add that for the place and the period on which it focuses—Europe from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries—it is the most inclusive work that I know of in two important ways. First, it is understandably strongest on British issues because Brooke is the present master of those who study Anglican natural theology; but it is genuinely European in its coverage. It offers, for example, one of the few easily accessible discussions of the negative impact that Kantian critical philosophy had on German natural theology; it explores the interpenetration of science and the "higher criticism" of the Bible in nineteenth-century Germany; it discusses religious elements that led to the differential responses to evolutionary theory in France and Germany; and it constantly invites one to think about why interactions between science and religion were highly sensitive to

national and local environments. Second, the extensive bibliographical essay identifies and the text incorporates the results of virtually every significant and relevant article published in the past fifty years.

Unfortunately, some of the features that make this an excellent scholarly study from the standpoint of knowledgeable readers may get in the way of its use by undergraduate students. There is a serious question about whether the forceful presentation of simple master narratives precludes or is a necessary prerequisite to more subtle investigation. Brooke seems to assume the former; I am inclined to believe the latter. Because he is so concerned that readers not be seduced by simplistic claims, Brooke integrates critiques of every prior investigation with the initial presentation of its argument; before students have seen a strong case made for the "conflict thesis" or "Merton thesis," or any other model for understanding interactions between science and religion, they have been shown its limitations. As a consequence, students are befuddled about why any interpretive schemes have ever seemed compelling. Moreover, lacking any plausible provisional frameworks for organizing their thoughts, students have a great deal of difficulty retaining even a small fraction of the rich historical detail provided. And, although the thoroughness of Brooke's treatment has already pushed the length of this work well beyond that of any other text in the Cambridge History of Science series, it is unfortunate that a survey of this kind completely ignores non-Christian science and religion interactions as well as Christian interactions with scientific developments prior to the Reformation. Finally, for my science-oriented students, the relegation of twentieth-century interactions to a postscript is disappointing.

In spite of these complaints, Brooke's work is one of the two most useful and reliable surveys of the interactions between science and Christianity available for teaching undergraduates. As a complement to David Lindberg and Ronald Numbers, eds., *God and Nature* (1986), which offers greater chronological range and more theoretical clarity but far less detail, it is first rate.

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W. R. WARD. *The Protestant Evangelical Revival*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 370. \$59.95.

W. R. Ward is well known to students of church and social history for his books *Religion and Society in England, 1790–1850* (1973); *Early Victorian Methodism* (1976); and *Theology, Sociology and Politics: The German Protestant Social Conscience* (1979). The present volume is the first attempt to trace the beginnings of the Protestant revival movements of the eighteenth century from a Europe-wide perspective rather than

simply as an Anglo-American phenomenon. Based on an astonishingly wide variety of archival sources and published work extending from Eastern Europe to the American colonies, it introduces the reader to events and individuals in a broader context than usual.

The work begins with a chapter that delves into the Protestant mind of the eighteenth century. It explains how there was a surprisingly free flow of information for an age that lacked the media networking of the late twentieth century. Through letters, personal contact, emigration, and printed books and pamphlets it was possible to be informed of even isolated groups of fellow believers. Despite poor morale, the rise of biblical criticism, and difficulties caused by the Peace of Westphalia, the rise of Pietism brought a new dynamic to the Reformation cause. Ward's analysis is helpful because he not only explains how the growth of Francke's movement at Halle supplied the physical, spiritual, and emotional needs of the people but also how it fit into the plans of the rulers of Brandenburg-Prussia in their state-building activities.

Francke was a preacher of reform rather than revival, however, and it was events in Silesia that caused him to become involved in the latter movement. Despite the provisions of the Peace of Westphalia, the Protestants of Silesia were persecuted by the Habsburgs. At first some noble families kept the faith alive through home meetings, but pressure was brought to bear on them. Subsequently, the Reformation faith continued in the humble dwellings of miners and shepherds. These informal groups that Spener had advocated as a supplement to church services thus came to carry the entire burden of continuing Christianity.

Later Swedish intervention under Charles XII freed the Silesian Protestants from the worst of Catholic pressure. Due to the political situation, however, the Swedish troops were forced to hold their church services in the open rather than seizing the Catholic churches. Thus, the Silesians, especially the children, followed their example and gathered, often several times a day, for prayer and praise in the equivalent of camp meetings. When the adults joined these groups they were marked by strange phenomena. Although the Pietists were careful not to endorse these practices, they used the gatherings to distribute literature and when possible sent individuals to minister to them. This pattern of revival was repeated in other areas, including Salzburg.

Rather than renounce their faith, the Salzburgers fled their homeland and thus became a dramatic example of heroic religious refugees. As the author points out (p. 95): "Contemporaries found this an even more 'inspiring work of God' than Jonathan Edwards found the revival at Northampton, Mass." Among other groups caught up in the revival fervor, none is more interesting than Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians. Ward explains the new, quick method of conversion preached by Zinzendorf and how he

was able to expand his work with money borrowed from the Dutch. He was responsible for one of the major divisions of the revival forces because he differed from the Pietists at Halle on how one is converted. Some followed the Moravians' example whereas others preached the older version of Pietism.

The revival also spread to the southwest and the northwest areas of the empire, as well as to America and the British Isles. By the time the author deals with the Anglo-American phenomenon and such familiar names as Edwards, William Tennant, Frederick Frelinghuysen, George Whitefield, John Wesley, Howel Harris, and the Scots Secessionists, the study reaches a most understandable conclusion. Despite occasional awkward sentences and the use of some rather fragmentary source material, this is an outstanding book. It will remain a starting point for all who wish to put the Great Awakening in a global setting.

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S. N. EISENSTADT. *Jewish Civilization: The Jewish Historical Experience in a Comparative Perspective*. (SUNY Series in Israeli Studies.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 314. Cloth \$74.50, paper \$24.95.

In this work, S. N. Eisenstadt seeks to draw together the diverse strands of learning that have informed his long and prolific career as a sociologist. His aim is to prove that Judaism has always been a "civilization." Judaism, he argues, is not solely an ethnic or national category, nor merely a religion. Rather, it must be considered a civilization since it has always exhibited the two fundamental characteristics of all civilizations: a unique "ontological vision of a society" and the desire to implement this vision socially through the creation of cultural, ideological, and, above all, political institutions (p. 14). In particular, Eisenstadt attempts to show that Judaism did not become "fossilized" after the advent of Christianity, as Christian theologians and scholars have often argued. Rather, it continued to exhibit "civilizational" tendencies throughout the Middle Ages and into the modern era. Furthermore, the author insists, only by viewing Jewish history from such a "civilizational perspective" can we account for "the greatest riddle" of the Jewish experience, "its continuity despite destruction, exile, loss of political independence, and loss of territorial continuity" (p. 2).

Eisenstadt concentrates on the "major hegemonic molds" (p. 46) of Jewish life from ancient times to the present and seeks to show that nationalism has been the continuous thread running throughout Jewish history. Although the political and territorial elements of Judaism were closely intertwined with religious ones during the Ancient Israelite and Second Temple periods, these aspects of Judaism became

severed during the Talmudic period and the Middle Ages as Jewish life came to be focused on Halakah, or Jewish law. Nevertheless, according to Eisenstadt, the fact that Jews were living in exile and had lost their political independence did not entail the complete disappearance of the political and territorial dimensions of Judaism; rather, they continued to be expressed through messianism, which always envisioned redemption in political and territorial terms. Finally, these political and territorial elements re-emerged in the modern period through the various Jewish national movements that arose in Eastern Europe at the turn of the century. Thus, Eisenstadt argues, as a result of Zionism and the birth of Israel, a re-synthesis of the political, territorial, national, and religious dimensions of Judaism has again become possible, paving the way for Judaism's reemergence as a full-fledged civilization.

Although Eisenstadt purports to have written a scholarly study, his book is in reality an old-fashioned Zionist polemic that seems curiously out of date. For instance, Eisenstadt argues that Jewish historical continuity was made possible by what he calls the "primordial" elements of Judaism: nationalism, political institutions, and territory (pp. 35, 41, 49, 94). This view suggests that Judaism's civilizational component was, and could only be, fully expressed when Jews possessed independent political institutions on their own land. At other times, these "primordial" elements of Judaism lay dormant and were kept alive only through the undercurrent of messianism. In advancing this argument, Eisenstadt unwittingly undermines his refutation of the Christological view of Rabbinic Judaism as "fossilized," since he apparently agrees that Rabbinic Judaism was only a stunted version of an earlier, more complete form of Jewish civilization.

The organization of the book, too, reflects this Zionist bias. Jewish emancipation and assimilation are covered only as part of the chapter on the "Disintegration of the Medieval Jewish Civilizational Framework in the Modern Period and the Integration of Jews in European Societies." Since this chapter covers the Jewish experience in Western and Eastern Europe from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries, emancipation and assimilation are treated as relatively marginal phenomena. By contrast, several chapters are devoted to modern Jewish national movements and contemporary Israeli society. Moreover, in his discussion of modern Jewish nationalism, Eisenstadt focuses almost exclusively on Zionism, despite the fact that Yiddish nationalism, as expressed by the Jewish socialist movement, the Bund, or by Simon Dubnow's autonomist movement, was no less influential. Furthermore, of the six chapters on the modern Jewish experience, only two touch at all on Jewish life in Europe, despite the fact that Europe was home to the vast majority of Jews until the Holocaust. For Eisenstadt, who apparently views Jewish history through the prisms of the Holocaust and

the triumph of Zionism, only two centers of Jewish life in the modern period matter: Israel and the United States.

Eisenstadt's polemical intent is further revealed by his insistence that even after emancipation in the nineteenth century, the majority of Western European Jews continued to believe that they were living in a state of Galut, or exile, without offering a shred of evidence for this claim (p. 102). To be sure, he concedes that the integration of American Jews has been far more successful than that of their European counterparts, due to the different nature of nationalism in the United States. But he speculates that American Judaism, too, despite its vibrancy, will likely disappear as a result of assimilation. Elsewhere, Eisenstadt endorses the position that only in Israel do "Jews control their own collective destiny" (p. 274), and "only in Israel can Jews be sure to find a place of refuge" (p. 276). Finally, Eisenstadt repeatedly claims that Zionism and the creation of Israel mark the "Jewish re-entry into History" (p. 282 and pp. 52–53, 56, 175, 217). Although such metaphysical and teleological readings of Jewish history have been common in the past, not only among Christian scholars but among nineteenth-century German Jewish historians and Zionist ideologists as well, these views today have largely been relegated to theologians and ideologues. Eisenstadt, unfortunately, ignores this trend. As a result, his work is profoundly ahistorical and contributes little to our understanding of the actual Jewish experience.

It must also be noted, scholarship aside, that this book is poorly written and badly edited. It is filled with grammatical and typographical errors and marred by the use of words that cannot be found in the dictionary ("solariological" [p. 73]; "minoritarian" [p. 273]; "colonizatory" [p. 228]). Moreover, the text is repetitious, and the various sections are woven together in a patchwork fashion, perhaps reflecting the fact that the book grew out of a series of lectures delivered over several years. Furthermore, the sections are of uneven length and depth: whereas some chapters span centuries, others cover only a few years in unnecessary detail. Finally, except for the chapters on Zionism, contemporary Israel, and American Judaism, the scholarship is out of date. In the end, whatever interesting information can be gleaned from this book can already be found in the author's numerous earlier works.

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JOHN COMAROFF and JEAN COMAROFF. *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. (Studies in the Ethnographic Imagination.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1992. Pp. xiv, 337. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

This essay collection advocates a "historical and sociological imagination" of a neomodernist anthropol-

ogy capable of doing ethnographies of, and in, our contemporary world. Such an anthropology distinguishes itself from postmodernism by situating questions about the relationship between power and meaning in the dialectical interplay of hegemonic forms and practices. Turning anthropology's maligned preoccupation with exoticism on itself, the authors invite us to examine the historical interconnections between the West and the rest together.

John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff examine this mutually determining encounter in two related ways. First, and this sustains the bulk of their presentation, they investigate different aspects of the encounter between British imperialism, especially nonconformist missionaries, and Tswana-speaking Africans in what is now South Africa with special focus on the first half of the nineteenth century. Second, they explore the construction of consciousness, especially on the part of the colonized.

Readers not familiar with the Comaroffs' work might start with "The Long and the Short of It" for an overview of social organizational practices among Tswana-speaking peoples and their reactions to change. "Images of Empire, Contests of Conscience" is a fitting companion that investigates tensions within the colonial enterprise, especially between missionaries, the colonial state, and settlers. "Goodly Beasts, Beastly Goods" casts new light on longstanding anthropological questions about the special place of cattle in some African societies. Other essays explore both the interaction between nineteenth-century medicine and the colonial project and the body as an order of signs shaped by a cultural logic specific to its bearers at a particular moment of history.

Of special note is "The Madman and the Migrant." In this particularly suggestive discussion of consciousness, the authors invite us to look for its expression, not at the locus of work, but in fragments of representations in everyday life, in this case the idiosyncratic attire of a mentally ill man and the vernacular reminiscences of a retired migrant. Symbolic activity and implicit language draw on shared messages about the tensions between *setswana* ("the ways of the Tswana") and *sekgoa* ("European ways"), lamenting a lost world of freedom from the labor market and imagining a cultural landscape where "great works" implied a meaningful world of hierarchically cooperating units. "The Colonization of Consciousness" examines the battle between missionaries and the Tswana over the meaning of water and its control, of work and its redemptive effects, and of language, translation, and the potency of words. The hegemony of the new forms of signification was never complete. *Setswana* ideas of power, work, and the art of speaking produced a historical consciousness that offered the Tswana conceptual mastery over their changing world.

The last essay, "Homemade Hegemony," pulls many strands of the previous arguments together.



Focusing on domesticity, a class and time-bound Western concept, and missionary attempts to instill it among the Tswana, this discussion contrasts two differently constructed notions of domesticity and suggests that colonialism, especially colonial evangelism, played a vital part in the formulation of modern domesticity both in Britain and overseas. Drawing out the implication of this, the Comaroffs bring their discussion full circle, returning the challenge to us to interrogate the encounter with non-Europeans and the development of Western modernity together.

This book is arduous to read but good to think with. American historians of Native American, African-American, and European interactions will find much to challenge their thinking about colonial situations, metropolitan power, and the various forms their interrelationships take. The differences that exist in such relationships prompt questions about the extent to which the Comaroffs' perspective is embedded in the nineteenth-century peculiarities of the South African situation. Historians of precapitalist and early colonial South Africa will want to qualify their characterization of "the Tswana world." Scholars of colonial culture will question the centrality that the authors attribute to the Protestant missionary factor in the colonial encounter. They might have hinted at situations where colonizers confronted different hegemonic ideas, such as in many North and West African Islamic societies, or referred to differently organized colonial polities, such as the French or the Portuguese, or even considered colonialisms outside of Africa, such as North America, and brought the implications of such considerations to bear on exploring the many faces of power colonial encounters present.

These qualifications do not diminish the usefulness of this book or its importance. Its efficacy lies in the challenge the Comaroffs pose. Their rich suggestions will engage anthropologists and other social scientists in teasing out dynamics in colonial and postcolonial encounters only alluded to here, or which explore supporting or contending strands of the argument in space-time terms that extend beyond this work. Their compelling argument for a historical and sociological imagination lies in their ability, first, to make us grapple with their preoccupation with the early nineteenth-century encounter between British nonconformist missionaries and Tswana speakers in South Africa and, second, to bring these insights to bear imaginatively on raising questions about the construction of culture and history elsewhere. The Comaroffs' advocacy for a neomodernist anthropology will enter debates that are influencing the terms on which a critical anthropology of our contemporary world is being constituted. Social scientists will have to reckon with their suggestive interpretations of the grand questions of sociological inquiry: the nature of culture, consciousness, and power, and the ways in

which the construction of such relations represent history.

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JAMES C. SCOTT. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Paperback edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 251. \$14.00.

James C. Scott is a political scientist whose anthropological field studies have won him the admiration of historians. In this book, he seeks to construct a general model of "the arts of resistance" of subordinate groups. He draws on the works of sociologists, novelists, psychologists, and political scientists and takes inspiration from postmodernist literary critics, but the bulk of his material is historical.

Scott's premise is that "Every subordinate group creates, out of its ordeal, a 'hidden transcript' that represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant" (p. x) and contests the "public transcript" of power relations. The two transcripts mirror one another, inasmuch as "the terrain of dominant discourse is the only plausible arena of struggle" (p. 103), which ensures "that the hidden and public transcripts remain mutually intelligible" (p. 135). Scott's insistence that subordinates are not capable of autonomous discourse is at odds with his earlier finding that peasants are relatively free of the hegemony of the elite and with his attempt to acquit subordinates of the charge of false consciousness (pp. 70 and following); he maintains that the face of the peasant or slave does not grow to fit the mask of submission. It is also at odds with the experience of those societies, including most of Europe until modern times, where the dominant and the subordinate did not have a common language or culture.

At the outset, Scott asserts that "to the degree structures of domination can be demonstrated to operate in comparable ways, they will . . . elicit reactions and patterns of resistance that are also broadly comparable." He goes on to warn the reader that in delineating "broad patterns" he "deliberately overlook[s] the great particularity of each and every form of subordination" (p. xi). Neglect of the particular, however, makes it difficult to demonstrate the comparability of the subordinate groups that appear, sometimes fleetingly, in his text.

Scott's *loci classici* of subordination are "studies of slavery [primarily in the United States], serfdom [primarily in Russia], and caste subordination . . . on the premise that the relationship of discourse to power would be most sharply etched where the divergence between . . . the public transcript and the hidden transcript was greatest" (p. x). When the spirit moves him, however, he invokes the experience of industrial workers, subjects of authoritarian regimes, students, women, and, from time to time, Tamil laborers in the Caribbean, Lollards, Norwegian pris-



oners, and the participants in the celebrated carnival at Romans.

Scott's concept of the subordinate is close to what Ranajit Guha and his school call "subaltern," but he goes further than they have in disentangling the main components of domination, which he identifies as "material appropriation," "rituals of hierarchy . . . punishment and humiliation," and "ideological justification." His emphasis on appropriation as the first element of domination is salutary, but it entails difficulties. Slavery in the United States was a system calculated to appropriate the maximum from subordinates in the interests of commodity production. Russian serfs in the nineteenth century were subject to a form of domination not very different from slavery, but the level of appropriation from them was much lower. It was lower in part because serfs tenaciously deployed what Scott has elsewhere called "the weapons of the weak" in defense of traditional ways of cultivation, and in part also because Russian serfdom, unlike slavery and the caste system, did not have a developed ideology. And while Dharma Kumar and others have found a rough congruence between caste and class, Scott cannot show that Brahmins systematically and directly appropriated the untouchables' product; caste was a nuanced and complex structure with a variety of forms of domination and subordination.

Much the same is true of other formations. In a Russian serf village there was a spectrum of subordination and dependency formed by differences of status, generation, gender, and wealth; as the novelist Ivan Turgenev and the historian I. D. Koval'chenko attest, some serfs enserfed others. At one end of the spectrum were daughters-in-law, liable to exploitation by almost everyone else: fathers-in-law (*bolshaki*), mothers-in-law, and husbands, to say nothing of persons outside the household. At the other end stood village elders, male serfs vested with considerable dignity and authority.

Even in the slave South, African Americans knew a variety of forms and degrees of subordination. House slaves and especially drivers could lord it over their fellow slaves and, within the confines of the plantation, patronize poor whites. To be sure, the most venerable elders and the most exacting drivers could be sold at the whim of their master or mistress. Ultimately, they were subordinates, and that subordination might be brought home in a "ritual of humiliation," such as beating. But they in turn could beat other subordinates and pass along part of their own humiliation.

This last point is important because Scott represents subordinates as furiously, if surreptitiously, composing the hidden transcript and experiencing continual frustration because they cannot articulate their critique. He seeks out the channels through which this frustration was vented and finds them in such forms as prints of the world turned upside down and carnival, drawing on the overabundant historical

literature on these subjects. He insists that these exercises in inversion were not a "safety valve" that consolidated the prevailing hierarchy; they were rehearsals for open politics, that is, for insurrection and full-throated expression of the "transcript," now hidden no longer. I would side with Guha and those who see insurrection as a school with a highly accelerated curriculum; I cannot confidently infer the content of the hidden transcript from the discourse and expressive acts of insurrectionists.

I am diffident because, in ordinary times, the transcript is hidden but also because of the competition of rival texts and subtexts. Women have generally been subordinate with respect to gender but some exercised domination by virtue of class, status, wealth, or ethnicity. In the Malaysian village where Scott lived and worked, he ranked the households by wealth from one to seventy-four and avoided the kind of polarized scheme that shapes his new book. Finally, as he himself observes in response to Michel Foucault, "we ought not to assume that the real subjects of our analysis have absolutely nothing else to talk about except domination and resistance" (p. 111). The problem, perhaps, is not so much that the transcript of the subordinate is hidden as that it is cacophonous.

I have cordial relation with colleagues in the other social sciences. I can accept the act of poaching as a "text," although I remember that the poacher eats the pilfered rabbit. Yet I have devoted most of my working life to relations of dominance and subordination in one culture during one century and I retain the prejudices of my discipline. There is much in Scott's book that affronts my sensibility as a historian. He confuses "euphemism" with "ambiguity" and muddles the function of the washtub in the secret meetings of southern slaves. He rides roughshod over the kinds of distinction that are my bread and butter; he gets things wrong. But if all that I have written and may write were piled up, it would not provide an elevated perspective on the human condition or the human prospect. I cling to my reservations, objections, and quibbles, but I salute Scott's undertaking.

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ALLAN PRED and MICHAEL JOHN WATTS. *Reworking Modernity: Capitalisms and Symbolic Discontent*. (Hegemony and Experience: Critical Studies in Anthropology and History.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 252. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.00.

This is an important and lively treatment of a problem that seems to preoccupy contemporary accounts of society and culture: in abstract terms, how to deal with both structure and agency in human affairs within a single analytic, narrative frame. This problem has been alternatively conceptualized as how world historical forces, such as capitalism or moder-

nity, reshape conditions of everyday life, or how the "global" articulates with the "local." What is also at stake in locating analysis at this nexus between structure and agency, or between the global and the local, is the undermining of the notion that new communication or productive technologies are creating a more homogeneous world.

A special emphasis of this volume by Allan Pred and Michael John Watts is the defamiliarization of the association of the notions of modernity or modernism with the West. Likewise, capitalism must be understood in historical specificity and in all of its local varieties. The authors pluralize monolithic terms such as capitalism and modernism, speaking of multiple modernisms and capitalisms. They also take pains to show in their case studies that cultural analysis is integral to any understanding of major shifts in political economy.

The volume consists of four case studies, two by Watts on a Muslim millenarian movement that occurred with the Nigerian oil boom of the 1970s and on changes in agricultural production in a West African peasant society; and two by Pred on changes in the daily life of the Stockholm working class at the end of the nineteenth century and on a labor/management struggle in a steel town of contemporary California. As Watts says, "each narrative unveils shocks of modernity that are rather different in form, are experienced through distinctive sorts of local practices, and are expressed in contrasting 'languages' (gender and property rights, religious identity, popular geographies, worker interests). In each case an understanding of the political economic restructuring of capitalism at a particular moment provides a critical building block upon which . . . the locally specific struggles over everyday life are constructed" (p. 18).

Of the many works currently attempting a similar sort of project of social and cultural analysis, what makes this volume distinctive are the disciplinary locations that define it. Both Pred and Watts are Marxist/cultural geographers in a discipline that has been severely marginalized, if not effaced, in U.S. academia. They make connections with the central practice—ethnography—of anthropology, which, although not as marginalized as geography, has certainly existed on the edges of the social sciences. It is precisely within these two disciplines at the margins of the social sciences, however, that the most serious engagements with revitalized forms of cultural analysis out of multidisciplinary debates about postmodernity have emerged. On the one hand, forging connections between political economy and an eclectic blend of contemporary social thought, culture theory, and philosophy, geographers such as Pred, Watts, David Harvey, Edward Soja, and Michael Storper, among others, have provided the complex analytic imagery of systemic change in the world necessary for understanding how agency in everyday life variously operates in struggle. On the other hand,

anthropologists in recent years have developed the sort of critiques of ethnographic knowledge that have made complex and immensely strengthened inquiry into culture "from the native's point of view."

From the perspective of such a revitalized geography, this work recognizes "that much anthropological work rooted in ethnographic and cultural relations tends to be weak in situating local knowledge and meanings on the grand map of capitalism as geographers have been in struggles over meaning." The purpose of the volume is thus to create a merger between the new strengths in geography and anthropology in such a way that "the local is to be theorized" through demonstrating how "external determinations are articulated with internal agency" (p. 15).

In their case studies, the authors have been largely successful in showing the usefulness of their particular framing of the structure-agency problem as one of merging recent advances on the margins of the social sciences, so to speak, in revisions of the disciplinary traditions of anthropology and geography. Yet the limitation that this work and others like it have not yet exceeded is the capacity to apply complex cultural and ethnographic analysis beyond "the local," which invariably means in these studies the peasant, the worker, or the relatively powerless, to the domain of the "global," that is, of the system (however fragmented and multiple), of institutions, of the relatively powerful, of persons not unlike the authors themselves, or certainly of persons of their same world and institutional matrix. At the start of this work, Pred and Watts acknowledge "new incursions of bureaucratic rationality" but omit their consideration, noting that such bureaucratic cultures are "deserving a lengthy treatment of their own" (p. xvi). The result is a deep concern with local ethnographic detail among peasants or workers, sensitively contextualized and articulated with a complex vision of operating, variant institutions of political economy, but which perhaps relies too much on a patchwork of quotation and theoretical assertion. At some point, the same ethnographic integrity applied to "local" subjects should also be applied to "global" ones as well in the same study. This is bound, I think, to produce somewhat different, even more complex and interesting stories than those presented in this volume.

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MICHAEL MITTERAUER. *A History of Youth*. Translated by GRAEME DUNPHY. (Family, Sexuality and Social Relations in Past Times.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1992. Pp. ix, 256. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

In his preface to this book, Michael Mitterauer writes that his comparative approach necessitates making "great leaps through time" (p. viii), that "It is certainly still too soon for a balanced survey" (p. vii), and that a historical-anthropological thrust extending beyond

Europe "remains wishful thinking" (p. viii). Some of these difficulties could have been overcome had this book not been an unrevised English edition of his *Sozialgeschichte der Jugend* (1986). Numerous studies of youth have appeared since then and seriously date his comments concerning the paucity of works on youth.

Mitterauer attempts to overcome the difficulties of his project by limiting the scope of his study to youth in the family, at work, in the schools, and in youth groups. His first chapter, entitled "Puberty—Adolescence—Youth," displays Mitterauer's extensive knowledge of social change, but it exhibits a major problem apparent throughout the survey with his sense of his audience. The lengthy discussion of previous studies of youth makes it inappropriate for undergraduate courses, but the limited attention to each work and absence of many works since 1986 dates the scholarship severely for graduate students. Certainly Mitterauer's extensive knowledge of the family in the past provides interesting insights into the youth experience. But his constant jumping from ancient history to medieval history to the present to support his comparative approach would confuse undergraduates and leave graduate students demanding more substance.

His criticism of those who contend that a phase of life called "youth" did not exist before the eighteenth century (Jos van Ussel, John Gillis, Philippe Ariès, F. Musgrove, Joseph Kett, and others) has merit but is dated. He is right in his contention that some form of youth existed before that time but wrong not to acknowledge that persons in their teens have been treated much differently since then and that perceptions of youth have played a role in their treatment. Here, much scholarship published since 1986 would have enhanced his discussion of this issue (Harry Hendrick, Derrick Linton, Detlev Peukert, Carol Dyhouse, John Springhall, Kathleen Alimo). He points out, correctly I believe, the importance of the social sciences, especially child psychology, in transforming the concept of adolescence at the turn of the century. But this discussion is selective: he discusses only a few early works (Eduard Spranger, Charlette Bühler, and Hans Heinrich Muchow) but not G. Stanley Hall's extremely influential book on adolescents. The conflict among scholars over the origin of the turn-of-the-century meaning of adolescence, that is, whether it has primarily bourgeois or working-class origins, is altogether absent from his analysis.

Mitterauer's chapter "Milestones in Youth" contains many fascinating examples of youth transitions that would appeal to undergraduates. He describes how gender and class, once so important in youth transitions, have declined over time as significant factors due to economic and social modernization and to government intervention in the workplace and in the schools. Mitterauer's treatment of youth in the family and at work are the strongest segments of the book because of his previous research and writing in this area. But his discussion of schooling is restricted

almost entirely to the period before the late nineteenth century. As a result, the most dynamic period of change in education receives almost no attention. His final chapter on youth groups, a much more thorough and satisfying effort, again results from his greater involvement with this question in his previous studies of the family and rural culture.

Mitterauer's sources are overwhelmingly Central European. In the section on education, he uses only three dated histories of English education and none from the United States out of a total of fifty-six sources. In fact, this section depends mainly on Ariès's history of youth (fifteen citations) and H. G. Good's general study of education (eight citations) for information concerning education outside Central Europe.

As has been apparent throughout this review, I have mixed reactions to the book. Many of my objections result from the dated, unrevised nature of the work. The flood of publications on youth during the last ten years has dated this work severely. Also, Mitterauer's focus in his previous work has not been on youth and it is readily apparent in this study. This book has, unfortunately, not measured up to his previous work.

ROBERT WEGS

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MAGUELONNE TOUSSAINT-SAMAT. *A History of Food*. Translated by ANTHEA BELL. (Blackwell Reference.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1992. Pp. xix, 801. \$39.95.

At first, while leafing through Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat's compendium of interesting facts and stories and seeing that it was organized topically rather than chronologically, my inclination was that the title was misleading. A better label for this translation of a lively work published in French in 1987, I thought, might be something like *An Informal Encyclopedia of Food History*. After plunging in, however, I soon realized that I had been too optimistic. Alternative titles such as *Food Lore through the Ages* soon gave way to more mean-spirited ones such as *Bubbameisses* [Yiddish: Grandmas' Tales] *about Food: An Unorganized Anthology*.

As this would imply, the topical organization turned out to be no organization at all. The main sections are a dizzying lot, called "Collecting, Gathering, Hunting"; "Stock-Breeding, Arable Farming: Meat, Milk, Cereals"; "The Three Sacramental Foods: Oil, Bread, Wine"; "The Economy of the Markets"; "Luxury Foods"; "The Era of the Merchants"; "New Needs: Sugar, Chocolate, Coffee, Tea"; "Orchards and Kitchen Gardens"; and "Science and Conscience in the Diet." These are divided into chapters whose organizing principles are no more discernable than that of the book as a whole. The text commonly flits from the Stone Age to the present,

back to the eighteenth century, pauses for some suggestions about how to buy or prepare caviar, *foie gras*, ham, and other foods, darts back to the Roman empire, recalls some Brazilian Amerindian lore, and so on. Not only is the word "History" in the title misleading, but ahistoricism is really the name of the game here. Typically, the section on "Luxury Foods" does not even attempt to deal with the obvious objection to using this as an organizing principle: that one era's luxury food is another's trash food. Yet it deals with oysters—a poor man's food that became elite fare—and, in another chapter, sugar, which underwent the reverse process.

The word "encyclopedia," a source of accurate information, was rapidly dropped from my prospective title when I realized that it was a misnomer. For example, the author writes of "Canadian Indians" as if they are one cultural group, and says that they "continue to prefer salt from coltsfoot leaves or, lacking that, sea salt" (p. 461). It does not take a close inspection of Canada's flag to realize that the national symbol is not, as the author would have it, the maple tree (p. 561). American historians will be interested to discover that their nation came into being when the "'13 plantations' that had become the English colonies of America" refused to pay the tax on glass and tea necessary to keep "a standing army of 10,000 men on guard at the St. Lawrence border." Southerners will discover that one of their favorite dishes is "Chicken Rockefeller": chicken in an oyster sauce. When the author wades into the great debate, of interest to no one but a few French gourmets, over the origin of the recipe for *Homard Armoricaïne* (lobster in a tomato sauce), she sides with those who say that the real name is *à l'américaine*, declaring unequivocally (and, characteristically, with no evidence) that "in fact it is a Creole dish, hailing from such Hispanic areas as Cuba, Florida, and Louisiana" (p. 386). We are also told that rice is grown in Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, "and in particular the Mississippi" (p. 161). And who will not regret the passing of those high-flying Reagan years when they learn (p. 58) that one of the most fashionable things in America in the mid-1980s was growing mushrooms in one's basement?

Germans who revere the nineteenth-century food chemist Justus Von Liebig for helping propel their country into the forefront of modern science will not be happy to see him called a Frenchman (p. 560). Nor will most Mexicans be pleased to see the ancient Maya, who they like to regard as contemplative intellectuals, described as "bloodthirsty," and to read of how, when Hernán Cortés and his men, "clad in iron," disembarked from their "iron-clad" ships, "the Emperor Moctezuma and his subjects, delirious with joy," had them served chocolate "in 2000 fine golden cups by delightfully unclad virgins" (p. 576). *Bubham-eisses* indeed! This book has the potential for starting World War III!

Reading this outpouring is particularly frustrating

because there is so little to back it up. In the entire chapter on sugar, one of the most controversial topics in food history, there is but one footnote. Nor is there an adequate bibliography—just the French version of "Round up the usual suspects": Barthes, Revel, Flandrin, Aron, and others, and the standard list of *Annales* articles, few of which seem to have been used. Moreover, what purports to be a history of the world's food is primarily a history of European—mainly French—food. Other influences are there mainly to the extent that they affect European food. Only Burkina Faso, with which the author has had some direct contact, gets its due; some might say disproportionately so.

But all this may be too harsh on someone who is not a professional historian, whose main intent seems to have been simply to collect interesting stories about food and make some well-meaning points about the immorality of waste and hunger in today's world. And perhaps the book's French publisher thought, correctly, that there is always a market there for books speculating about such things as the origin of the various kinds of cassoulet. That does not explain, however, why a reputable English publisher would bother translating it, particularly when other first-rate French works on food remain untranslated.

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WALTER NUGENT. *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870–1914*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 234. \$29.95.

This is a well-researched, wide-ranging, and serious study of migration from Europe to America (North and South). Walter Nugent begins his narrative with a discussion of the Atlantic region in the late nineteenth century, in which he evaluates theories of population growth, fertility, and mortality and their role in migration, and discusses general patterns of migration and repatriation, providing much valuable information on the origin and destination of migrants, ships, ports, travel conditions, and so forth. In the next section he offers expert case studies on the major sender countries of Britain, Ireland, Scandinavia, Germany, and the old Austrian and Russian empires, including the migration of Jews and Poles. He concludes with an analysis of migration from Italy, Spain, and Portugal. In each case Nugent presents aggregate data on age, sex, rural-urban origins, family structure, and occupation of migrants. In the third section he covers migration from Europe to Argentina, Brazil, and Canada. His final section deals with revisionist historiography on migration since the seminal paper of Frank Thistlethwaite in 1960 and a discussion of U.S. exceptionalism relative to the other New World receivers. The U.S. experience is compared to immigration to Canada, Argentina, and Brazil and is found to be different but not



unique or exceptional. The study emphasizes strong underlying similarities in immigration to North and South America in employment patterns, the effect of the expanding frontier, and the demographic structure of the immigrant population.

Nugent emphasizes demographic factors (population pressure) as the causal agent in migration. The push came from the rising rate of natural increase in Europe that pushed people out of the countryside into towns and where urban jobs were not increasing fast enough into emigration. Death rates fell throughout the nineteenth century while birth rates declined only in the second half of the century. The rate of natural increase therefore accelerated and then decelerated. Relatively rapid rates of population growth ended in Western Europe by the end of the century while rates in Eastern and Southern Europe continued to accelerate. Thus, whereas the big wave of emigration to the United States from Western Europe came in the mid-nineteenth century, it came after 1900 from Eastern and Southern Europe. The demographic effect was reinforced by a demonstration effect that followed migration: remittances and letters sent back by those who had already left.

Migration to the United States nevertheless did differ in important ways from migration to other New World receivers. Successful migration depends on rapid urbanization, which is costly and which required high rates of capital formation. Of the 36 million people who emigrated from Europe between 1871 and 1914, two-thirds came to the United States, the most successful of the new countries in converting a high growth rate into a modern industrial economy. The remainder (12.6 million people) went to Canada, Australia, Argentina, and Brazil. The gap between net and gross migration in these countries, however, was very large (5.4 million) as their economic structure was quite different from the United States and growth depended much more heavily on exports, foreign investment, and favorable movements in the terms of trade. Migration was beyond these countries' absorptive capacities, and immigrants were forced to move on to other countries in Latin America, to New Zealand, to the United States, or return to Europe. The gap between net and gross migration was widest in Canada and Australia, while Argentina held on to more of its immigrants than Brazil.

It was hardly coincidence, therefore, that in neo-classical theory, free trade in commodities was deemed a better substitute for the mobility of labor. It was very clear by the late nineteenth century that the favorable effects of migration were not automatic and could not be taken for granted. It was also self-evident that a high standard of living was also possible in densely populated areas.

It is an oversimplification to say that one of the major difficulties in immigration history is the elusive character of the immigrant. Most of our knowledge about immigration is based on aggregate data collected by governments. But whereas the characteris-

tics of migrants are available at the aggregate level, we are unable to study micro-structural aspects of migration—migration at the level of the individual—because we do not have data. We have little information on the migrant's village, province, or region of origin, a fact that could be important in understanding the motivation to migrate and the impact of prior urban experience. We also know little about social network linkages in the communities of origin and destination that influence the motivation for migration and the type of migration that may occur (permanent or temporary). Thus, with traditional data sources we have not been able to answer some of the most interesting and important questions.

Nugent nevertheless has given us a brilliant analysis of a critical chapter of migration history and all students in the field must be grateful for his work.

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ROBERT BOTHWELL. *Canada and the United States: The Politics of Partnership*. (Twayne's International History Series, number 10.) New York: Twayne or Maxwell Macmillan International. 1992. Pp. xii, 190. Cloth \$27.95, paper \$13.95.

In the first of this short book's seven chapters, Robert Bothwell surveys Canadian-American relations from 1763 to 1945; the remaining six chapters are devoted to the period from 1945 to 1989. So quick a trip through earlier events means that much is omitted, but this loss is compensated for by the book's relatively detailed look at the post-World War II emergence of extensive economic links between the two countries (they have the world's largest trading relationship), by the close attention it pays to Canada's Cold War role as a vital element in U.S. security and defense, and by what it says about the management of these important matters. The volume's concentration on the recent past also plays to Bothwell's strengths as a student of post-1945 Canadian history and Canadian-American relations: most of his work has been in that period, and his familiarity with sources and issues is evident on every page.

Bothwell takes the view that, notwithstanding the discrepancy in size between the two countries, Canadian officials have usually been able to deal with Americans in quite effective ways. This success is seen as partly owing to those officials' familiarity with the American *Lebenswelt* (Canadians in general, the author insists, are not really very different from their southern neighbors); the success is also viewed as a function of the fact that the United States is far from being the kind of relentless and single-minded adversary it is often represented as being. Sometimes (during the "Nixon Scare" of 1971, for example) U.S. officials have qualified the actions of their own gov-



ernment in a fashion compatible with the Canadian national interest. And often, U.S. officials, bedeviled by the separation of powers, rivalries in Congress, and sheer overwork, have simply not been able to press their country's interests in any rigorous and determined way. The circumstance that Canadians and Americans inhabit much the same mental universe is, nonetheless, viewed as critical. It does much to explain the particularly good relations between such prime ministers and presidents as William Lyon Mackenzie King and Franklin Roosevelt, Lester Pearson and John Kennedy, and Brian Mulroney and Ronald Reagan. The easy understanding such a shared universe encourages between officials helps to ensure satisfactory dealings at other levels, too.

Bothwell's focus is not entirely on the sorts of interaction that are governed by these kinds of factors. He also notes structural realities, which sometimes are political and administrative—he acknowledges the maintenance of procedure, system, and everyday relations even at times of crisis at the top—but they can also be technological, as Bothwell makes clear in his interesting discussion of the way energy flows (particularly those channeled through power grids) bind the two countries together.

On balance, however, Bothwell's treatment of the relationship in terms of (mostly high) politics predominates. Reference to sociocultural issues is non-existent or weak (the nature and significance of Seymour Lipset's work is seriously misconceived), culture itself is virtually passed over (even the politics of culture, increasingly important in Canadian-American relations over the past thirty years, get little attention), and discussion of the management of the relationship is not complicated by much awareness of work by political scientists in the fields of transnational or subnational integration.

Some readers may find the author's stance a problem. Admitting he is much struck by Canadians' hankering after things American (his childhood longing for Wheaties and Crayola crayons is recalled as one measure of this), and clearly marked by his exposure to documents read and officials interviewed, Bothwell adopts a perspective that is at once pan-North American and informed by the sense that smooth functioning in the Canadian-American system is what counts above all else. This weakens his analysis and explanation, for in leading to a certain impatience with those who see matters in other terms, it forecloses serious discussion of the ground on which their positions rest.

In spite of its utility, this volume has gaps of several different sorts. These will probably not trouble readers whose sense of what needs to be said is bound by the political or who see Canada and the United States as more or less the same. Others, however, will think those gaps should have been filled and, like the French diplomats of another age when they were faced with something not entirely to their liking,

reserve the manifestation of their esteem for another occasion.

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JON V. KOFAS. *The Struggle for Legitimacy: Latin American Labor and the United States 1930–1960*. Tempe: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University. 1992. Pp. xiii, 425.

The complex political history of the Latin American labor movements is an almost impossible task to relate, even when it is treated in isolation from considerations of social and cultural variables. When that history is combined with its relationship to the United States and global affairs in the twentieth century, it is given something of a special focus, but it becomes entangled in the labyrinth of the Cold War. Jon V. Kofas has made an admirable effort, in that context, to present the political history of the Latin American labor movements in the middle third of the twentieth century as represented by Mexico, Chile, Cuba, Guatemala, Bolivia, and the various hemispheric umbrella organizations.

Beyond the complexity and scope of the project, one reason that labor historians, with notable exceptions, avoid this theme is the unavailability of still classified documents in the United States and the vast array of union records that have been lost or destroyed in Latin America. Given that situation, it is no wonder that historians rely on the study of politics, ideology, and state-union relationships, rather than the interactions of local working-class cultures and experience.

The first two-thirds of the book treats the above enumerated national histories of the labor movement. Kofas intends these chapters as the basis for understanding his ensuing discussion covering the transnational organizations. His focus on the period 1930–60 encompasses the era of the Great Depression, World War II, the beginnings of the Cold War, and the transitional period in which Latin America began to move in earnest from an agrarian and rural to an industrial and urban society. It is a well-chosen context that captures the essential political climate of the times, including the need on the part of national elites to control the industrial working class and offer it concessions consistent with the perceived interests of capitalists and politicians.

The research on which Kofas bases his arguments comes largely from the National Archives of the United States, published documents, and secondary literature. The author relies on the State Department documents dealing with the Internal Affairs of States (800 series) to a considerable degree. These documents have been made available to scholars on microfilm. This approach serves his focus on political history quite well, but it undermines the possibility of a wider understanding of U.S. policy available in the

vastly superior records concerning protection of interests (300 series) and claims (400 series), which have not been microfilmed and are available only at the National Archives.

Kofas presents a detailed narrative of Mexican labor history covering the time frame he has selected. It will provide the reader with a useful framework. He fails, however, to offer an accurate perception of labor in the era of the Mexican Revolution or any knowledge of the experience of organized labor in the half-century preceding the revolution. His political bias leads him to assert that "Finally, neither the industrial labor force nor the peasantry had developed a class consciousness sufficient to constitute major forces in the bourgeois-controlled revolution" (p. 23). This perspective falls short in many ways. Suffice it to say that workers by definition have class consciousness and that structuralist historians and labor leaders, by insisting on their own models of prophecy and analysis, rather than on the cultural history and thoughts of workers themselves, have missed the mark. This is an important issue in labor history because the inaccuracies of these labor leaders in their understanding of workers' needs and their singular focus on political power makes them impotent in attracting the support of the workers. It leaves historians to misinterpret the causes of union turmoil and dissent. Simplistically, they then blame their failure to garner the support of the workers on state interference and imperialism, which are partial answers at best.

Consistent with this dilemma, Kofas presents the phenomenon of U.S. government manipulation and the role of the American Federation of Labor in attempts to influence Latin American labor organizations. It is the best treatment of the subject that we have to date, although it understates the importance of the internal historical forces and overstates the efficiency and role of the Americans in bringing about what Kofas and I agree are unsatisfactory results.

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#### ANCIENT

WALTER BURKERT. *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*. Translated by MARGARET E. PINDER and WALTER BURKERT. (Revealing Antiquity, number 5.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 225. \$29.95.

In concluding his study of Near Eastern influence on archaic Greek culture, Walter Burkert quietly apologizes for "a long and often tortuous investigation" (p. 128). The book is short and not tortuous; a better adjective would be "brilliant."

Burkert's command of the evidence is manifest throughout the 129 pages of narrative and seventy-

five pages of bibliography and notes. Primary materials, both archaeological and textual, intertwine with secondary scholarship to provide a wealth of detail. Although Burkert acknowledges that he "is a Hellenist, not an Orientalist," the account is equally informed on Greek and Near Eastern evidence. He mentions that "he has made some effort to study the Semitic texts in the original" (p. 157, n. 32).

This unobtrusive comment typifies Burkert's approach to his subject: he is consistently thorough and challenging, yet cautious. In a candid introduction, Burkert faces the difficulty of undertaking an unprejudiced discussion of connections between classical Greece and the East. A brief historiographic summary traces the fracture of the "Orient-Greece axis" in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, then turns to the problems that have arisen to discredit the image of a "pure, classical Greece in splendid isolation" (p. 1). Mounting evidence from the Near East, gained through decipherment and archaeology, has joined archaeological and art-historical discoveries from Mycenaean, Dark Age, and archaic Greece to reveal many kinds and grades of links between Greek and Near Eastern cultures.

Using this new evidence, Burkert hopes to bridge the gap in what he believes are related fields of scholarship. His account rests on several sensible premises. At the most general level is Burkert's view of culture: while any culture can be viewed as a closed system, he asserts that it is equally valid to see it as a complex of communication with "conventional yet penetrable frontiers" (p. 7). To detect borrowing through such frontiers, we should focus not so much on individual motifs as on complex structures in which the coincidence of similarity is the less plausible explanation. Correspondences in absurd details are "least likely to be arrived at independently" (p. 51). A more specific premise for the Greek/Near Eastern axis concerns date of borrowings: the cultures interacted in both the Bronze and Dark ages but, Burkert believes, borrowings were heavier at the end of the Dark Age. Debate over this issue exists (as P. Karavites shows in his recent *Promise-Giving and Treaty-Making* [1992]), but Burkert's position is that uncertainties over dating should not distract us from appreciating the abundance of the correspondences (p. 115). He concludes that Greek culture was significantly influenced by Near Eastern skills, crafts, and, at times, basic anthropological ideas (p. 127).

The most likely agents of influence provide the means of exploring these premises; three chapters follow the trail of "public workers," seers/healers, and godly singers. This short review cannot begin to suggest the topics or the surprises of these few pages: that, for example, Olympia is the most significant location for finds of Eastern bronzes (p. 4), that the cult of Apollo at Didyma has Mesopotamian-Syrian connections (p. 61), or that Apollo's son Asklepios closely resembles Azugallatu, the great physician in Akkadian texts (pp. 78-79). Burkert is always cau-

tious, however, suggesting that there are other possibilities than his hypotheses (p. 95) or that certain coincidences may simply reflect an elemental human need (p. 60).

Cultural identity is a critical issue today; interaction, even borrowing between cultures is often viewed in a negative way, the stronger culture seen as imposing its views or skills on a weaker one. Burkert demonstrates beautifully the nonsense of such a position. Without denying the role of innate talent, he shows that much of the Greek miracle grew from an openness to influences from other cultures. Although we may question certain individual instances suggested as borrowing, Burkert's careful scholarship in this revised version of his German publication (1984) has constructed the bridge that he set out to build. We would be wise to cross it regularly in both directions.

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H. T. WALLINGA. *Ships and Sea-Power before the Great Persian War: The Ancestry of the Ancient Trireme*. (Mnemosyne Supplementa, number 121.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1993. Pp. xv, 217. \$80.00.

H. T. Wallinga is a good Dutch scholar. I emphasize the adjective, for like his mentor, Willem den Boer, Wallinga is endowed with sober perspicacity, although in the case of this book he also possesses a willingness to engage in bold speculation. His challenging subject is the early development of naval strength in Greece and the Near East. The evidence is limited, but he feels able to present convincing solutions supporting his thesis that the main area of advance was not in the small Greek states but in the Near Eastern kingdoms of Egypt and Persia.

After an introduction Wallinga concentrates on the rise of state-owned navies at Corinth and elsewhere. Then he deals with the obscure Athenian local units called *naucraria*, which he takes as covering all Attica, although their name suggests (as does the one relevant piece of information that they were expected to provide one ship and two horsemen) connection with the sea coast, as does the fact that the only one we can locate was on the shore. No matter, for in Wallinga's study they become the source of private vessels for trade and other purposes, although a skeptic may feel uncomfortable with the extension to all Greece.

Wallinga goes further in concluding from the depiction of ships on Geometric vases that all vessels at this time were rowed; is there any justification for this inference? In Minoan and Mycenaean times ships did have sails (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* 99 [1979], l., B.b) and well before the end of the sixth century they are often depicted with billowing sails. To finish, as Wallinga does, asserting with no proof that in the intervening period ships with sails were at best barges towed by galleys is very improbable.

Chapter 4 is the most convincing part of the book. Wallinga places the origin of the trireme in the rivalry of Egypt and Persia, the states in the sixth century that had financial and human resources to create large fleets. The only aspect that he fails to consider is the source of timber (Egypt was lacking in good wood for any purpose, but cedars from Lebanon had long been sought by Egyptian priests and kings). To support his views Wallinga surveys the minimal Greek naval strength at the time; he omits for no good reason Syracuse in western waters (on Persia see Thomas Kelly's essay in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 7 [1992], 5–28).

The last major problems he faces are those intractable issues involved in Themistocles's creation of the major Athenian fleet of triremes, which helped to throw back the Persian invasion of 480. He does his best but cannot proffer a totally satisfactory answer: in view of his usual hypercritical approach it is surprising that he accepts the "Themistocles decree."

Wallinga concludes with an essay on the crew of an often undermanned trireme, adapted from previous publications. Bibliography and two indexes (sources cited and general topics, one of the best I have seen) complete this provocative book, not one to be set before the neophyte. Wallinga finishes with an impeccable rule: "If explicit statements by respectable sources can be swept away so radically, the fences are down" (p. 158). Two pages later he believes that "there is every reason to doubt Herodotos' . . . assertions on this subject" (p. 160).

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STEPHEN RUZICKA. *Politics of a Persian Dynasty: The Hecatomnids in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 232. \$39.95.

The subtitle of this short monograph by Stephen Ruzicka gives a more accurate impression of its contents than the main title. This native family, whose most prominent member was Mausolus, provided the satraps (governors) of the Persian province of Caria in southwestern Asia Minor during the period. Earlier merely one of the local dynasties, the Hecatomnids parlayed intermediation between royal authorities and natives into a quasi autonomy. Not only was the senior Hecatomnid the presumptive satrap, a position elsewhere reserved for a Persian (or other Iranian), but also, as long as his activities did not directly oppose royal policy, he possessed significant room for aggrandizing maneuvering, for example in Greek affairs, where Mausolus looms large in the decline of the Athenian Second Confederacy. The Hecatomnids illustrate the Hellenization of non-Greek elites, and their modulation of agency for the king, local influence, and Greek diplomacy allowed

them to exploit the surrender of the coastal city-states to Persia after 386.

Ruzicka's first chapter, on pre-Hecatomnid Caria, and second chapter, on Hecatomnus, are rather sketchy. The heart of the work concerns Mausolus: chapters 3 through 7 discuss his Carian policy, patronage and buildings in Carian cities, early Anatolian policy, participation in the satraps' revolt (late 360s), and policies concerning the Aegean and Athens. Chapter 8 treats his successors, his sister and widow, Artemesia, and a brother, Idrieus. Hecatomnus's last son, Pixodarus (from 341–40) is discussed in chapter 9. In chapter 10, Ruzicka reconstructs the Macedonian occupation of Anatolia, resisted by Pixodarus's son-in-law and successor, the Persian Orontobates, and abetted by Ada, the widow of Idrieus. A conclusion—again, rather thin—closes out the volume. Naturally, Ruzicka must bridge the fragmentary data with speculation to maintain continuity, regarding, for example, the end of Hecatomnus's Cypriot expedition (pp. 21–24).

This is a revision of Ruzicka's 1979 dissertation. One must sympathize with the author, since, during revision, there appeared Simon Hornblower's monumental *Mausolus* (1982), which stole much of Ruzicka's thunder, the earlier overview in W. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (1892) being much outdated. Hornblower's study is more detailed and provides lengthy discussions of Carian social and cultural history. His copious notes offer a distillation of earlier scholarship. Many citations indicate Ruzicka's debt to Hornblower's research. In contrast, Ruzicka does not fare well with his economic analyses, for example regarding Mausolan promotion of commerce (see pp. 38–40, 109–10, 153–54). It is to Ruzicka's credit that he strives mightily for originality about Hecatomnid foreign policy. One success may be his conjecture about the chronology of the anti-Hecatomnid Arlisos (pp. 61–63). Many of his suggestions are not very cogent, because a differentiation from Hornblower or from the traditional views collected in *Mausolus* is intrinsically difficult. Compare his suggestion that Mausolus intervened at Tralles in about 390 to counter possible Athenian operations to be mounted from Ephesus (p. 72), or his belief in a massive Rhodian attempt on Halicarnassus in about 350 (pp. 109–11). I should consider keeping an open mind toward perhaps his boldest conjecture, that the main adversaries in the Social (*summakhikos*!) War (mid-350s) had already defected from the Athenian alliance during the Theban Aegean campaign of about 364 (pp. 90–95). As the author concedes, however, he stands against the general consensus, and his attention is too glancing to command assent.

Scholars of fourth-century Asia Minor will not find this work a significant advance. Nonetheless, it is well-written and presents the relevant evidence in a continuous narrative, with its chief value possibly lying in its accessibility to students and readers not knowing Greek, some of whom may indeed find the

more important work of Hornblower somewhat forbidding.

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NICOLAS GRIMAL. *A History of Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1992. Pp. ix, 512. \$34.95.

Histories of Egypt continue to appear as regularly as the Nile floods. Sustained reading interest by a general audience seems to guarantee a basic market, not only for pictorial volumes or fresh syntheses but also for histories of Egyptian archaeology, translations of works from German or French, and even reimpressions of popular older works. Nicolas Grimal's study first appeared in French in 1988 and is here presented in a very good translation by Ian Shaw. A readable and serious synthesis, it is modestly illustrated but well produced.

The arrangement of chapters is standard, beginning with a summary of the predynastic record and closing with Alexander's conquest. A few themes such as religion and funerary ideas are discussed outside of the basic chronological thread of succeeding dynasties and political events. The type of coverage and detail is reminiscent of the chapters on Egypt in the revised *Cambridge Ancient History* (1970–75), the product of an earlier generation of scholarship.

Themes popular among Anglophile enthusiasts for Egypt appear not to be shared by French audiences; for example, the chapter on Akhenaten misses an opportunity to enter the arena of Near Eastern intellectual history, and Tutankhamun is little more than a footnote. More serious is the minimalist treatment of many current research themes of a more interdisciplinary character: the origins of the state, the role of irrigation in Egyptian social history, the insights provided by architectural and art history, the nature and development of political institutions, or the changing patterns of settlement and population. Grimal barely taps into the vast storehouse of fresh but fragmented research compiled in the multi-volume *Lexikon der Aegyptologie* (1974–87), despite a massive but seemingly little-used bibliography of 1,950 entries, mostly citing works since 1960. Grimal chooses to work within a highly conventional framework and breaks little new ground. In that regard he stands in sharp contrast to Barry J. Kemp's idiosyncratic but innovative *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (1989).

Despite these strict limitations, I found Grimal's work an enjoyable read. His craftsmanship and judgment are good, and unlike Kemp's Egyptology, his is an international discipline. The seventy-five-page bibliography is of genuine professional value. Ready access to a French perspective also has its advantages: French contributions to the study of Egypt, both in



the past and today, are of central importance. Grimal gently reminds the reader that French scholarship is not to be ignored, but he does not exaggerate its role. That, and his sense of personal culture, lend a value to his contribution that transcends the routine.

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WOLFGANG DECKER. *Sports and Games of Ancient Egypt*. Translated by ALLEN GUTTMANN. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 212. \$40.00.

In this unrevised translation of his important 1987 German work, Wolfgang Decker, the dean of the modern, disciplined study of ancient Egyptian sport, shows that the abundant and diverse sporting life of pharaonic Egypt has been underappreciated. For Decker, "sport," a modern word with no exact Egyptian equivalent, includes physical games and activities ranging from children's and board games to wrestling, stick fighting, acrobatics, hunting, and more. With 132 black-and-white illustrations, and with extensive discussions of the testimonia and historiography, Decker authoritatively demonstrates that Egypt had recreational sport, military physical training, and ritual royal performances. Less convincingly, Decker further argues that Egypt also had athletics (that is, organized contests with prizes) and a sense of athletic records.

Without claiming that sport originated in Egypt, Decker says that Egypt offers the oldest evidence of sport. A pharaonic ritual "run" in the Sed or jubilee festival is attested from the third millennium on, and Decker sees turn-posts from the pyramid complex of Djoser as "the world's oldest sports facility" (p. 29); but, as he explains, the run involved no other competitors and "only a hint of physical exertion" (p. 32). From the Sed run to the depictions of wrestlers in the tombs at Beni Hasan to a love of hunting and fishing, Egyptian sport shows continuity until the Hyksos' introduction of war chariots and composite bows led eighteenth-dynasty pharaohs to present themselves as robust warrior-hunters for military credibility. Various New Kingdom pharaohs clearly were "athletic" in that they trained to acquire physical fitness and military skills and they gave ceremonial demonstrations of chariot driving and archery; but to argue that Amenophis II had a "sports career" that was unequalled—and not just in relation to Egyptian monarchs" (p. 42), Decker accepts the Sphinx Stela's claims that the king was a perfect shot even from a moving chariot, that his arrows all passed through copper ingot targets a hand's breadth thick. Decker feels the seventh-century account on the "Running Stela of Taharqa" of a Nubian pharaoh running and giving prizes provides us "for the first time with irrefutable evidence of an Egyptian running contest" (p. 65), but this exceptional document comes from

the twilight of pharaonic Egypt. Certainly the love of sport was not a Greek preserve but the institutionalization of regular athletic festivals with prizes and specialized facilities and equipment still belongs to the Greeks.

Allen Guttmann dutifully translates Decker's criticism of the "modernist" Eichberg-Guttmann-Mandell school of sport historians. Applying a concept of "extension of the preexistent," Decker argues that eighteenth-dynasty kings went beyond ritual to express a notion of record by competing against their predecessors, themselves, and their successors. Decker cannot deny, however, that the hyperbolic claims of pharaonic sources differ significantly from the standardized conditions and empirical recording of modern sport.

Disagreements aside, historians of Egypt and ancient sport gratefully acclaim Decker's achievement and welcome his future publication plans for an extensive and specialized handbook on Egyptian sport.

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EVA CANTARELLA. *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*. Translated by CORMAC Ó CUILLEANÁIN. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 284. \$27.50.

This study, first published in Italian in 1988, stands as the only survey to cover both Greek and Roman cultures and both male and female same-sex relations. Eva Cantarella works through a range of evidence—graffiti, laws, medical writings, philosophical works, and literary texts—from archaic Greece to the early Byzantine empire, also including some biblical and Christian texts.

The book is divided into a section on Greece (chapters on the preclassical period; the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.; philosophy and literature from the fifth century B.C. to the second century A.D.; and "Women and Homosexuality") and one on Rome (chapters on the archaic period and the republic; the late republic and the principate; the empire, jumping from Julius Caesar and Augustus to a discussion of the law codes of the dominate; and the Judeo-Christian tradition and its relation to pagan moral codes). Roman women's homosexuality is relegated to a short section in chapter 7. A brief conclusion sums up the book's main points.

The book's strengths are numerous. Readable and well illustrated with translated material, it sets out the issues and presents some original arguments. Cantarella explicitly sets the book in the context of her earlier work on women in antiquity, and she poses a question rarely asked: what was the impact of male sexual norms in antiquity on ancient women (pp. vii, 88–91, 171–72)? She also asks good questions about the impact of these norms on men themselves and on



the ways they would have affected different classes of men. Her inclusion of female along with male same-sex relations is practical for modern readers (and can be paralleled in antiquity). She at least allows for the subjectivity of marginal groups like male prostitutes (p. 48) and female prostitutes (p. 87). And the book includes some gems, like the discussion of late-medieval stories of Aristotle ridden by a woman (p. 67), or the overview of Roman graffiti (p. 147), which brings in some rarely seen material.

The book also has substantial problems. Some stem from its publication history. The Italian publication falls between the appearance of the last volumes of Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (1984) and the publication of major works in the field in English. The latter include works by David Cohen, Page duBois, David Halperin, and John J. Winkler on Greek sexuality; Maria Wyke on elegy; Judith Hallett on Roman lesbians; and Catharine Edwards on Roman moral legislation. The English version has inserted some of these more recent works in the bibliography and, patchily, in the notes, but in the end this survey gives the reader a misleading sense of the state of the question.

Cantarella does critique Foucault, but only briefly (p. 215). Instead, she beats several dead horses, as when she argues against Kelsen's description in 1933 of Plato as "a sexual deviant" (p. 54). The discussion of Latin love poetry (pp. 120–41) belongs to an old-style biographical criticism (contrast recent work by Maria Wyke, Marilyn Skinner, Micaela Janan, and Barbara Gold). The book adduces little new evidence, mostly going over texts dealt with previously by other authors, and sometimes (as in the discussion of Artemidorus) giving no indication that there have been previous major treatments.

The periodization suggested for Roman male homosexuality has serious flaws: the argument posits three consecutive periods, but then juggles evidence between them. Assertions are made about Roman sexual norms before 200 B.C., a period for which there is no direct evidence. The late republic is said to be a time when a citizen could engage in pederasty with *ingenui* and "nobody would say a word against him" (p. 141); copious evidence to the contrary is pushed into other chapters or left out. The discussion of Roman legal penalties for male passive sexuality makes no mention of the process of *infamia*, a large omission. The long reconstruction of the date, content, and penalties for the *lex Scantinia*, while inventive, does not in my opinion solve this longstanding mystery.

Most important, arguments for the "spread" of passive male sexuality in Rome, as well as in Greece at the time of Aristophanes (pp. 45, 64), give undue credulity to invective sources and often amount to unsupported assertion (pp. 153–55, 163, 220); a general tendency here is to look for trends and watershed moments despite lack of evidence, as in the use of words like "increasingly" (p. 120). The trans-

lation uses "men" misleadingly of Roman pederastic objects (pp. 128, 136, 139, 150) and "homosexuality" throughout despite Cantarella's recognition of the problems in using this term to describe ancient sexuality. Cantarella shows little familiarity with theory of any kind, most noticeably with feminist work on ancient philosophy (pp. 58–59), Sappho (p. 79), and the early church (pp. 191–202).

Overall, the book provides a useful introductory overview but is already outdated; it needs to be used along with more specialized studies.

AMY RICHLIN

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JOHN MAXWELL O'BRIEN. *Alexander the Great: The Invisible Enemy; A Biography*. New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. xx, 336. \$29.95.

Because the sources for his life are so complex and contradictory, we must always observe Alexander the Great through a glass, darkly. In this new biography of the king, John Maxwell O'Brien fills that glass with the undiluted wine of the ancient Macedonians. Through its murky depths, we are invited to see an Alexander more haunted than heroic, an insecure youth driven to his own destruction by Dionysus, the Greek god of inebriation. O'Brien's vision of an alcoholic Alexander was quite provocative when first presented in a series of articles a dozen years ago, and this book seems destined to arouse another round of spirited debate.

Even those who prefer a moderate Alexander of Victorian virtue must agree that O'Brien's narrative is brisk, generally balanced, and based on considerable research. The notes are copious, and the bibliography alone exceeds forty-four pages. Concentrating more on the king's personality than on political or military affairs, O'Brien accurately relates the main events of Alexander's life. Ancient and modern authorities are quoted throughout the book's five chapters, although clearly O'Brien follows the lead of Ernst Badian and A. B. Bosworth on most controversial matters.

To heighten the drama and highlight his theme of Dionysiac retribution, O'Brien relies on several unusual storytelling techniques. For example, he adds a "chorus" by breaking the narrative over 200 times (in 230 pages) with evocative quotations from Homer's *Iliad* and Euripides's *Bacchae*. Similarly in the prologue and epilogue, O'Brien casts Alexander in the tragic role of Pentheus, a king driven mad by an angry Dionysus in Euripides's drama. Finally, O'Brien exploits every opportunity, no matter how gratuitous, to associate the vengeful wine god with some event in Alexander's life (for example, pp. 48, 82, 182, and 224). These innovations distract the scholar but will probably endear the work to the general public. Serious readers will expect more argument and analysis than this biography provides. Since other scholars, such as N. G. L. Hammond and J. R. Hamilton,

have concluded from the same sources that Alexander was no drunkard, O'Brien needs to argue his position more forcefully by closer analysis of the ancient evidence in relation to modern medical science. The total lack of source criticism remains the most serious defect in this otherwise interesting book.

To his credit, O'Brien reminds us all that the Macedonian nobility made a regular ritual of heavy drinking. No doubt the wine god Dionysus could sometimes exact a heavy toll on these men of war; one need only think of Demetrius the Besieger in the years after Alexander's death. Yet the case of Alexander himself remains unsettled. The young king certainly drank (as he fought) with epic abandon, but did this interfere with the performance of his duties or contribute to his death? Even seen through a (wine) glass darkly, Alexander was a competent and charismatic king to the very end of his extraordinary life.

FRANK L. HOLT  
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JEREMY TREVETT. *Apollodoros the Son of Pasion*. (Oxford Classical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 209. \$52.00.

Was the outsider in Athens' "closed society," to borrow Karl Popper's expression, always the outsider, or could the barrier on occasion be broken? Jeremy Trevett's study of the *nouveau-riche* Apollodoros considers just such a figure: a new Athenian who made his way into the elite circles of Athens in the fourth century B.C. Trevett's study will be widely welcomed not only for its skillful analysis of Apollodoros's oratory but also for its searching examination of how a new Athenian could (and sometimes could not) assimilate with the old.

Most readers of this journal will not have the specialist's interest in the stylometric discussions of Apollodoros's oratory that comprise three of the first four chapters. Trevett supports those who have argued that a number of speeches in Demosthenes's corpus (specifically, numbers 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, and 59) should properly be ascribed to Apollodoros (pp. 68–69). Apollodoros, Trevett suggests, was a more ambitious than competent orator, the mediocrity of the speeches itself arguing for his authorship (p. 74). Yet analysis of his speeches does reveal the scope of the typical Athenian gentleman's education: a passing acquaintance with Thucydides and Plato as well as some knowledge of contemporary rhetorical training and style. Trevett suggests the need for further investigation of the origins of oratory, particularly how one became a speaker (p. 123). Here he sticks rather conservatively to those usually defined as orators, omitting any consideration of Apollodoros's contemporaries who are not recognized as orators per se but did speak to the *demos* and participate in

the partisan legal actions that characterized Athenian democracy. Such figures as Phokion and Iphikrates, for example, normally regarded as military men, were well enough known for their oratory that manuals of style circulating in Athens through the later fourth century and afterward provided samples and analyses of their rhetoric.

Of broader interest is Trevett's analysis of Apollodoros's rise into the inner circles of Athenian politics. Propelled by the wealth of his banker father Pasion, Apollodoros entered public life in the tumultuous decade of the 360s in grand fashion, prosecuting several generals for sundry misdeeds (pp. 124–54). These prosecutions brought him fame and association with such leading figures as Hyperides and Euboulos. Among the affairs in which Apollodoros played a part was the debate over the theoric fund and its use for military purposes. Trevett's analysis of Apollodoros's political career and his activities is well argued, although some details could be disputed (such as Euboulos's role in the Euboian crisis of 348 B.C. [p. 146]).

Apollodoros's political coming out was accompanied by a conspicuous display of the family fortune, especially in his flamboyant service as trierarch. This, Trevett argues, proved his undoing, as his relatively poorer fellow citizens resented his lavish display of wealth, even if in their behalf (pp. 151–54, 173–79). The case is well presented, but Demosthenes's similar disparagement of his hated enemy Meidias, a native-born Athenian, is reason enough not to press this argument too far. Could, then, the outsider join the ranks of Athenian society? The answer would appear to be yes, but no favors should be expected.

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JOHN J. KEANEY. *The Composition of Aristotle's Athenaion Politeia: Observation and Explanation*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 191. \$39.95.

The original *Athenaion Politeia* was composed sometime about the years 329–328 B.C. and was recovered from the soil of Egypt in 1890. The chronicle of Athenian democracy has been held to be somewhat untrustworthy. In this revisionist study, John J. Keaney points out that in all probability Aristotle never meant for his constitution of the Athenians to be a historical work. Keaney's basic notion is that Aristotle developed an entirely new style that the author refers to as an empirically based cultural history and that Aristotle's opus has been ignored by students of ancient philosophy. Thus, Keaney's thesis is that Aristotle set aside the traditional conventions of Greek historiography and concentrated on form and structure to convey his ideas.

Keaney believes that Aristotle employed such concepts as chiasmic structure, ring composition, and language repetition to establish patterns, themes, and

associations. Ring composition, he says, is "the technique of repeating at the end of a structural unit, a word, or theme with which the unit began," and it "has a long history in Greek literature" (p. 72). His investigation of ring composition by Aristotle is masterful. Likewise, the author gives a fine in-depth presentation on the use of chiasmic structure.

Keaney argues that the principle thesis of the *Athenaion Politeia* is that the citizens of Athens ultimately gained political control by appropriating the powers that were originally held by the three political organs of Athens: the college of archons, the council of the areopagus, and the council of the five hundred (the boule). Keaney states, however, that Aristotle never declared this as his thesis.

The work is a most scholarly presentation and should be read by anyone interested in the constitution of the Athenians and the development of Greek literature. Keaney gives us a new genre and a most original insight into the reliability of the *Athenaion Politeia*.

STEPHEN J. SIMON  
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DIANA E. E. KLEINER. *Roman Sculpture*. (Yale Publications in the History of Art.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 477. \$55.00.

Scholars and students will welcome Diana E. E. Kleiner's up-to-date survey of Roman sculpture. It is a reference work that presents the major monuments, illustrates them with good photographs, and provides reasonably complete bibliographies. In spite of these virtues, the volume fails to go beyond the utilitarian, adding nothing new to scholarly discussion.

The body of the text follows a format familiar to anyone who has taught a survey course on this topic. For each dynastic period from the republic through Constantine, Kleiner briefly introduces personalities (mainly emperors and dictators) and political events. She then examines the monuments through time. Formal analysis, iconographic description, and mention of function or context serve to carry the reader from one object to another. In exceptionally convoluted sentences employing the passive voice, Kleiner introduces the scholarly debates surrounding the monument. Because the passive voice erases human agency, the reader must speculate about who is saying what. Because Kleiner provides no footnotes, only experts in the field already familiar with the debates know who the debaters are. The uninitiated must read every bibliographic item gathered at the end of the chapter to decode the author's oblique account of the discussion. A straightforward active-voice account with notes would unravel the author's obscure prose and clarify the terms of the debates surrounding each monument. The most lucid and enjoyable passages are those where the word "I" appears, typically when the author has published an article on the monument

and dares to give a first-person opinion (pp. 93, 233-34).

Any survey text of Roman sculpture resurrects the many problems of understanding the term "style" in its cultural and artistic context. Roman sculpture, unlike most Greek sculpture, lacks a linear stylistic "development." Disparate styles coexist in the same period and even on the same monuments. The relationship of imperial styles to "popular" styles are fluid, as is the relationship of iconography to style. The author's subheading in the introduction raises the reader's hopes for substantive discussion of these and other issues, but she never explores them in depth. This is in contrast to Andrew F. Stewart's introductory essay in *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (1990), a model of scholarly thoroughness in its examination of a large range of issues surrounding the production and appreciation of Greek sculpture.

An important goal of Kleiner's is to provide excellent photographic documentation of Roman sculpture; hence the book's large, unwieldy size, its 421 figures, and its numerous subventions. The product is uneven: in my opinion, fourteen photographs are unacceptable by any standards, and twenty-five are borderline. Because recent campaigns of cleaning and restoration have liberated the greatest monuments of Roman sculpture in Rome from their grime, I marvel to find them illustrated by photos taken in the 1930s. Furthermore, many scholars and photographers have spent long hours studying these masterpieces while they were under scaffolding in the 1980s, yet the author gives little sense of profiting from this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. I wish she had engaged the services of photographers such as Mario Monti, whose illustrations for Salvatore Settis's book, *La colonna traiana* (1988), set new standards for the photography of Roman sculpture. Kleiner's book, with its heavy reliance on cheap, easily accessible, but often inferior photos from the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, has missed the opportunity to excite the reader with newly available visual information.

Perhaps it is inevitable that a survey like this will disappoint the expert and bore the general reader. Although it is an excellent reference work that will nicely serve the scholar and lay person who desires information on individual monuments, the volume makes no new contribution to the field. Kleiner has succeeded in corralling Roman sculpture into this big-book format with considerable administrative expertise, but for me she has failed to bring it to life.

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LOTTE HEDEAGER. *Iron-Age Societies: From Tribe to State in Northern Europe, 500 BC to AD 700*. Translated by JOHN HINES. (Social Archaeology.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1992. Pp. ix, 274. \$49.95.

This is another excellent volume in Blackwell's estimable "Social Archaeology" series. The current volume is rich in ideas and pioneering in its use of archaeological finds to support arguments about historical processes. Lotte Hedeager's ostensible aim is to show the rise of the state in Denmark, but this is also a valuable study in methodology. How a state developed from tribal societies is seen not from the perspective of the all-too-spare written sources, but from both material (archaeological finds and historical geography) and social theoretical perspectives.

Although the Danish state was formed through political and military actions of a perhaps-royal dynasty eventuating in Harold Bluetooth in the tenth century, the actual process began in the early Iron Age, some seven hundred years before. As Hedeager writes: "the unification of a kingdom in itself depends upon the pre-existence of the basic components of a state organization, and . . . these do not emerge without historical reasons" (p. 1). The problem is how to detect such changes over time when written sources are so sparse. The answer is by close analysis—often statistical but not onerously so for the reader—of the remains of material culture. The results are then tested against theoretical models of the rise of states as well as more conventional historical sources. In many ways this is a unique effort. For the past twenty years archaeologists have used statistical analysis on small groups to determine differences in grave goods and thus suggest changes in social organization. No one to date has done this on such a massive scale or looked at so much other evidence as has been done here.

After a succinct commentary on currently popular social-theory models, three broad areas come under scrutiny. One is ideology and ritual communication, as manifested in burials and hoards of artifacts. These seem to show changes from group rituals to an ever greater emphasis on individuals, some buried with weapons, others not, but all equipped with relatively rich goods. Here is graphic evidence of the rise of elites, the creators of the new state organizations. The examination of social and political systems that follows reinforces these conclusions. Social differentiation arose partly on the basis of prestige goods imported from the Roman world but was also powered by internal factors; Roman material thus accelerated ongoing processes of change. Finally, Hedeager shows changes in the rural economy of Denmark in the Iron Age and succeeding periods. In a fascinating study of environmental decline, demographic pressure, and necessary reorganization, we see the development of the classic Scandinavian rural landscape: independent big farmers living in enclosed farmsteads with their large families and dependents. These would become the warriors and nobility who set out to trade, raid, and settle in the Viking age.

The change in "barbarian" society from tribe to state, from chiefs to kings may seem familiar. This,

however, is a far more sophisticated analysis than earlier works. It is real history in depth.

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## MEDIEVAL

JULIA M. H. SMITH. *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 18.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 237. \$59.95.

The apt title of Julia M. H. Smith's important book repays reflection. This book is a sophisticated historical analysis of two dynamic and evolving early medieval political entities, the province of Brittany and the Carolingian empire. As the book's subtitle specifies, the story Smith wishes to uncover is not that of Carolingian Brittany, but of Brittany and the Carolingians. Smith avoids adopting a Carolingian-centric view that would make of Brittany a "frontier" society, instead opting for a more complex and more interesting analysis centered both in Brittany and in the empire. Imagine two wheels spinning on their own hubs drawing close to each other and setting off sparks when they hit. It is the sparks, the products of friction between Frankish and Breton society, that most interest Smith.

Although the Merovingian Franks claimed hegemony over the province and the Christian church there nominally owed obedience to the bishop of Tours, Brittany was a highly localized and independent society whose language, culture, and ecclesiastical practices in the eighth century owed more to Wales and Ireland than to the Continent. Charlemagne's armies conquered the Bretons in 799; the wheels scraped against each other. For the Carolingians, control of Brittany offered protection and stability to their important lands in Neustria. For the Bretons, conquest only intensified their hostility toward the Franks.

In the case of Brittany—and unlike those of Neustria, Aquitaine, Burgundy, Saxony, and Lombardy—the Carolingians chose to rule through Breton surrogates. Thus, the immediate effect of contact between the empire and the province was to empower Breton aristocrats and to begin the transformation of Brittany from a localized society to a unified principality. Carolingian leaders did not necessarily bless this development. Louis the Pious saw Breton independence as a challenge to his project for a unified Christian empire under the leadership of a single emperor. The actual lack of unity in that empire, and especially the dynastic problems of Louis's last decade, encouraged Breton revolts against Carolingian power. Charles the Bald suffered two losses in battle in 845 and 851 at the hands of Bretons. But Breton leaders such as Nominoe, Erispoe, and Salomon needed Carolingian authority to legitimate their own rule. After the treaty of Verdun sanctioned the



breakup of the empire in 843, competing Carolingian interests courted the Bretons. Charles the Bald emerges in Smith's account as an imaginative leader who carefully exploited imperial imagery and the spiritual bonds of compaternity to tie the Bretons to his cause.

Although never truly subdued by the Carolingians, Breton political culture gradually moved away from its insular past when it adopted Carolingian political and administrative practices and copied Carolingian rhetorical conventions in charters. Breton ecclesiastical communities (the "Breton church" is not a meaningful concept, according to Smith) continued, however, to resist papal and metropolitan authority. In intellectual matters a process of "cultural osmosis" (p. 170) drew Bretons closer to the Continental world of learning, but in both culture and religion local Breton particularism continued as an uneasy complement to political unity.

This book draws its substance from a close critical reading of both Carolingian and Breton sources, notably the 345 documents in the cartulary of Redon. Smith is especially good at analyzing shifting patterns of power politics at both the provincial and imperial level. Her pages on land ownership in Brittany are particularly interesting for what they have to say about the Breton economy and collaterally for what they reveal about the role of women in that economy and about the life of local communities. Smith's book, which oscillates so skillfully between politics at the periphery and politics at the center, has staked out a central place for itself in future discussions of early medieval political history.

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KENNETH R. STOW. *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. 346. \$45.00.

Apparently intended as a textbook, this survey is perhaps better categorized as an interpretive essay because of the extent to which Kenneth R. Stow has used it as a vehicle for his own ideas. The book describes major aspects of Jewish intellectual and social life and discusses how Jews and Christians reacted to—or "coped" with (p. 1)—each other in Italy, France, Germany, and England (but not Spain) from 400 to 1471. Five of the twelve chapters are devoted to life within the Jewish communities. Seven deal with both internal matters and the relations between Jews and Christians, and several of these primarily concern the ideas and actions of Christians.

The opening chapter surveys the development of Christian doctrine about Jews from the time of Paul to the eleventh century. The second chapter, describing the status assigned Jews by Christian rulers during that period, is an argument against historians who think Jews were politically influential prior to 1000 or

who write of their relation to Christian kings as an alliance (pp. 3–4, 43–47, 54–55). Although emphasizing that Jews still enjoyed their legal status as Roman citizens in the Carolingian empire, Stow nonetheless holds that they were generally viewed with disdain and were not that well treated in the first half of the Middle Ages (pp. 56–58).

Chapter 3 describes the Italian beginnings of Jewish cultural or intellectual activities in Europe, a foundation whose deep influence on Ashkenazi culture Stow repeatedly asserts (pp. 65, 117, 121, 123, 137, 139, 165, 171, 186). Chapter 4 deals with the formation of the Ashkenazi communities. Despite the evidence for the presence of Jews at Orléans and Bourges in northern France as early as the sixth century, Stow thinks there were no stable Jewish settlements in the Rhineland and surrounding regions before 850. Description of the organization of those communities, of the ordinances of R. Gershom of Mainz, and of the rich responsa literature take up six of this chapter's twelve pages; the other six discuss Christian hostility and reassert Stow's disagreement with Robert Chazan about the events of 1007–12. Chapter 5, on the Crusades, depicts the massacres of 1096 as symptomatic of worsening attitudes but not as a radical watershed, and Jewish martyrdom is discussed without reference to Chazan's views.

Chapters 6 to 9 are devoted to life within the Jewish communities. Chapter 6 describes the twelfth and thirteenth-century northern Pietists, emphasizing their Italian roots and depicting their opposition to Tosafist leadership. Chapter 7 describes the great development of Talmudic scholarship in the Rhineland and northern France where, we are told, Rashi and the Tosafists perfected the "lexicographic method" that had originated in southern Europe (p. 139). Chapter 8 discusses later changes in community organization and the increasing competition for leadership. Chapter 9 describes the nuclear structure of Jewish families and the warm relations between their members.

In the last three chapters, which take up a third of the book and concentrate on Christian ideas and actions, Stow presents his own explanation of why the Christian conception of Jews became increasingly distorted and the treatment of Jews ever harsher from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, there are serious problems here. Whatever disagreement there may be with Stow's discussions of Jewish ideas, there can be no doubt that his grip on the ideas and actions of non-Jews is far less sure. His main and rather abstract explanation of their hostility indicates that he is more at home with the history of ideas than with the history of events.

Doubts about Stow's main argument are compounded by his errors about important concrete matters. The famous Christian historian Eusebius lived in the fourth, not the fifth, century (p. 104). "Verus Israel" is not an article by Marcel Simon in a book entitled *Études sur les relations entre chrétiens et*



*juifs*; it is the title of that classic book (p. 14). It is not true that the chancellor of England made no effort to punish those responsible for the massacre at York in 1190 (p. 112). A careful reading of the authority cited in a footnote (p. 112, n. 31) would have revealed how dubious it is to say that Philip II expelled Jews in 1182 because they had committed a ritual murder. In Ephraim of Bonn's chronicle, the explicit condemnation of the monk Ralph is far stronger than the condemnation of Louis VII implicit in the factual description of the king's action (p. 113). Not only did Peter the Chanter not belong to the abbey of St. Victor but also the note gives the wrong pages for the authority cited in support (p. 145, n. 32). The *Glossa ordinaria* to the Christian Bible was composed not in 1430 by Nicholas of Lyra (p. 145) but some three centuries earlier. Peter the Venerable was not active at the time of the First Crusade (p. 212). Gregory IX did not suspend the clauses of *Quantum praedecessores* (p. 225). During the widespread massacres in 1298, the citizens of Regensburg did not, in order to honor their city, decide to destroy the Jews without any legal proceedings. Strikingly to the contrary—as the article Stow cites in support of his assertion makes clear both in German and Latin—the citizens forbade the killing of Jews without a proper trial (p. 234, n. 8); and this is by no means the only instance in which the works cited in the notes do not support the assertions made in the text. Not only is it wrong to say that a Dominican inquisitor was the feudal lord of Pamiers (p. 260) but also the work cited in support does not say so, and the misreading betrays a serious misunderstanding of the role of the mendicant friars.

Errors such as these make it impossible to recommend this work as a textbook. The book will, however, be of interest to anyone working in the field of Jewish history, for it contains much valid and valuable information, and it is well written, broad in perspective, rich in detail, and suggestive in interpretation.

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KELLY DeVRIES. *Medieval Military Technology*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Broadview. 1992. Pp. xi, 340. \$14.95.

Kelly DeVries has produced a valuable summary of the most important facets of medieval military technology in a form that should prove valuable for teaching purposes. In four separate sections, DeVries provides a discussion of arms and armor, a history of artillery, a treatment of medieval fortifications, and a concluding section on the warship.

Encyclopedic rather than analytical, each section brings together research published in sometimes obscure books and journals, covering such topics as the history of swords, bows, and other projectile weapons, as well as brief treatments of the dagger and the mace. His chapter on armor is a valuable distillation of information about a complex subject, although it is

not helped by the poor quality of the photographic plates. A brief exception to the book's rather technical focus is the chapter on what one may call the Lynn White–Bernard Bachrach debate about the role of the stirrup in the development of heavy cavalry and the “feudal” system. The historiography of the question is fully presented, but I think the rejection of the White thesis has been more definite than DeVries believes.

The sections on artillery, both before and after gunpowder, and on fortifications are all that one could wish for from a survey. Particular strengths are the incorporation of data gained from archaeology or the history of fortifications and that DeVries considers urban defenses as significant as castles to that history. The influence of Near Eastern castle-building techniques on the West is also a welcome insight, too often omitted from earlier studies.

There are a few blemishes to be noted, however. The final section on medieval warships seems a particularly ill-suited addition. This is due not only to the book's predominant focus on land warfare but also to a confusion between ships used for war and ships built for war. Without making any distinction, DeVries simply produces a summary history of ship-building techniques, a history better described elsewhere, notably by Richard W. Unger (*The Ship in the Medieval Economy, 600–1600* [1980]). It is also not entirely clear why each section of the book begins with a lengthy consideration of ancient military technology. Although the author justifies this in the case of fortifications with the rather weak argument that ancient fortifications continued to be used in the early Middle Ages, there is no such justification in the other sections. Since the Bayeux tapestry is cited many times as an important source for the historian of medieval technology, care should be taken to note that despite its name, the tapestry was embroidered, not woven. These few problems only slightly diminish the value of this book.

JAMES M. MURRAY  
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MARK C. BARTUSIS. *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society 1204–1453*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 438. \$46.95.

Mark C. Bartusis is one of a number of scholars who have been directing increased attention to the military aspects of Byzantium: not only to its military history in the traditional, narrative sense, but also to military institutions and their place in the totality of Byzantine society, organization, and culture. George T. Dennis, John F. Haldon, Walter E. Kaegi, Jr., and Warren T. Treadgold are but four of the most prominent of current practitioners who spring to mind.

For his part, Bartusis has chosen to focus on the

role and character of the Byzantine military in the empire's last period, between the captures of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and by the Turks in 1453. This time period is one marked by such accelerated decay and impotence (especially after 1282) that military activity hardly comes to mind as an important feature of what was by then a minor, regional state. Certainly most scholars working today with Byzantine military studies prefer to concentrate on the empire's earlier epochs, when its armies were impressive and often notably effective in the service of a great power.

For more than a dozen years, Bartusis has been addressing specific issues of his topic in a large number of articles. Now he digests the vast and detailed knowledge he has accumulated into a comprehensive monograph, which represents a major contribution to the study alike of Byzantine military history in general and of the empire's final centuries. After an initial section setting the framework and discussing the sources, Bartusis divides the bulk of his book into two sections. The first, entitled "The Army as Instrument of Policy," is essentially a chronological sketch of Byzantium's military activities from 1204 to 1453. Subdivided into six chapters, this sketch goes beyond traditional trumpet-and-drums narrative by attempting to set such activities into the context of the empire's changing circumstances and goals and by tracing the varying efforts of successive reigns to deal with military needs institutionally.

While part 1 enriches what is already familiar in the Byzantine historical record, the longer part 2 gives the author his richest opportunities. Entitled "The Army as Institution," it is divided into eight chapters. Of these, the first four deal with differing categories of service and their systems of organization and finance: mercenaries, pronoiars, professional or regional soldiers, and supplemental types (peasants, retainers). The next chapter, "The Campaign," examines the successive stages of major operations, the following two chapters deal with specialized types of guard service (palace, frontiers, local garrisons), and the last chapter examines what can be learned of weapons and equipment from archaeological and artistic as well as textual evidence. The book then concludes with a twenty-five-page epilogue in which the author recapitulates and summarizes his findings; an appendix lists chronologically all individual soldiers who can be identified by name.

From the outset, Bartusis stresses that Byzantium's military forces cannot be understood except in terms of the empire's total situation from one period to another. "There was no system," he observes, "or rather, there were many systems, most inherited from the past and adapted to the moment, a few improvised more or less *ex nihilo*" (p. 186). The "Byzantine army" was, therefore, not a factor in itself, but a changing reflection of the state it was to serve, and military insufficiencies resulted simply from the fiscal inadequacies of an increasingly deteriorating state.

The army was usually small in numbers, balancing as much as possible mercenary with allied or indigenous forces. For all that, what soldiery late Byzantium called into being in the thirteenth century served with success in sustaining the Asian territories and recovering European ones. (If Bartusis has a hero, it is Emperor Michael VIII [1259–82], who was resourceful and energetic in devising military innovations that, if unsuccessful in long-range terms, were apt and effective for the moment.) Imperial armies, although inadequate to immediate challenges from Mongols, Catalans, and Serbs, nevertheless muddled through the aftermaths, and, despite the distractions of the Byzantine civil wars, they proved relatively adequate in the fourteenth century to all its threats except one: the Turks. Had the Ottomans not come on the scene, "the Empire might well not have fallen" (p. 349).

Byzantinists interested only in earlier institutions will find food for thought in many of the distinctions the author makes between those and later institutions (as on pp. 188 and following). Yet, especially since Bartusis constantly draws on contemporaneous Western European practices for comparison or perspective, Western medievalists will find their share of illumination in his book, notably on the issue of feudalism.

There has long been a prevailing assumption—fostered especially in the influential interpretations of G. Ostrogorsky (*Pour l'histoire e la féodalité byzantine* [1954]; "Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 [1971], 293–333)—that Byzantium and its military became "feudalized" in its last centuries, with institutions and customs that were explicitly parallel to, if not outrightly borrowed from, the feudal West. Such an outlook has come under increasing attack, and against it Bartusis also firmly sets himself. He argues cogently that the Byzantine armies of this epoch could in no way be considered feudal (pp. 226–29, 234, 358–62). The grant of land to soldiers known as *pronoia*, and thought by Ostrogorsky and others to approximate the Western fief, is shown (pp. 182–85) to have far less identity with that than with the Turkish *timar* grant (which it probably influenced). Moreover, despite all the scholarly fascination with it, especially for its feudal implications, Bartusis finds that *pronoia* was actually neither central nor helpful to late Byzantine military organization. Byzantinists in general would do well to ponder his argument that "there is no real evidence that *pronoia* was ever, in any period, an especially productive means of raising soldiers or that *pronoia* soldiers ever were especially competent in combat" (p. 344).

Bartusis has combed a wide range of textual and other sources and the broad scholarly literature, scrutinizing and digesting evidence with remarkably confident and probing results. His comments on the place of warfare in Byzantine thinking will interest many readers. I do think, however, that his discussion

of the Byzantines' view of themselves "as a sacred people who had a special relationship to God" (p. 352), which he relates to divine support in war, would be even stronger if he included reference to the statements on this point affirmed repeatedly, and still alive today, in the Greek Orthodox liturgy. (Indeed, in this age of triumphant secular humanism, all too many Byzantinists forget how many echoes of Byzantium live on in today's Orthodox church, Greek or otherwise.)

Such details could be discussed endlessly, and will be for some time to come, thanks to the information and perspectives that Bartusis has poured out in this book. Its richness will be unexpected for some, perhaps, but its contribution to the literature of medieval and Byzantine studies is a very substantial one.

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JONATHAN SUMPTION. *The Hundred Years War: Trial by Battle*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 659. \$36.95.

In 1975, Jonathan Sumption published a book on medieval pilgrimage and left Oxford University for a career as a barrister. Since then he has written books on the Albigensian crusade and, with Keith Joseph, on equality. Now, with the appearance of this book, Sumption has begun a multivolume narrative of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century wars between France and England. This volume examines the beginnings of these wars through the capture of the town of Calais, in August 1347 after an eleven-month siege, and its immediate aftermath.

In a balanced and seamless presentation, the origins and first decade of the Hundred Years' War unfold before the reader. The story moves back and forth from England, France, Gascony, Brittany, Scotland, and the Low Countries. Although the actions of the kings and great nobles are at the center of Sumption's tale, the activities of the lesser individuals illuminate the early fourteenth-century setting of his history. For example, as Edward III of England tried to obtain money from Parliament in February 1339 to continue the two-year-old war, an anonymous versifier blistered the king's government and the aristocracy supporting the war, whose cost was being paid by an impoverished peasantry. The poet even suggested that a revolt might break out if the situation did not end soon. To counter such comment, the government started the rumor that the well-to-do would pay for the realm's military needs. Sumption draws no general conclusion about the Hundred Years' War from this, but one can note that from its beginning there were critics who had concerns about a high-priced foreign war.

Sumption's history is an extremely detailed descriptive narrative. His book is not analytical, and he

intends it to be this way. Within the study, however, is explanation of the war and a subtle analysis. The sheer size of his narrative makes a short summary of it impossible. Nevertheless, a few observations regarding the importance of this work are required. No single scholar or group of historians has ever attempted to write a multivolume study of these wars. Because Sumption has decided on a narrative that often moves day by day, and which is built on extensive examination of documentary materials, he has provided a picture of events that we have not possessed before.

Previously the Hundred Years' War has been largely depicted in international and national terms with relatively little consideration of local events. From Sumption's pages the war emerges as a frightful phenomenon grinding up the countryside of France. War, which usually had lasted for only a few weeks in the late summer and early autumn, developed into a year-round affair destroying soldiers, civilians, animals, and property while swallowing vast amounts of money. Not only are previously ignored military campaigns detailed but also their destructive impact on local social conditions is related. Great and well-known battles such as Sluys (1340) and Crécy (1346), the reader discovers, are not unique but rather elements in a continuum of never-ending warfare. Neither of these battles was decisive. Sluys did not guarantee unhindered access to France for the English, as is usually stated; instead, France's own naval operations caused the country endless problems. Crécy, one of the three most famous English victories of the entire Hundred Years' War, is described in three and a half pages. Sumption says nothing about the various interpretations of the battle. He does see its result as paralyzing the incompetent Philip VI and France so that Edward III could besiege Calais and Henry of Lancaster could terrorize southwestern France during the following year.

Thirty-eight maps and plans assist the reading of the text. The scale of the maps range from plans of individual towns, such as Paris, Bergerac, Caen, and Calais, to maps of entire kingdoms. The help in following the movements of the commanders and their forces that these maps provide is inestimable. Both Sumption and his publisher should be thanked for including them.

Sumption begins with the funeral of Charles IV of France on February 5, 1328, and ends at the tomb of Sir Hugh Hastings, an Englishman who had died a few days before the surrender of Calais. Between these two memorials he tells a story of a generation. All students of the early fourteenth century should read this tale in order to place their own interests within the context of this war and its pervasive presence.

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STEPHANIE HOLLIS. *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1992. Pp. 323. \$79.00.

Stephanie Hollis has devised a critical study of Bede's writings on women with chapters organized around selected complementary texts from the same period. This method makes many of Hollis's interesting insights, such as that bishops contested women's roles with a view to usurping them, hard to follow. The work resembles a collection of articles, although there is no indication that the chapters were ever presented separately. Her argument that Bede marginalized women by ignoring their political power and intellectual accomplishments fully deserves extensive treatment, but Hollis's reading tends to reduce historical characters to helpless victims of textual obliteration. She refrains "from evaluating the overall impact of the conversion on the position of women" because pagan Anglo-Saxon society is so inaccessible, but in the next sentence she firmly declares that the "relatively high status of Anglo-Saxon noblewomen represents the continuity of indigenous custom" (p. 2). Christianity is assumed to be inherently misogynistic, contrasted to model women "in the warrior-heroic mode" (p. 10) of Anglo-Saxon literature. Real women are assumed to enjoy a similar relationship to men based on kinship or the *comitatus*. In chapter 3, Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* is said to evoke the warrior-companion model for the double monastery from pagan Valkyrie imagery without recognition of the female soldier of Christ so common in patristic literature.

Endowing "the church" with long-term authoritarian goals doggedly pursued over the centuries, Hollis argues that "lawful marriage," as promulgated in the *Penitentials of Theodore*, destroyed the solidarity of kindred in favor of alterity and had as a consequence the downgrading of women. She hints that women's reactive resistance to conversion was almost obliterated in Bede's rendition. Hollis does not compare Bede's extraordinarily well-behaved Anglo-Saxons with Gregory of Tours' Franks. Might not the English have enjoyed occasional polygamy, not to mention the rape, incest, and violence that made the lives of Frankish women so miserable? In describing Aethelthryth's chaste marriage, for example, Bede never hints that King Ecgrith may have had other mistresses or lovers, or that Jurmengard may even have been a co-wife. Thus, Hollis admits no possibility that indissoluble monogamy might have enhanced women's position.

Nor is Bede's Roman bias fully explicated, although it could account for his rewriting of Cuthbert's life and other failures to recognize the educational and pastoral work of female monasteries created by Irish missionaries and loyal to their cause against Rome. A more coherent chronological scheme would be a blessing. We get no sense of the gap, for example, between the original conversions and the introduc-

tion of female monasticism while the gap between Bede and Boniface is not firmly established.

Her argument that women's position eroded by the eighth century rather than remaining high until the Norman Conquest rests on the illusion of the double monastery. Bede and his contemporaries never used the term, and no contemporary rule formalized the position of men serving women's monasteries. Hollis regards claustration as prohibitive of a female pastoral role, but more extensive examination of continental sources find no such incongruity. Gertrude's arrangements at Nivelles suggest that nuns employed monks to protect their claustration, as was also the case for Caesarian monasteries. This does not indicate that the Christian "creation" of "an entirely new erotic consciousness" (p. 11) forced women's segregation and claustration or that women viewed that development as an obstacle to their Christianizing mission. Nor is there evidence that eighth-century continental reforms were adopted by Alfred the Great at Shaftesbury.

Hollis promises a sequel, and I look forward to reading it. But I would advise that it either be straightforwardly cast as an examination of literary attitudes or organized with a more careful view to historical development.

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JENNIFER WARD. *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*. (The Medieval World.) New York: Longman. 1992. Pp. x, 190.

This book by Jennifer Ward draws on both the recent and some of the slightly older scholarship about English noblewomen, and it presents a useful summary of the author's views on a topic of considerable current interest. It will be of value for students and general readers and also serve to offer useful reflections, some interesting details and anecdotes, and bibliographical guidance for those who come to it with scholarly concerns. It is, in effect, an updated counterpart to Margaret Wade LaBarge's minor classic, *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century* (1965).

We see the segments of a noblewoman's life laid out as a series of chapters: marriage, widowhood, household, travel, religious interests, family ties, and other basic issues. The theme is that noblewomen had active lives and played active roles, and that their level of skill and competence usually more than met the challenges of both daily problems (such as making sure they were not cheated on household purchasing) and of life-crises (such as the husband's death, perhaps accompanied by a sentence of treason and attainder). These are important, if hardly surprising, points, and Ward relates them with clarity and an absence of dogmatism.

It is unfair to criticize a short book for what it is not. Yet in reading Ward's volume, I constantly asked a



series of questions that called for more precise analysis than she gives in this synthetic treatment. Without a definition of nobility, we have rather a helter-skelter approach to virtually all upper-class materials. There are no comparisons between noblewomen and the queens, about whom, in some cases, we know a good deal. Most of the details (including some tables on income) pertain to the lives of Elizabeth de Burgh and five other well-documented women: Ward is an expert on the Lady of Clare and East Anglian society, and she concentrates on a few other women who are, while doubtlessly typical, often studied.

It is surprising that in a book on women written in 1992 there is no attempt to deal with what one would call gender history; the women here are merely the female counterparts of noblemen and upper-class counterparts of "middle-class" women. There is little use of North American scholarship, which, in this field, has made many of the more important recent contributions, especially on the legal issues of widows' rights and wardship, and the canonical as well as secular definitions of marriage. Although the book aims at a synthesis that runs from about 1250 to about 1450, it is mainly confined to the period 1275–1400; thus, little attention is devoted to changing roles and status across the two centuries.

These are awkward challenges to present. Ward could easily deal with them, were she to give us a longer and more scholarly book on this topic. She has not served us badly, for all this string of qualifications, but she does raise as many questions as she answers.

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AVIAD M. KLEINBERG. *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. Pp. x, 189. \$27.50.

This is an original and interesting book. Its principal contribution is its focus on the interaction between an individual and the community that attributes sanctity to that person. Aviad M. Kleinberg moves beyond the Weberian legacy of discussing saints in terms of "charisma," a quality possessed by the saint and recognized by his or her community, to an exploration of the relationship between "performer" and "audience," a relationship in which two parties collaborate in creating a saint. The book also offers a cogent critique of quantitative studies and attempts to answer questions about "what really happened." Kleinberg criticizes other historians who avoid the question of the historicity of miracles by analyzing these descriptions as simply the perceptions of the hagiographers. Because of his sensitivity to the dynamics of interaction that forged the saintliness of the person, Kleinberg refuses to see the text as simply a reflection of the hagiographer's ideals of sainthood. But Klein-

berg creates an unnecessary opposition between interpreting the texts as the ideal perceptions of the hagiographer and as products of a process of negotiation. Even when hagiographers included material that they may have found troubling, they were still recording perceptions of reality, albeit a confusing reality.

Kleinberg's investigation of "living saints" (in contrast to most saints in pre-twelfth-century *vitae* in which the subject is a past hero of largely undisputed merit) is focused on the *vitae* of Christina of Stommeln, Lukardis of Oberweimar, Douceline of Digne, and Francis of Assisi. The interpretation he offers proves the value of his approach. Some of the subjects he develops with insight are the tension between the saintly requirement of humility and the saints' concern for reputation, the pressures on hagiographers to conform to or diverge from traditional models of sanctity, and how the gender of the saint shaped the possibilities for interaction with the community.

At points, however, I found Kleinberg's analysis questionable. For example, in Peter of Dacia's *Life* of Christina of Stommeln he finds incomprehensible stories of demonic attack that do not support the claim of Christina's saintliness. This puzzlement may arise from Kleinberg's characterization of *vitae* as having a single purpose of promoting the saint's cult. Why not consider the possibility that Peter's literary impulses may coincide with but not be exhausted by the motive of promoting the cult? As Kleinberg notes, Peter does not observe such traditional hagiographical protocols as chronological order and an unobtrusive narrator. He also notes that convents were often the audiences for the *vitae* of women saints. This too suggests a somewhat different purpose of some *vitae*, for example fostering a particular kind of spiritual ethos within women's religious communities. Thus, the notion of the genre could be expanded to recognize that *vitae* were the arena for expression that did not necessarily conform to a single agenda.

His argument is not always clear. He asserts that if a person was a saint, then everything he or she did was saintly; he also asserts that much of what a saint did was unrelated to his or her saintly performance. This ambiguity is highlighted in his conclusion, where he tells a poignant story from the *Life* of Beatrice of Nazareth in which Beatrice interacts with a member of her community and is misunderstood. Kleinberg concludes that the story is irrelevant to his study, but he could not resist telling it. To me, the story suggests the need to clarify the criteria of relevance to sainthood.

My reservations about some of his analysis notwithstanding, Kleinberg has succeeded in defining a significant approach to the study of medieval saints and the social dynamics of medieval Christian communities in general. In so doing, he has made a major contribution.

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ELISABETH CROUZET-PAVAN. *Espaces, pouvoir et société à Venise à la fin du moyen âge: "Sopra le acque salse."* In two volumes. (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, number 156.) Rome: École Française de Rome. 1992. Pp. x, 675; 680–1094.

This is a most important book for Venetianists, for anyone interested in this period, and for anyone interested in urban history generally. It will not go unchallenged, but in sheer size (over one thousand pages), scope, depth of research, and breadth of generalization it far exceeds anything written on Venice in the past generation. It will be a point of departure for future work in many fields. This review can only signal its overall methodology and range of content.

The starting point is a complaint that historians have viewed the site and urban fabric of Venice as the passive setting for political and economic developments. To Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, the particular requirements of Venice's topography were, instead, active and dynamic determinants in the shaping of institutions and collective attitudes during the later Middle Ages. To redress a historiography that has relegated the physical environment to the level of a secondary and static factor, she promises systematic exploration of archival and literary sources.

She begins with ample discussion of land reclamation and settlement patterns, then moves to the triumph of public over private space as streets, bridges, and *campi* gradually integrated the early isolated settlements into a unified complex. *Espace*, however, does not long remain within the conceptual limits of spatial geography: it broadens to encompass all topics with even a remotely physical dimension. By the end, she is dealing not so much with Venetian space as with representations of Venetian identity; but since virtually any human act is a form of representation, the author claims license to attempt a *histoire totale*. The final chapters deal with macrospace (city and lagoon), microspace (courtyards and porticoes), spiritual space (cults and charity), ritual space (the *Sensa* and Marian devotions), moral space (sodomy, prostitution, and gambling), family space (wills, dowries, and patrimonial transmission), body space (clothes and adornment), political space (violence), economic space, space-time (clocks, bells, attitudes toward the night), and political-biological space (plagues and public health). Additional topics include defamatory posters, libraries, schools, games, confraternities, prisons, maps, travelers' accounts, masks, contraband, blasphemy, learned treatises, and wineshops.

Each is treated exhaustively. Crouzet-Pavan digs deep into the archives, working through *fondi* that I have never seen cited. She has complete command of the bibliography and provides copious references to other cities for purposes of comparison. But her interest is not really in secondary interpretations, and she skips lightly over the theses of authors such as Stanley Chojnacki, Samuel Cohn, Edward Muir, and

Dennis Romano. Rather, the narrative leaps directly from her own saturated data to her own expansive (and strong) generalizations: this is an intensely personal and original work.

It is also one that will prove controversial. If *espace* is taken in a very general sense, *pouvoir* is intended as the projection of a collective public identity. This is evident in the grammar of the book: "Venice" (writ large) is the subject of innumerable sentences, the actor in the organization of geographic and human space. Although the author does not play down the fault lines of class, gender, and social status, her primary concern is with the maturation of an aggregate consciousness. She takes seriously professed ideals of the common good and the godly society and refuses to interpret public policy as driven by patrician interests alone. Thus, in a blazing final chapter, she takes direct aim at those who dissociate the Venetian myth from Venetian reality: the myth served both to articulate self-understanding and to condition real action. To Crouzet-Pavan, the myth was indeed actualized in an increasingly elaborate and vigilant public administration, and it cannot be dismissed simply because its ideals were often contravened. The growing coherence and harmonization of the spatial setting reflected that of the community at large.

Throughout, the author poses an apparently simple question: what is unique to Venice? A recent historiography that seeks to integrate Venice into the general Italian scene would resist the question, but Crouzet-Pavan is insistent, and surely this is one case in which geographic determinism is appropriate. The answer to the question, it is true, is overlong and repetitive, and constantly loops back to reexamine previously discussed topics. But this too shows her sensitivity to the site: Venetian time is leisurely, and Venetian space is rarely linear.

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ANTHONY GOODMAN. *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe*. New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. xiii, 421. \$39.95.

In view of John of Gaunt's immense contemporary prominence, it is strange that no full-scale study of him has appeared since 1904 (S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*). This book by Anthony Goodman now deals with all aspects of his career except his estates and his affinity, subjects which are being investigated by other scholars. Over the last two decades writers on several periods of English history have abandoned long-term, deterministic views of development in favor of explanations based on more intensive investigations of the dynamic between political situations and the personalities of historical protagonists. This necessitates detailed expositions that often make for

difficult reading. Goodman's book is very much in the new style. The result, however, is a study that does justice to John of Gaunt at last. Due to an explosive combination of social unrest, unsuccessful foreign war, fear of invasion, and, it must be said, the abrasive characters of many of those involved, Gaunt had to work in a period of particularly beastly and violent politics. In this connection Goodman might have made more use of the Westminster Chronicler, who vividly described the generally vicious atmosphere.

Goodman makes it amply clear that Gaunt's activities in the Iberian Peninsula were due as much to support of English state policy as to his own personal ambitions. His lack of success in both spheres was due to the fact that by this time English pretensions abroad were desperately beyond the combined financial resources of both the monarchy and Gaunt himself. These resources were often desperately entangled, so much so that the duke was generally owed large sums of money by the crown. Other verdicts offered by Goodman are extremely interesting. Gaunt's early support of Wycliffe was not entirely opportunistic. In a rather confused way he admired the dissident's austerity, while at the same time also admiring the ultra-orthodox Carmelites and the growing cult of the Blessed Virgin, and yet unashamedly exploiting his own position as a lay patron.

Gaunt's clumsy handling of the political situation of 1376–77 left him with an evil reputation that took him a long time to live down, although thereafter his influence was always cast on the side of political reconciliation. In the end, his relations with the rest of the higher nobility were a qualified success; and he avoided polarizing the peerage into pro and anti-Lancastrian factions, and he was remarkably successful in avoiding regional conflicts with them. Moreover, although some of his most acrimonious disputes were with gentry neighbors and tenants, his well-publicized abhorrence of the abuses of maintenance meant that the conduct of his own huge retinue was never a matter of general complaint. And could anyone have maintained a successful relationship with someone as obnoxious as Richard II?

The book also clearly brings out how heavily dependent the late medieval army was on magnate power and suggests that the magnates' participation in war increased the activity of their private government in society and added to their power and influence. Altogether, this is a book well worth serious study.

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PHILIPPA C. MADDERN. *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia, 1422–1442*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. 270. \$65.00.

The state of the public peace in fifteenth-century England and its relationship to royal authority, the

institutions of local government, and "bastard feudalism" have long generated historical debate. Philippa C. Maddern has made a significant contribution to that discussion with a book that takes for its focus one region, East Anglia, and one period, the twenty years between 1422 and 1442. For these two decades virtually complete records survive for both King's Bench and Gaol Delivery (about half of the cases in this latter court originating in indictments before justices of the peace). These records form the basis for Maddern's study.

Generalizing from this sample, Maddern argues that there is no basis for the common belief that English society in the fifteenth century was much troubled by violence. She is particularly concerned that historians not evaluate monarchy by its degree of success in maintaining public order through eliminating or containing physical violence. Far from being destabilizing, much violence in this society was highly praised. The function of the royal courts and the licit violence they practiced or sanctioned in the practice of others, in fact, was to preserve the social hierarchy and property, not to punish violence. According to Maddern, "the courts were not mere engines for the punishment or redress of wrongs; they were the forum in which fifteenth-century gentry, either in person or through their clients, proved their status—rightly or wrongly, holding property, strong or weak, influential or powerless—before the intent gaze of their peers and dependants" (p. 67). Much of the process of settling issues (and scores) took place outside of the courts, so that lawsuits were "snugly integrated into the general procedures of dispute and competition, such as arbitration and violence" (p. 68). This does not reduce the importance of courts; despite what seems their inefficiency from a modern point of view, the courts were so popular and were so energetically served, especially by the gentry, because they provided the formal, almost ritual setting in which the licit violence was sorted out from the illicit.

In an interesting section that reaches well beyond her two decades and her particular region, Maddern closely examines the medieval notion of violence itself. Justified violence runs downward through the social hierarchy, beginning at the top. God practices righteous violence against sinners, Christ suffered redemptive violence on behalf of sinners. Chivalric violence seems almost a force of nature, worthy of constant praise. Any right authority, acting with good motives against a properly wicked target (never, of course, a social superior) could blamelessly use violence. The parallel to just-war ideas is clear, and clearly noted. Because violence sustains the hierarchical order and flows downward, women, servants, and lower social layers in general were more likely to feel its effects.

Maddern is struck, however, not by the incidence of physical violence, but rather by the respect for law and the clever manipulation of legal machinery for the ends of litigants. She devotes two chapters to close

examinations of seven cases, five countryside quarrels and two instances of alleged community violence (the Norwich riots of 1437 and 1443, quarrels over jurisdiction at Bedford in 1437 and 1439). Maddern argues that investigation of such individual court cases is much more important than any fruitless effort to establish general crime statistics: these case studies reveal the norms of fifteenth-century litigants and not the assumptions of modern investigators. She concludes that much of the legal language of violence—certainly in these cases and likely in general—is merely formal and that “violence was anything but normative in the disputes and litigation by which fifteenth-century East Anglians ordered their position and affairs” (p. 166). The one regularly violent local gentlemen in the population of her case studies was, she finds, isolated and ostracized.

Of course the law had its shady side: it “was likely to be” partial. But this did not trouble fifteenth-century people, no more than the violence of “mercenary soldiers” troubled their conception of chivalry (p. 145). In this society law was held in respect “as a forum of honour, and a means to try debates” (p. 163).

Like most stimulating historical scholarship, this book raises as many questions as it answers. Restrictions of space limit me to posing only the first question that will obviously concern many historians. How widely can these twenty years of East Anglian evidence be generalized? Maddern recognizes this problem, commenting at the end of her book that “violence could either sustain or undermine authority, depending on how it was exercised. It may well be true both that in the period 1422–42, East Anglians as a whole practiced violence which affirmed social order, and that in the 1450s . . . the violent actions of magnates and their retainers helped to disrupt civil society and bring down the Lancastrian dynasty” (p. 233). In fact, the issue of generalization may be even more difficult than is suggested here. Several scholars (myself included) have advanced arguments that the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, no less than the 1450s and 1460s, saw disruptive violence of a particularly virulent sort. It is hard to ignore all the evidence of violence in this slightly earlier period or to dismiss the voluminous violence as merely formulaic. Constant reform efforts by the royal administration (significant even when they were misguided or counterproductive) were advanced to meet a perceived crisis. The crown (in its private as well as its public utterances), thousands of petitioners charging violence and illegality, and writers of the well-documented complaint literature (which took injustice as one of its chief targets) all spoke the same language; all suggested a crisis of public order. One could argue, as Maddern suggests, that the norms about violence held by fifteenth-century East Anglians were actually common medieval norms, shared widely in the periods before and after her sample decades. What, then, is the relationship between these norms and violence and between violence and social order?

Are her East Anglian cases the basis for the broadest kind of generalization, or something of an exception in need of explanation?

To raise the first of a list of questions that will be provoked by this book is in no way to misperceive considerable merits. Maddern has written a clear, bold, and thoughtful work, based on a wide and meticulous search of intractable sources. Those who will disagree with her must also commend her.

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## MODERN EUROPE

DAVID HENIGE. *In Search of Columbus: The Sources for the First Voyage*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 359. \$24.95.

David Henige addresses the current theory of textual criticism as it concerns historical documents—that is, assumptions and methods involved in establishing the text and emending it—and applies the appropriate criteria to the unique holograph abstract of Columbus's log that Bartolomé de Las Casas prepared by paraphrase and quotation from a copy of the log, and to the major editions of this holograph (usually called the *Diario* in the edited form) from Martín Fernández de Navarrete (1825) to Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley (1989). Henige insists that the holograph should not be confused with Columbus's log itself, and that the author of the composite that the holograph records is Las Casas, not Columbus.

Henige's conclusions deny many received assumptions both about the relationship between the log and the composite recorded in the holograph, and about the quality and accuracy of the editing even in the best editions. He concludes that the words identified by Las Casas as quotations from Columbus's log by no means constitute reliable transcriptions of what Columbus wrote, and that the paraphrases are deeply colored by Las Casas's own predilections about what transpired during the voyage, especially where Columbus relates encounters with the Indians.

Second, Henige concludes that almost all the editors of the text have ignored the marginal notes that make up an indispensable part of the holograph account, and that none has recognized and used the assumptions and methods necessary to establish a sound text. Third, he argues that the procedures and results of various translators of the *Diario* sadly fail in the basic task of historical translation, which is “to elucidate what really happened” (p. 29). In reaching these conclusions, Henige painstakingly establishes relationships among three major early sources for the first voyage: the Las Casas holograph, Las Casas's *Historia de las Indias*, and Ferdinand Columbus's biography of his father, the *Historie*; and he critically examines the procedures followed by the various modern editors under consideration. Henige insists on a prime assumption of modern textual theory, to

wit, that editors may introduce changes into the text (here, the unique holograph) only if they do it "explicitly, visibly, and with justification in each instance, retaining the original version in the text and signaling the change in the annotation, or vice versa" (p. 12). "Silent emendation is the cardinal sin" (p. 69).

Henige's chapter 5 constitutes a program for the reediting of Las Casas's text on valid principles. The program involves a thorough study of the changes effected in the holograph by Las Casas himself (through marginalia and insertions) and appropriate emendation of readings that require further change. He sets seven tasks for the editor, each extremely important but too complex to describe here.

The second part of the book addresses the "Land-fall" question as a case study of the various ways in which the holograph has been misread and faultily edited. These chapters examine the entries for October 11–15, 1492, to demonstrate the importance of sound textual criticism in using the *Diario* as historical evidence. He concludes that none of the contenders can claim anything like an airtight case for their conclusions about which island is Guanahani.

I judge that this book will prove the beginning of a new phase of Columbus study, that is, the reediting, on modern principles, of the whole corpus of Columbus's writings and of the writings of those contemporaries who provide historical information about him.

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BEATRIZ PASTOR BODMER. *The Armature of Conquest: Spanish Accounts of the Discovery of America, 1492–1589*. Translated by LYDIA LONGSTRETH HUNT. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 317. \$42.50.

The "armature of conquest" that is the subject of this intriguingly titled book consists of selected narratives written by participants in the Spanish conquests in the Americas. In particular what interests Beatriz Pastor Bodmer are the ways in which such narratives develop their own distinctive semantics and ultimately engender new aesthetic configurations and literary genres. In so doing, these works move beyond direct or literal accounts of events and environs, rescripting and transforming subject and object, conqueror and conquered.

Inevitably then, the "armature of conquest" is the product of myth-making. Bodmer locates the beginnings of this "discourse of mythification" in the letters and *relaciones* of Christopher Columbus and Hernán Cortés. For the most part, her treatment of these materials is consonant with established interpretations. She argues, as others have done, that Columbus's own complex mythology determined where he thought he was, what he was seeking, and what he saw on his voyages, thus confining him to invention rather than description.

Cortés's mythifications rested on the intricacies of

his shifting self-fashionings, Machiavellian in nature. These self-fashionings are manifest in his calculated uses of the official form of the *carta de relación*. Its quasi-legal status and the veracity this implied if not encoded provided Cortés with the vehicle for his fictions. He inverted his complicated relationship with the royal viceroy from rebellion to loyal service of Charles V, his persona from that of rebel to "model conqueror."

The narrative structures produced in the wake of the achievements of Columbus and Cortés are more ambivalent in nature, reflective of setbacks and failures experienced in expeditions such as that of Ponce de León to Florida in search of the Fountain of Youth and that of Fray Marcos de Nizza to the American southwest in search of the Seven Enchanted Cities of Cibolla. The linchpin of this section and of the book as a whole is Bodmer's analysis of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios*, an account of Pánfilo de Narváez's expedition to Florida in 1526. The *Naufragios*, a variant of the *relación*, inaugurates the genre of "discourses of demythification," whose dynamics "shift from heroic action to a desperate struggle for survival" (p. 131).

These struggles result in inversions that differ dramatically from those devised by Cortés. In the wake of a shipwreck, the Spaniards find themselves naked, and to survive they eat each other. Conquered by a merciless physical environment, they are spared only because of the compassion and efficiency of their Indian rescuers. The failures recounted in the *Naufragios* were soon followed by open conflicts within the culture of the conquerors, notably in Peru. Gonzalo Pizarro's resistance to the "New Laws" decreed in 1543, the rebellion of the *Marañones* led by Lope de Aguirre, and a number of other uprisings spawned a "discourse of rebellion" that fissured, if not disintegrated, the venerable models that had served Columbus and Cortés. The erosion of these models marks the beginning of what Bodmer calls a "Spanish American" consciousness and literature.

This new consciousness is manifest in Alonso de Ercilla's epic poem on the conquest of Chile, *La Arancana*, published in 1589. Bodmer argues compellingly but not altogether conclusively that in this work the conflicted and conflicting discourses identified and traced earlier are subsumed and absorbed in a conscious and determined transmutation of the classical and Renaissance epic. Once again there is an essential inversion at work, this time a variant on the theme of the "noble savage" (Bodmer does not explicitly make this connection in her discussion). The Araucan Indians are the idealized Americans. They embody at once the freedom of their physical environment "with all its ferocity, restlessness, and violence" (p. 218) and the civilized mores and conventions of the chivalric culture of sixteenth-century Spain. Alonso de Ercilla's fragile ideal and Bodmer's versatile reading succeed in that they fictively negotiate the ambiguities and impossibilities innate in the



encounter of Spain and the Americas. The legacy of the texts and themes traced lies in the magical realism of contemporary Latin American literature. Those interested in its antecedents should read this learned and stimulating study.

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ANNE CONRAD. *Zwischen Kloster und Welt: Ursulinen und Jesuitinnen in der katholischen Reformbewegung des 16./17. Jahrhunderts*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Religionsgeschichte, number 142.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 1991. Pp. xii, 296. DM 78.

Fifteen years ago Ruth Liebowitz's "Virgins in the Service of Christ: The Dispute over an Active Apostolate for Women during the Counter-Reformation" (in Rosemary R. Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin, eds., *Women of Spirit* [1979], pp. 131-52) introduced many readers to the large number of Catholic women throughout Europe who in the early modern period attempted to create a form of religious life for women parallel to or explicitly modeled on that of the Jesuits: a life of service in the world teaching, caring for the sick, and ministering to the poor. As Liebowitz then noted, their attempts were largely blocked by the church hierarchy after the Council of Trent, but the stories of these many women led one to want to know more about them. Until now, the only book-length study available has been Elizabeth Rapley's *The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France* (1990), which is excellent but geographically limited. Anne Conrad has done a great service to all those interested in religious developments of the early modern period and in women's history by providing a detailed account of a number of individuals and groups who attempted to create—or rediscover—an active religious life for women. I am only sorry that her book is written in German, for it covers developments not only in Germany but also Italy, France, and England and would surely become the first reference on the topic we would give our students if only it were accessible to all of them.

Conrad begins her story with an examination of the work of Angela Merici, the founder of the Company of St. Ursula in Brescia, which served as a model for many later groups seeking a middle road between husband and cloister. She then looks at the spread of the Ursulines in France and the independent development there, in England, and in Germany of similar groups that also looked to the Jesuits as their model. Her most detailed discussion covers the Ursuline society in Cologne, the group that first piqued her interest in this topic. For each group she investigates, Conrad explores the motivations of the individuals involved, the regulations they established, and conflicts both within the groups and with the church hierarchy. The last half of the book brings all of these

groups together, stressing the common elements in each, such as their development of a new type of saintly ideal for women and their role in the expansion of girls' education and in both practical and spiritual care for the poor and ill.

Unlike many other German works that began as dissertations, Conrad's study sets the history of these groups in a wider context, in this case two contexts: the tension between clergy and laity in the Counter Reformation; and the growth in women's self-consciousness, what she sees as their participation in the early modern "debate about women." Also in contrast to many dissertations, both German and American, Conrad is not afraid to take positions on controversial topics. She recognizes the contradictory implications of the ideal of virginity for women, for example, and traces the great difficulties women had maintaining a religious life in the world, but she still chooses to emphasize the positive results of this "Ursuline-Jesuitical women's movement." Her work never lapses into hagiography, however, for she points out the flaws and weaknesses as well as the strengths of the leaders, nor does it lapse into Jesuit, church, or institution bashing, for she notes the important role played by male supporters of these women including Jesuits. If it gets the readership it deserves, this study will provide a welcome German and religious angle to the investigation of the early modern "debate about women," which has so far focused primarily on secular writers in England, France, and Italy.

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LESLIE PAGE MOCH. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*. (Interdisciplinary Studies in History.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 257. \$35.00.

This fine survey by Leslie Page Moch concentrates on France and on northwestern Europe, dividing its time span of 350 years into four epochs. The first, preindustrial Europe, started in 1650 and continued until the middle of the eighteenth century, when a second epoch—the early age of industry—began both in cities and in the countryside with large-scale production for outside markets. The third epoch, from 1815 to 1914, saw new migration patterns emerge in response to widespread urbanization and advanced industrialization. The last epoch subdivides sharply between a pattern of politically forced or restricted migrations during thirty years of war lasting until 1945 and in more recent decades the influx of non-Europeans into areas of Europe that in earlier centuries were net exporters of people.

Moch unites the discussion of all four epochs by employing several definitions and methodological strategies, an essential tactic for a study as broad and comparative as this. Migration is defined to include

any change of residence across a municipal (village or town) boundary. The region, rather than the state, is established as the primary geographic unit of analysis. Movements across municipal boundaries are categorized, at least theoretically, according to a combination of their distance and their presumed permanence, resulting in the following terminology: local, circular, chain, and career. Moch acknowledges but sets aside as peripheral (at least until the twentieth century) Europe's colonizing movements and coerced migrations. Further subtleties and complications arise as the author adds the need to analyze migration with due attention to the age, gender, class, and familial situations of migrants themselves.

Many important conclusions, ones that should affect what we teach in our introductory European history courses as well as the research agendas of graduate students and senior scholars, emerge in this survey. To state just one, Europeans were not at all sedentary in the preindustrial age; the documentation, although sparse, uniformly points to high rates of all four kinds of migration. Only the inherent methodological biases of sources such as parish registers, eminently useful though they are for other questions, have misled historians into positing a world of village peasants who lived out their lives within the sound of the same church bell. Moch begins her study only around 1650, but I believe that her thoroughly destructive critique of the myth of an immobile Europe could be applied equally well to earlier centuries in regions where feudalism no longer dominated. Even sharecropping systems turn out to have nurtured high migration rates.

Also very valuable are the many insights on matters not solely related to migration patterns. With admirable nuance, for example, she takes a very old truth—that migrant (and nonmigrant) women tried to use pregnancy as a means to coerce men into marrying them—rescues it from the trashbin of political incorrectness, reshapes it to give due significance to women's vulnerability, and reinterprets it as an index of parental economic strength rather than of filial morality.

I have called this work a survey rather than a synthesis because the secondary works it relies on are so varied in their definitions and methods, as are the primary sources underlying them, that comparability over wide spaces and long distances is extremely difficult to achieve. Moch is correct in stressing the economic region rather than the political state or municipality, but the reality is that most documents are gathered by and for political powerholders and expressed in those units. Her overall history of migration, with its economically driven causal engine, seems right, but even the rich examples she draws from the best work currently being done leave one uneasy about the universality of her explanations. The coverage of Iberia, most of the Italian peninsula, Greece and the Balkans, as well as Central and Eastern Europe is spotty. Certainly the timing, if not

the explanatory patterns, of European migration would be different if these regions were given more attention. Still, what the book does do it does well.

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BRUCE MANSFIELD. *Man on His Own: Interpretations of Erasmus, c. 1750–1920*. (Erasmus Studies, number 11.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1992. Pp. x, 512. \$75.00.

Erasmiana has grown at a remarkable pace in the last quarter-century. With the launching of the Amsterdam edition of the *Opera omnia* (1969– ) and the Toronto English translation of the *Collected Works* (1974– ), Erasmus's corpus has become ever more accessible. An accompanying profusion of secondary scholarship has flowered as well. For instance, there has appeared a monograph series (now at eleven works) devoted to Erasmus, which includes Bruce Mansfield's historiographical studies, *Phoenix of His Age: Interpretations of Erasmus c. 1550–1750* (1979), and its sequel, the present work. Surveying principally biographies, Reformation and general histories, journal articles, encyclopedia entries, and lectures, this study charts the fluctuations in views of Erasmus from the Enlightenment (Voltaire) to the early twentieth century (Johan Huizinga). Mansfield seeks to anchor shifting appraisals of Erasmus to various confessional biases, historical circumstances, political ideologies, and intellectual currents of the early modern and modern era.

In his veiled autobiography, the *Compendium vitae*, Erasmus astutely characterized the tragic role forced on him in the Reformation drama, observing that he “was torn in pieces by both sides, while aiming zealously at what was best for both” (p. 238). And just as Erasmus was victimized by history, so also has he been abused by historians seeking to appropriate him for their varying ideological purposes. Mansfield suggests that the eighteenth century inherited competing confessional traditions concerning Erasmus. Catholics (although sometimes hailing him as an advocate of salutary, but contained, Catholic reform) more often scorned him as a destructive critic of traditional theology and hierarchy. Protestants (although sometimes applauding him as a pioneering proto-Protestant) frequently condemned him as a Protestant *manqué*, a reform Nicodemist too craven to break with the Roman church. The Enlightenment cultivated a more consistently benign view of Erasmus as a champion of reason and religious freedom. In a digression on Christian heresy in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Edward Gibbon celebrated Erasmus as a figure spawning not so much the Protestant Reformation (soon to degenerate into a new dogmatism) but a more general Reformation promoting toleration, healthy skepticism, and “rational theology” (p.

35). This secularizing, liberal tradition (the one most congenial to Mansfield) would continue to prosper in the nineteenth century in such figures as the Whig Henry Hallam, the former Tractarian Mark Pattison, and the Unitarian Charles Beard.

Although Erasmus's reputation would seem to have been rescued by the Enlightenment tradition, new threats to the liberal appraisal came from romanticism—and its companion nationalism—which transformed Erasmus's virtues of rationality and moderation into the vices of blandness and weakness. Mansfield finds the germs of this view in Johann Gottfried von Herder, who, in his lionizing of the German firebrand Ulrich von Hutten as a patriotic hero, used Erasmus as a foil, a symbol of the timid figure who failed to meet the historical challenge of his day. Although excesses of the French Revolution subsequently prompted Herder to revise this appraisal, this perspective would be later developed by, among others, G. H. A. Wagner, who unfavorably compared Erasmus to both von Hutten and Martin Luther.

New religious currents and controversies of the nineteenth century would again pique Erasmus's exploitation for confessional purposes. For instance, the conservative First Vatican Council of 1870 prompted various timely assessments of Erasmus. Philipp Woker's dissertation *De Erasmi Roterodami studiis irenicis* (1873), Mansfield argues, mirrored his own reaction as a Catholic moderate to the excesses of the council, while, on the right, Johannes Janssen's history of late-medieval Germany (begun in the aftermath of the council and the resulting *Kulturkampf* in which he lobbied for Rome) condemned Erasmus as a catalyst for the disasters awaiting the sixteenth-century Catholic church. In turn, the Protestant Constantin Schlottmann, who took the side of the German state against Rome, defended Erasmus against his Catholic critics (and against Protestants who scorned Erasmus as overly skeptical and pusillanimous), and advance portions of his *Erasmus redivivus* (1882) dealing with the *Kulturkampf* drew fire from Catholic members of the Prussian parliament (p. 223).

Although Mansfield would seem to find Erasmus scholarship forever awash in subjectivism, he does discover a trace of historiographical "progress" toward objectivism emerging in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century. Rankean advances in the critical method gradually inspired historians to delineate precisely Erasmus's influences, contacts, and immediate impact in the Netherlands, France, Italy, Germany, England, and Switzerland. For Mansfield, the culmination of this increasingly objective (and professionalized) scholarship came in P. S. Allen's edition of Erasmus's letters, which began to appear in 1906.

With its generational coverage of scores of writers in France, Germany, England, Scotland, the Low Countries, Switzerland, and the United States, Mansfield's work represents a prodigious feat of scholar-

ship. Sometimes overreaching in its historiographical determinism, his study nonetheless incisively reveals the impact of history on historiography. The work's principal strength—its thoroughness—is also, in places, its weakness, as the level of detail sometimes approaches that of a catalogue. Telling us too much about the nineteenth century, Mansfield tells us too little about the twentieth. Not announcing plans for a third volume for the modern period, he devotes but two paragraphs to the period from 1930 to the present, missing an opportunity to consider the popularity and character of more recent Erasmus scholarship. For example, having perceptively analyzed the impact of conservative Vatican I on Erasmiana, he might have examined the effects of liberal Vatican II (1962–65) on Catholic and non-Catholic appraisals of Erasmus. This is, however, a minor quibble regarding an impressive study that, among other things, reminds us how and why historians stubbornly force the past to serve the present.

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ELIZABETH DEEDS ERMARTH. *Sequel to History: Postmodernism and the Crisis of Representational Time*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 232. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$14.95.

This book should be essential reading for all historians who have an interest in understanding how the postmodern revision of temporality challenges the nineteenth-century historicism on whose foundations our discipline by and large still rests. Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, a professor of English, makes three fundamental assertions. First, primarily by reading postmodern novels, she examines "(historical) time as itself a phenomenon" (p. 21). She therefore analyzes the historicity of history since the Renaissance. Second, she argues that when critics discover and explain the preconditions and causes of historical events and practices, they "neutralize" or repress their own role in constructing those events as events, and, in so doing, affirm the transcendent, objective role of the historian-interpreter. In this view, historicism does not question established power but is always in the process of justifying, legitimating, and stabilizing it by naturalizing or "rationalizing" the present as the logical outcome of the past and precondition for the future. In contrast, "what vanishes in postmodern narrative is the 'narrator,' which is to say that 'Nobody' power of consciousness that maintains historical time . . . that maintains perspective, objectivity, verifiability, neutrality" (p. 117).

Finally, Ermarth proposes to replace linear, rational historical time as we have come to live it with what she calls "rhythmic" temporality. Rhythm (she privileges jazz improvisation) would be "an imaginable alternative to history" (p. 48). Temporality conceived

in such terms turns historians (or any writer or reader) into self-conscious story makers; they are always implicated in the text, so that history itself becomes an aesthetic production that implicitly critiques all pretensions to omniscient knowledge and gives creative power back to women and others long disenfranchised.

Ermarth's argument proceeds—as one would expect from a literary critic—by reading postmodern texts, specifically Vladimir Nabokov, Alain Robbe-Grillet, and Julio Cortazar. Yet her originality stems from her desire to read postmodern temporality as a cultural as well as textual alternative to unequal power structures. From this ambition stems the book's most inspiring and most disappointing moments.

The impulse behind Ermarth's argument is an admirably democratic one. Everyone can improvise at every moment, and the normative frameworks in which all of us have been forced to work can be discarded. She envisions a future with no boundaries between texts and contexts, in which there would no longer be a division between, say, theory and politics, but instead an "Aesthetics of Feminism," of "Racism," of "Capitalism," and so forth (p. 12). But how, one wonders, does conceiving of feminists as history makers in these terms help us to identify who has power and who does not and how and why it is distributed the way it is?

Ermarth is quite aware of these questions, but she answers simply that the purpose of "guerrilla" criticism is not to replace old forms with new ones but to subvert the old ones from within—to demonstrate that all normative frameworks are constructed. And here she falls back on the artist's perspicacity: "a painter like Joan Miro addresses the real problems of social action more directly than any governmental agent" (p. 103), presumably because of his capacity to "deneutralize" and "eroticize" pictorial space. I quote this somewhat surprising phrase not to ridicule it or the method that makes it possible, but rather to point to the profound problems even a critic such as Ermarth has in envisioning a postmodern scholarship that could allow for the proliferation of new meanings and yet also account for why some meanings (say, the multiple perspectives of minorities, women, lesbians, and gays) remain marginal.

Historians will recognize some of the most recent critiques leveled at their own discipline by poststructuralists and postmodernists more generally in Ermarth's analysis. They will be disappointed to note her lack of engagement with historians in a book so preoccupied with history. Hayden White, Joan Scott, and others are notably absent. Feminist historians and theorists might also be frustrated by her lack of attention to feminist critiques of poststructuralist criticism in a book that discusses French feminist theory in some detail. Nevertheless, this is a lucid book that deserves a wide readership among historians.

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JÖRG FISCH. *Reparationen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1992. Pp. 359. DM 98.

Reparations are in bad repute, blamed for exacerbating international conflict and economic problems after World War I. But after reviewing world-wide reparation payments after World War II, Jörg Fisch concludes they can be a reasonable policy.

After discussing the divergent motives of the victors of World War II, Fisch compares the widely differing reparation burdens on vanquished countries. Reparations included, he notes, not only goods from current production, dismantled plants and machinery, and money, but also occupation costs, enemy assets abroad, shipping, and intellectual capital (patents and knowledge). And several defeated countries (like Finland) paid substantial reparations without serious economic or political problems.

More in sorrow than in anger, Fisch identifies the United States and Britain as the villains of his piece. They imposed enormous occupation costs, took those enemy assets most useful to them, and insisted that repayment of prewar and postwar debts should have priority over reparations, favoring rich creditors like themselves over poor war-damaged countries. But they simultaneously rejected not unreasonable demands for reparations from current (especially German) production desperately needed by the Soviet Union and others. They initially feared promoting reparations from production would speed economic recovery, making Germany a potentially dangerous competitor again and perhaps allowing renewed German aggression. They also believed (wrongly, Fisch claims) that they would finance any reparations from their zones to the Soviet Union and others.

Historians have noted the importance of reparations disputes, but Fisch blames the Anglo-Americans for forcing the "reparations-political division" of Germany and Europe into Western and Soviet spheres (p. 12). He believes that reparations were feasible and that the Anglo-Americans, not the Soviets, were intransigent. Fisch argues that the reparations-political split made any reunification extremely difficult but reflected underlying suspicions that made a division of Europe and Germany probable anyway, although by no means certain.

Although concentrating on the German case, Fisch provides a clear, thoughtful overview of all postwar reparations. He draws on secondary works and a few published primary sources. Because his sources vary widely in quality and approach, his statistics usually have to be estimates. Unfortunately, he does not always clearly document his assertions.

Fisch's reassessment of postwar reparations, while often compelling, suffers from a certain unreality. He makes a theoretical case that German reparations from production need not have burdened Anglo-American taxpayers, but it is not fully convincing. He speculates about Soviet, American, and British concerns but, relying on relatively few published docu-



ments, he lacks adequate evidence of their views. He alludes to, but does not systematically pursue, the larger context in which reparations were debated. He also wavers between recognizing that various governments disagreed internally and writing as though each country were a rational actor implementing a coherent consensus. Hence, for all his efforts to explore the reparations debate comprehensively, he does not fully capture the confusion and uncertainty that plagued postwar policy makers. Americans and Britons may be more or less culpable in the reparations conflict than Fisch argues, but finding out will require combining his reassessment with a careful reading of the documents.

Better documented discussions of specific reparations cases are available, and Fisch's use of evidence is not always satisfactory. But he provides a useful overview of reparations after 1944 and a thought-provoking analysis of the Allied conflict over German reparations.

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AVRIL PITTMAN. *From Ostpolitik to Reunification: West German-Soviet Political Relations since 1974*. (Soviet and East European Studies, number 85.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 226. \$59.95.

This is a curious book, uneven and lacking in cohesion; it is more like a collection of essays on subjects that appear to be rather unconnected, or at least not compellingly connected. Avril Pittman's splicing job begins with its title, which promises a great deal more than it delivers. Neither the *Ostpolitik* nor German unification are fully described or related to the main essays presented here, and the impression of a political history of West German-Soviet relations from 1974 to the 1990s is also misleading. The book looks more like a study of certain aspects of the 1974-82 period, with as much emphasis on West German-East German relations and the Berlin Agreements as on West German-Soviet relations. The field work consists of confidential interviews done in 1984 and 1985 in East Germany. There is no sign that sources in languages other than English or German were used. After the mid-1980s, the project seems to have gone into hibernation. A final chapter on West German-Soviet relations after 1982 tries to tie together the disparate parts and update the account in a rather cursory way. There is also a brief appendix on West German-Soviet economic relations that adds little insight.

Having condemned the book as generally lacking, I should say that some of its parts deserve praise. There is a fine chapter, which could have been expanded, on ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union and the West German efforts to help their emigration or improve their rights. This topic deserves emphasis because there is little information available in English,

to my knowledge, on this subject. The chapters about the Berlin Agreements—not on “Berlin” in general as the title promises—on West German-East German relations under the Helmut Schmidt administration in Bonn, and about West German-Soviet relations are useful in a limited way. There is, again, the absence of an encompassing framework or argument that could have inspired, carried, and unified the presentation. There is also a curious variation in the level of analysis that occurs from subject to subject and chapter to chapter. Some sections that seem to ask for broad interpretation, such as the one titled “World War Two and Its Aftermath, 1945-1974” (Pittman provides no explanation for this choice of period) never rise above the driest of chronologies. Other chapters, such as those concerning German-Soviet relations, are almost all interpretation. Sometimes Pittman makes excessive use of lengthy quotations and reported opinions of various personages; at other times the author rests mostly on her own account and description. Many chapters lack a conclusion or summary to pull the disparate threads together, and the book itself leaves the reader dissatisfied in this respect. The writing also falls frequently below the standards we are accustomed to from this publisher, and there are some embarrassing mistakes and word usages that a knowledgeable editor should have caught.

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EAMON DUFFY. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c. 1580*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 654. \$45.00.

Ever since Keith Thomas published *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971) some have felt the need for a book just as long on more conventional late-medieval religion, to balance the recent emphasis on “popular,” even magical, approaches to the supernatural. Eamon Duffy has produced such a work.

This book is not another history of the Reformation from the perspective of England's rulers, whether clerical or lay. Nor is it a phenomenological description of how the sacred was apprehended by worshippers in that day, although Duffy does use the voices of contemporaries when he can. He does not draw on comparative religion or semiology to show a coherence within late-medieval piety. Nor does Duffy attempt an explanation of religious changes from some sociological, economic, or psychological angle. It could best be called a local history of the Reformation, drawing instances from all areas of the country.

For all its length, the work sometimes seems narrow because of Duffy's implicit definition of religion. He is only interested in what went on in church. What people did to insure their health and good fortune, how religious concepts informed their discourse or

their art, or how it shaped their social relations or their identities does not enter the picture. Duffy's treatment is broad in the sense of trying to be representative of common practice; he is too sympathetic with his subjects to want to concentrate on exotic cults or picturesque aberrations, in the manner of some recent and admired continental works.

Duffy feels that the heart of medieval piety has been neglected and therefore takes the liturgy as his starting point. He deals with the religious year, with the administration of the Mass and of saints' cults, with primers, charity, and the community of the dead. He traces the pre-Reformation growth of the use of English prayers and also the oddity of Latin primers for the laity. There is a chapter of cautions to be observed in using the wording of wills as an index of changing beliefs. The last third of the book describes the imposition of the Reformation and, most interestingly, the Marian reaction. Illustrations add to the richness of the description.

Duffy argues several major points. He takes issue with the assumption that medieval piety was in decline, going to some lengths to show the theological sophistication of the laity. He emphasizes their corporate responsibility against those who have claimed to notice a growing individualism. Also, he denies that the Tudors had an easy time imposing change. Indeed, he thinks that the power used to force the pace of Reformation is proof of a Tudor despotism, or "diktat" (p. 478). Duffy offers evidence that the Marian reaction was backed by more popular enthusiasm than Elizabeth's restoration of Protestantism. And he tries, less successfully, to describe Marian Catholicism as in some way religiously progressive. Nothing he presents disproves the standard view that Cardinal Reginald Pole's program was to make the English docile "chylterne of God," or "parvuli," to use Duffy's own term (p. 531).

Naturally, Duffy leaves some questions to be addressed by others. What does the evident desire for constant elaboration of ritual and decoration show about the medieval religious mentality? It certainly contrasts with the reformers' desire for stark simplicity and a concentration on scripture. Also, how was it that the laity could persist in theological mistakes or exaggerations with regard to things like extreme unction or purgatory, to the point that they nearly forced changes in official doctrine?

More generally, there is a need for works that would treat religion as an adverb rather than as a noun. In 1500, religion was not just a thing one did but a way of doing things. One did everything religiously, always acting with regard to unseen forces. Duffy's magisterial treatment of pre-Reformation religious history should make it possible to move on to a more incisive and broad-scale cultural history of religion.

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RICHARD DUTTON. *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 305. \$32.95.

Richard Dutton's study of the regulation and censorship of English drama between 1581 and 1626 comes hard on the heels of Janet Clare's "*Art made tongue-tied by authority*": *Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship* (1990). The appearance of two books on essentially the same topic in such a short span of time speaks not only to our obsession with governmental manipulation of the arts but also to the range of interpretive possibilities when we attempt to reconstruct Renaissance practices. These two studies, written independently of each other, are notably at odds in their conclusions. Clare's title, borrowed from Shakespeare's Sonnet 66, underscored her dislike of censorship and her conviction that dramatic creativity in the Renaissance English was done a major disservice by official paranoia. Dutton argues that the Masters of the Revels, Edmond Tilney, Sir George Buc, and Sir Henry Herbert, although concerned naturally with guarding court privileges and suppressing seditious matter, were nonetheless able to provide stability to the theatrical marketplace and thereby foster economic success, vitality, and a wide range of expression on social, political, and religious issues that might otherwise have succumbed to the conformist pressures that eventually closed the theaters in 1642. Dutton is thus a revisionist historian in his willingness to rethink common assumptions about Elizabethan censorship.

Dutton begins engagingly by asking what we are to make of the fact that the age's most notorious quarrelor with the authorities, Ben Jonson, became entangled in his highly publicized wrangling with officialdom only after his plays had been licensed for performance, and only after he himself came within a heartbeat of becoming the Master of the Revels (since in 1621 he was granted reversion of the post). Clearly, from Dutton's perspective, the received account of censorship in the Renaissance owes its inspiration to a familiar but oversimplified Whig liberal thesis of the artist doing battle against Tudor and Stuart absolutism on behalf of freedom of expression and individual liberties. Dutton ably shows how the New Criticism of our present century had no reason to dispute this scenario of the artist as David taking on the Goliath of repressive despotism, and how the New Historicism of more recent years has had its own ideological reasons for linking such an interpretation of history with our political fixations on Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, Jesse Helms, and political control of the National Endowment for the Arts and National Endowment for the Humanities. Dutton's realignment, in these terms, is with "revisionist" historians like Derek Hirst, Linda Levy Peck, and Malcolm Smuts, who have rethought our ideas about faction and patronage in ways that acknowledge

credible elements along with the familiarly worrisome tendencies of absolutism.

The role of interpretation, then, is crucial. Opponents in the debate over Renaissance censorship agree broadly on the factual record, but not on what it means. Those whom Dutton refers to as "cult historians," such as Jonathan Dollimore, employ their fascinations with the ideological construction of power to depict the drama as expressive of otherness that the state was all too ready to brand as seditious, atheistic, and sexually deviant; "revisionists" like Philip Finkelpearl see censorship as less oppressive in practice than has been widely supposed. The debate is healthy, in Dutton's view, and he shows himself to be learned in the work of those engaged in the controversy, from Martin Butler and Andrew Gurr to Jean Howard, Margot Heinemann, and David Norbrook. Dutton's tone is respectful and engaged; he conducts a sane and markedly unhysterical forum on the debate, making clear his own revisionist persuasions but mainly pleading for more analytical (as opposed to ideological) reexamination of the data.

Dutton accordingly devotes his attention to detailed case histories, presenting them fairly and lucidly. He sees Tilney and company in his own image: that is, pragmatic rather than doctrinaire. Dutton's Tilney is interested in minimizing problems, not in forbidding dramatic performance. Even with as daring a text as *Sir Thomas More* (ca. 1590–93, later revised), Tilney did what he could to allow the play to go forward with certain prudent changes. During Tilney's term of office, Marlowe's remarkably incendiary plays made it to the stage, even if with some minor modifications. Dutton can find no evidence (nor can I) for William Empson's remarkable thesis that an original version of *Doctor Faustus*, now lost, was far more heretical than what London audiences were allowed to see. The Privy Council seems to have been intent on prosecuting Marlowe as a person at about the time of his death, but made no move, through Tilney, to suppress his plays. Dutton's conclusion from evidence like this is forthright and arresting: "the expression of heterodox, or at least provocative opinions was not in itself grounds for censorship or restraint. Within our period, there is no clear evidence of any Master of the Revels objecting to the *opinions, attitudes* or *doctrines* (as such) expressed within a play" (p. 89). When a play contained what appeared to be "dangerous matter," to be sure, a Master of the Revels such as Herbert would indeed censor it before licensing, as in the case of Thomas Drue's *The Duchess of Suffolk* (1624), but not with a view to prosecution, and only rarely with a view to refusing a license entirely (as when Herbert turned down a play by Massinger in 1630 on the deposition of Sebastian, King of Portugal).

To take another example, Dutton's analysis of the Essex rebellion in 1601, and its commissioning of a performance at the Globe Theater of a play about Richard II on the eve of the rebellion, weighs in on the side of scholarly circumspection and detailed

analysis. Dutton does not assume the play had to be Shakespeare's, although any play on Richard II would have presented the players with a difficulty. Dutton is more sympathetic with Annabel Patterson's characterization of the event as one of the period's most "famous puzzling incidents of *noncensorship*," and to Leed Barroll's observation that the authorities seem to have downplayed the role of Shakespeare's company in the conspiracy, than with the claims of Stephen Greenblatt and Jonathan Dollimore about subversion and repression. Shakespeare and his company, notes Dutton, were invited to perform at court less than a month after their offense-giving presentation of a Richard II play. Even if the abdication scene in Act IV was censored from performance and is omitted in the early quartos, Shakespeare's play elsewhere deals in references to Bushy, Bagot, Green, and the like, that were universally regarded as suggestively parallel to Essex's situation. John Hayward was of course committed to the Tower for his *The First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henry IV* (1599–1601), and was interrogated about his treatment of Bolingbroke as a crowd-pleasing politician, and yet this element is present also in Shakespeare's play, where it passed the censor without comment. And although the abdication scene (not a deposition scene) is missing from Shakespeare's script, we must take cognizance of the fact that Marlowe's *Edward II*, with its abdication scene, was allowed into print in 1594 and 1598 with no apparent objection from any censoring authority. Dutton accordingly finds little evidence to support the widely held view of the abdication scene in *Richard II* as having been censored for the reading public, and even wonders if that scene was not one of the "new additions" advertised in the quarto of 1608.

Undoubtedly, Elizabethan censors could and did respond in paranoid fashion to what they regarded as dangerous subversion. Part of the strength of Dutton's argument is that he is ready to admit that playwrights and other authors lived under a threat that could become dangerously real. The corresponding strength in Dutton's presentation, however, is that he refuses to confer totality on this image of governmental repression. In its subtlety of detail and its painstaking reexamination of many instances, Dutton's book provides us with evidence of variety and discrepant interpretation. Dutton's many individual analyses offer solid advances in our understanding of how the Masters of the Revels went about their work on a day-to-day basis.

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LARRY STEWART. *The Rise of Public Science: Rhetoric, Technology, and Natural Philosophy in Newtonian Britain, 1660–1750*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xxxiv, 453. \$69.95.

In some respects this book can be seen as a sequel to A. E. Musson and Eric Robinson's deservedly influential *Science and Technology in the Industrial Revolution* (1969). Larry Stewart plunges into the giddy world of the projectors of Augustan England, following especially the careers of James Bridges, the Duke of Chandos, and Case Billingsley. Although I was familiar with the Duke of Chandos as a name, the details of his activities as a projector were unknown to me. As for Billingsley, I was not previously acquainted even with his name. Nor was I familiar with the central role of technical expertise in many of the projects these two, as well as others, put forward—for example, the endeavors of the York Buildings Company, in which both Chandos and Billingsley were involved, to supply water to London.

To the fascinating details of this and other projects, Stewart adds a great deal of information, also new as far as I am aware, about the enterprise of public lecturing on natural philosophy during the first half of the eighteenth century. The public lectures and the technical expertise in various projects are the central features of the concept of public science that Stewart proclaims in his title. Like the work of Musson and Robinson, this book serves notice that our notions of the relations of technology and early modern science are in the process of serious revision.

Unfortunately, Stewart chooses to embed this argument in a much broader one, little of which appears equally compelling to me. First, the legitimization of Newtonian science Stewart attributes to the rise of public science. He never spells out what he means by Newtonian science, and in practice he uses the phrase in such a vague and amorphous manner that it has no meaning. Thus, one Benjamin Lund is identified as a natural philosopher, with the overt implication that he was a Newtonian, because he once obtained, in company with Francis Hauksbee, a patent to refine copper ores (p. 374). Even if Newtonian science were given precise meaning, I find the argument that a doctrine that shaped the whole of Western science for the following two centuries was legitimated by developments having nothing to do with the content of science and confined entirely to Britain during the first half of the eighteenth century a mistake in category.

There are generational differences of approach in play here. Without recourse to popular legitimization, Stewart insists at one point, "we are reduced to claiming the success of Newton rested solely on the merit of his natural philosophy" (p. xxxii). Indeed. But in Stewart's terms, we appear to be reduced to wondering what it was in Newtonian science that led his projectors to think they would gain technical advantage from it. Legitimation is one of the chic words now in circulation, and Stewart uses it freely. At one point, in two successive paragraphs (pp. 383–84), the rhetoric and practice of the public lectures legitimate "improvement" (that is, economic development) and public acceptance, of the lectures and of improvement, legitimates Newtonian science.

It is essential to Stewart's argument that something new in the application of science to technology came into being in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Virtually all of his examples concern three technologies: navigation, hydraulic engineering, and the Newcomen engine. Astronomers and mathematicians, however, had been reforming navigation, ushering in all of its improvements, since European sailors had begun to venture onto the great oceans in the fifteenth century. Already by that time the name "engineer" was being applied to men skilled in mathematics who could drain swamps and build canals, and throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries natural philosophers throughout Europe were employed in these activities. Stewart says not a single word about what in Newton's science could have contributed to either navigation or hydraulic engineering.

It has been claimed, although without documentary evidence that I know of, that Thomas Newcomen drew on the work of Denis Papin; the prevailing view is that he was a skilled and ingenious mechanic unschooled in science. On the sole basis of John Theophilus Desaguliers's apparent competence with Newcomen engines, but again without citing anything from Newton, Stewart christens the Newcomen engine "their [the Newtonians] new technology" (p. 365). Stewart also treats as new the acceptance of economic improvement, referring repeatedly to the transformation of England, by which he means a new attitude toward the management of nature. Claiming that this aspect of his public science made industrialization possible, he implies the timeless existence of some traditional society that was rent asunder in the first half of the eighteenth century. How many scholars familiar with the economic and technological history of Europe are going to accept that proposition?

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NANCY ARMSTRONG and LEONARD TENNENHOUSE. *The Imaginary Puritan: Literature, Intellectual Labor, and the Origins of Personal Life*. (The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics, number 21.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 275. \$35.00.

This book traces the cultural changes that marked the shift to modernity in late-seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse identify these changes as the rise of a new middle class and the onset of capitalism, alterations in the nature of the family and its relationship to the state, and changes in attitudes to privacy. All such developments, they maintain, melded to produce the "self" and the "author." Yet these were developments as much made by writing as reflected in it. By the close of the seventeenth century, the au-



thors suggest, a new literate class, possessed of cultural capital, seized power. Through writing it not only reconstituted society and the state but it also authored the author, the individual whose self and autonomous power were constituted in and by writing.

At the center of the argument is John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), a text that they argue pivoted at the critical point of transition from the aristocratic, patriarchal, organic, and iconic Renaissance state to the modern world of the individuated subject. Milton is not, however, the object of this study: "focusing on Milton is simply a way of committing the individuated mind to historical analysis" (p. 45). In charting cultural shifts, literary texts often offer insights and material that traditionally historians have scandalously ignored. As well as an incisive analysis of Milton and the impact of the English revolution on his writing, Armstrong and Tennenhouse offer fascinating readings of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) in the context of John Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding* (1690) and Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) as texts reconstructing self, family, and nation through writing.

Since much of this book is richly suggestive and a testament to the possibilities of interdisciplinary approaches, it is regrettable to have to conclude that as cultural history it is so seriously flawed that it will alienate not only most historians but also most—my term is important—scholars. In small part this is due to slips, questionable assertions, and at times damagingly vague chronological grasp. It is simply not the case that there was no knowledge of politics beyond the circles of the elite prior to 1641; and it is quite misleading to dismiss the historiography and history of the family as the product of "the historian's fantasy." To some extent, too, the case is marred by obvious omissions: in any account of the emergent autonomous self one would expect some discussion of religious change and secularization, and perhaps also of the atomized psychology that underlay Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651).

But most disturbing of all is the almost complete absence of argument from evidence, that is, from the discourses of the period under discussion. However they may prompt an insight or connection, Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes, Melanie Klein, Antonio Gramsci, Barbara Ehrenreich and John Ehrenreich, and others do not constitute evidence for cultural changes in the late seventeenth century. Citing them does not, as Armstrong and Tennenhouse appear to believe, substitute for substantiation (or for that matter articulation) of an argument.

As a consequence, we leave the book with a sense that the authors give us not arguments but speculations. And while some are suggestive and probable, others (like the claim that the American captivity narratives were "a means of individuating English consciousness") appear groundless and perverse. If this book shows evidence of the imagination and

intelligence of interdisciplinary studies, it also woe-fully demonstrates the need for such work to be grounded in scholarly research.

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ROY A. SUNDSTROM. *Sidney Godolphin: Servant of the State*. Newark: University of Delaware Press or Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1992. Pp. 323. \$47.50.

Roy A. Sundstrom is to be congratulated for filling a notable gap in the biographical coverage of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Biographies of the first duke of Marlborough abound, but apart from a slight study by Sir Tresham Lever published over forty years ago (*Godolphin* [1952]) his partner in the duumvirate that masterminded the conduct of the War of the Spanish Succession has been ignored by historians.

There are obvious reasons for this. Contemporaries agreed that Sidney Godolphin was a somber, withdrawn man; his young wife, Margaret Blagge, died in 1679 and he never remarried; his only son was a nonentity; his only avocation was the breeding of racehorses. Thus, there is nothing to provide a counterpoint to his public life. He seems to have had no close personal friends apart from the Marlboroughs, who brought him little but trouble. Moreover, any study of his public career calls for a daunting engagement with the complexities of government finance in this period.

Sundstrom, however, has overcome these difficulties to produce an excellent study, based on a remarkably comprehensive survey of unpublished archives in the Netherlands, Germany, and the length and breadth of England and Scotland. Godolphin's character is still opaque, and there probably is not much any historian can do about that; the absence of any strictly personal correspondence is decisive. But Sundstrom lucidly and convincingly analyzes Godolphin's financial methods as head of the treasury from 1690 to 1696 and from 1702 to 1710, by which he found the money to finance two world wars on an unprecedented scale, presiding over a "financial revolution" that put England on the road to great power status. Sundstrom also reminds us of Godolphin's commanding influence on foreign policy and the conduct of war under Queen Anne, a role we tend to allot to Marlborough. But in the prosecution of the Peninsular War, and the balance of resources between that and the Flanders War, in the tense and long-drawn-out process of effecting a union with Scotland (covered in detail by Sundstrom), we are brought to realize that the duumvirate of Marlborough and Godolphin was in practice weighted toward the latter. Also, for a man who, according to Sundstrom, was not a political animal, he showed a remarkable ability to manage Parliament and the

queen, although in the first he was continually sabotaged by Robert Harley and the Whigs, and in the second by the Marlboroughs.

If I have a criticism, it is that party configurations are taken for granted. Over the course of Godolphin's career Whigs and Tories emerge from nowhere, and their political beliefs and tactical aims are insufficiently described. It is difficult to discern Godolphin's attitude toward them, except on a day-to-day level, or his own broader beliefs. The Lords of the Junto, so vital to Godolphin's political calculations, are vague and unrealized figures, little more than names. It is also a pity that the account of his relations with the queen dwells almost entirely on conflict and disagreement. The book, however, is on the whole very well written and its analysis of events is not easily faulted.

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GARY KELLY. *Revolutionary Feminism: The Mind and Career of Mary Wollstonecraft*. New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. vii, 249. \$39.95.

The continuous flow of modern studies on Mary Wollstonecraft has created a virtual subfield in English literary history and a category for analysis in feminist criticism and gender theory. Notwithstanding this recent scholarship, Wollstonecraft (1759–97), whose *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) is widely regarded as the first theoretical, polemical work to put the claims for women's rights and equality in the context of broader human liberationist and modern feminist theory, still awaits definitive placement in the canon of modern British history. Gary Kelly's book suggests why and how Wollstonecraft's thought and writings deserve more meaningful integration into the record of cultural change during the late eighteenth century.

Kelly explores the links binding Wollstonecraft's life, circumstances, methods of self-creation, and access to both male and female professional mentors that helped to forge her analytical skills and writing style. He discusses her conceptualization of "woman" as image, agent, and domesticator in the highly gendered cultural revolution that transpired in eighteenth-century Britain. Wollstonecraft first studied and then participated in making rapid changes that transformed Britain into a modern state.

Kelly is a sympathetic biographer of an often troubled personal life. He is sensitive to Wollstonecraft's self-perceptions as an intellectual woman needing and seeking independence and support through her own writings, and as a champion of the claims of woman to social, intellectual, and civil equality with men while frequently taking positions against women for not pursuing these claims for themselves. He portrays her easy relationships with intellectual men in their studios and coteries, her highly unconven-

tional and self-defeating love affair with the unfaithful Gilbert Imlay, the birth of their child out of wedlock, the conception of a second daughter (later Mary Shelley) with William Godwin, and her subsequent unconventional marriage to him that ended with her death in childbirth at the age of thirty-seven. The latter liaisons were to bring her social scorn and rejection during her lifetime and they permeated posthumous considerations of her writings for at least sixty years after her death.

Although a contribution to history, this book is not an innovative historical biography. It is more a synthesis of literary and feminist scholarship produced over the past two decades. Although building on his own previous studies, Kelly admittedly borrowed insights and interpretive schema from well-known Wollstonecraft specialists (especially Mitzi Meyers and also, for example, Janet Todd, Cora Kaplan, Mary Poovey, and Moira Ferguson). His originality appears in his rendering of Wollstonecraft as a historical figure. He weaves together her life experiences and her literary productions within the socioeconomic and cultural contexts of the time. In addition he organizes the chapters to flow in developmental-chronological order, each relating Wollstonecraft's changing thought and personal circumstances to external events.

The title anchors the process of Wollstonecraft's development as a critical writer and feminist theorist within the era of revolution: first the French Revolution, representing Enlightenment philosophies of egalitarianism, individualism, and the rule of reason; and then the aforementioned British "cultural revolution," led by the educated, "professional bourgeoisie" (pp. 3, 16–19) to promote their interests, values, and constructions in the course of commercialization and the creation of material culture. In the gendering of social roles, the "mind of woman" became a central focus for Wollstonecraft's writing. She analyzed the complexities of the emerging culture's popular "figures" of woman and man in relation to "mind" (pp. 30–31): their allegedly different capacities for reason and sensibility and their consequent access to or exclusion from social and institutional participation. She argued against gendering professional authorship and even subjects, genres, and discourses. Although she despised unequal gender difference, she acknowledged that the expansion of print culture had opened careers to female writers, thereby making permeable the alleged borders between male-female (public-domestic) spheres.

Wollstonecraft's genres ranged from "conduct books" and didactic stories, novels conveying social criticism, polemical political essays, critical articles (over 200), and travel books, to letters on hundreds of subjects and feminist manifestoes in essay and fictional forms. Kelly discusses these and Wollstonecraft's consciously developed style blending "masculine reason" with "feminine sensibility" and illustrating her ideas through language, tone, and expressiveness (pp. 89–

100). He analyzes her style as an emblem of its time: "The cultural revolution worked largely through those practices . . . [that] women conventionally presided over and that 'woman' was constructed to represent, especially through writing . . . [Wollstonecraft contested] the prescribed order of discourse in her time because she saw it as reproducing an oppressive social order" (pp. 266–67). Kelly suggests that current critics of Wollstonecraft's advocacy should reread her for style. They will find it was part of her subversive challenge to gender inequality, and it helped her to further attack the wider social injustices on which her writings dwelled.

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A. V. BEDELL. *The Decline of the English Musician, 1788–1888: A Family of English Musicians in Ireland, England, Mauritius, and Australia*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 329. \$72.00.

A. V. Beedell has produced an interesting chronicle of a family of English musicians. The leading characters are William Joseph Castell (1789–1839) and his wife Susannah (1774–1849). Born in Ireland, William carried on a mediocre career as a violinist in the London theaters until, in 1826, he was overcome by debts. Abandoning his wife and four children, he traveled slowly by way of France and Mauritius to Australia, where, after further mostly unsuccessful attempts to become a leading musician (now calling himself William Joseph Cavendish), he drowned under mysterious circumstances in 1839. His wife also came from a background in music and the theater; her life was largely a struggle to keep her second marriage together and, after William deserted her, to make a respectable living for herself and her growing family.

Beedell's principal source of information is a massive collection of Susannah Castell's letters to her husband, fortunately preserved in Sydney, that reveal her as a woman of unusual character and intelligence. Susannah's words not only convey a vivid picture of the life of a lower-middle-class family of musicians in financial difficulties but they also arouse sympathy and interest in the convoluted relationships of these unimportant people. To this splendid biographical source Beedell has added a wide array of printed and manuscript materials, often supplying new details about the musical and theatrical life of the time. Her research shows the diligence, ingenuity, and hard-headed skepticism necessary for creating a reliable account of a hitherto unknown set of events. Her writing style is lucid and persuasive. As a scholarly biography this book is to be highly commended.

Why was it written? William Castell was so obscure that I have never been aware of him in thirty-five

years as a specialist on English music in this period. He is not even one of the 4,000–odd names listed in J. D. Brown and S. S. Stratton's *British Musical Biography* (1897). Clearly there is no demand for a book about him. Beedell claims that the book is "a social history of music . . . Thanks to the failure of English musical culture . . . he had, arguably, no place at home. This failure of culture at a time of unprecedented national prestige and influence . . . is the pervading theme of this book" (p. xiii).

But it is abundantly clear that Castell left England because he was not a very good musician and mismanaged his meager finances. This tells us absolutely nothing about the alleged "failure of English musical culture." One has only to read Cyril Ehrlich's *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (1985)—a book frequently cited by Beedell—to learn that this very period saw a vast increase in the opportunities for musicians.

Beedell justifies her "failure of culture" idea by interspersing her narrative with broad judgments of English musical achievements. In these passages, instead of presenting social history, she falls back on old received opinions based on the "great men" theory of musical history, citing for instance Ernest Walker's observation in 1907 of a "dark stretch" in English music "from the death of Purcell in 1695 to the emergence of Elgar in the 1890s" (p. 41). Because of the absence of English Mozarts, Beethovens, and Wagners, Beedell assumes that there was a total lack of creativity in English music during that period, as if this would somehow explain Castell's desertion.

There is nothing to suggest that she has made any attempt to form a fresh, independent judgment of English creative musical achievement, or that she would be capable of doing so if she tried. (For some strange reason, she has singled out for praise one insignificant English composition, an overture by Samuel Sebastian Wesley [p. 110].) She has simply accepted the traditional historical judgment without even considering that this judgment may itself be a product of the social and cultural conditions she discusses (for example, in chapter 2).

When she comes across facts that seem to cast doubt on her assumption, she is apt to evade them by specious argument. The enormous popularity of music in the later eighteenth century is dismissed as "superficial" (p. 42). The success of the Philharmonic Society, founded in 1813, is discounted because the concerts were "for subscribers only" (p. 67) (although this was equally true of leading concert organizations in Paris, Vienna, and Berlin). The Royal Academy of Music, founded in 1822, was to be the cradle of a distinguished group of Victorian composers, but Beedell chooses to take at face value the criticisms of those who were envious of its rise (pp. 68–71).

Her survey of British musical achievements passes over in silence the creative ferment of the London Pianoforte School around 1800, when the new power of English pianos stimulated Muzio Clementi to de-

velop the styles that inspired Beethoven's sonatas, his pupils John Baptist Cramer and John Field were laying the foundations of the étude and the romantic piano piece, and the young genius George Frederick Pinto was creating masterpieces that in the words of Alexander L. Ringer were "without peer" as prophecies of "keyboard things to come" ("Beethoven and the London Pianoforte School," *Musical Quarterly* 6 [1970], 742–58).

I would be the last to deny that English composers in the end failed to overcome the difficulties they faced, which included the very prejudices that Beedell now reembraces. But searching study of their music will show—and has shown—that there was plenty of creativity to be found in it, and substantial achievement as well.

But even if English composers had achieved nothing, this would have no direct bearing on the Castell story. After all, he was not a composer, and his living did not depend on whether the music he played was good or bad, creative or derivative, English or foreign; it only had to win favor. No, the real reason for this book is surely the fascinating personal story unfolded in Susannah Castell's letters. This is a worthy motive for writing a biography. What a pity it is concealed behind a bogus historical theory.

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LARRY J. SCHAAF. *Out of the Shadows: Herschel, Talbot, and the Invention of Photography*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 188. \$50.00.

In answer to his question of "why, rather than how photography finally was invented," Larry J. SchAAF offers an account of the early years of photography in England, up to 1844, through a study of the lives and works of William Henry Fox Talbot and Sir John Herschel. He has located impressive quantities of archival material and quotes extensively from Talbot's and Herschel's letters and notebooks. He also draws on the writings of both men, who published in a number of different fields, and he has read widely in contemporary journals. He includes many types of visual documents, ranging from scientific specimens, drawings, letters, pages from publications, and scientific notebooks to landscapes and figure studies that still hold their own as compelling photographic images.

This is a beautiful book that makes a valuable contribution through its illustrations. Printed on matte paper in color, they give an excellent idea of the appearance of early paper negatives, salt prints, and cyanotypes, their state of preservation, and their variety of colors—not black and white but brown, violet, blue, and rose. The selection of images includes both the familiar and the unfamiliar and vividly conveys the richness of early photography.

Previous histories of photography have tended to minimize Herschel's role in the development of the medium and to see him and Talbot as antagonists. SchAAF provides a thoroughly documented description of their experiments and of the way in which photography was made public through presentations to institutions and in early publications. His is a history of men rather than institutions, and of photography as a means of making pictures "executed by nature herself," as critics wrote in the 1840s, rather than as a means of communication with particular kinds of cultural baggage. He repeatedly invokes the metaphor of magic, which was widely used at the time.

Rather than seeing the choices of the two pioneers about whom he writes as taking place within a particular intellectual, class, and economic context, he sees these choices as the product of the personalities and proclivities of these individuals. The simultaneous development of photographic processes in England and France is treated as a battle between Talbot and Daguerre. A closer reading of the writings, which are abundantly quoted but taken at face value, might yield deeper insights into the personal, but it might also permit an understanding of the ways in which the conceptualization of this medium involved a set of metaphors connected with other cultural currents.

The author states that he has minimized references to "secondary literature," which it would seem that he has drawn on, at least for selected references to modern works on history, science, and biography. A full bibliography would have been helpful; references are only in notes. By allowing these pioneers to tell their own story he avoids a dialogue with recent discussions of the implications of photography as part of the history of representation and as a means of mass communication and social control. Within the narrow scope of his inquiry he gives a satisfying answer to the questions of how and why photography was invented, but he leaves open the question of the way in which the interests and motivations of these individuals were part of a larger context.

GRACE SEIBERLING  
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GEORGE ROBB. *White-Collar Crime in Modern England: Financial Fraud and Business Morality, 1845–1929*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. 250. \$54.95.

That the Victorian middle class was obsessed with fraudulent bankers, absconding clerks, unscrupulous stockjobbers, and self-serving trustees seems confirmed by the frequent representation of them and their victims, the stereotypical widows and orphans, in Victorian fiction. George Robb argues that this literary preoccupation drew not merely from the snobbery of polite society directed at social-climbing parvenus, nor from a constant and inevitable reality of life in a commercial nation, but from the dramatic



increase in the number of joint stock firms and the use of paper instruments beginning in the 1840s. Consequently the age saw, he claims, an explosion of commercial and financial chicanery. It was a challenge that a slowly evolving legal system, in the prevailing climate of *laissez faire* and personal responsibility, was largely incapable of meeting.

This is a slim volume on a vast subject. As an introduction to the capitalist underworld (which Robb calls an "upperworld" [p. 1]), it provides a clearly written account of varieties of Victorian commercial and financial fraud from the railway mania of the 1840s to the shady amalgamations and bogus stock flotations of the 1920s. There are chapters on banking and credit fraud, stock manipulation, fraudulent company promotions, and investor-robbery management practices. The discussion, drawn from parliamentary reports, criminal proceedings, and company records, is well grounded in both the economic and social context of the times, although Victorian historians may be slightly annoyed at the use of a contemporary Americanism to describe nineteenth-century British behavior.

More seriously, are there dangers in reading history backwards from the Ernest Saunderses and Ivan Boeskyes of Margaret Thatcher's Britain and Ronald Reagan's America—invoked in Robb's introduction—to another era? There may be an inescapable difficulty in such a project involving the definition of "crime" itself. Outright embezzlement is one thing, but beyond this there is a substantial gray area where one finds often dishonest and certainly self-serving practices that, however, in the nineteenth century, were not necessarily illegal. A full exploration of the relationship of such behavior to popular culture and morality would take one well beyond the somewhat positivist perspective of this work, a book more informed by the disciplines of legal and economic history than by poststructural insight. The scope of his study does not allow Robb to venture far into the complex subject of the social construction of crime and appropriate punishment, much less into even larger realms of speculation (for instance the contrasting representation of middle-class crime, as secret and shameful, with the exposed sexuality and violence of lower-class criminality).

Other areas of subtext in the Victorian discourse about white-collar crime might repay further examination. It is odd, for instance, that Robb has nothing to say about the common association of financial and commercial crime with supposed Jewish depravity. Although several of the most notorious examples he cites were Jewish financiers (like Albert Grant—born Abraham Gottheimer—on whom Trollope modeled the character of Augustus Melmotte), there is no discussion about the role that the image of the Jew might have played in the popular representation of white-collar criminality. There is, in fact, a suggestive resonance between the late-Victorian obsession with fraud and a supposed decline in commercial morality

(from the image of the Quaker to that of the Jew?) and a larger discourse in society about "degeneration" and "sexual anarchy."

One ought not to charge an author with not writing a different book. Robb's study is a sure-footed, sound introduction. Its merit (and its limitation) lies in its location of the subject firmly in the context of the expanding nineteenth-century financial and corporate economy. His arguments are generally persuasive, although in the absence of anything like complete statistics on the real incidence of white-collar crime his assertion that it took a significant leap after 1845 must remain likely but unprovable. Moreover, while one sympathizes with Robb's indignation that historians have tended to identify crime with the lower classes while ignoring almost routinely dishonest upper-class business behavior, it may not be the case, as he suggests, that the rising amount of financial fraud seriously damaged the economy. His own observation that "there never was a shortage of investors willing to finance a whole array of new companies" (p. 190) would seem to argue against such a conclusion.

Robb cites a remark by Herbert Spencer that the free market unrestrained by morality tended to a system of "commercial cannibalism" (p. 150). "Cannibalism" implies like consuming like: businessmen devouring businessmen, middle-class managers defrauding middle-class investors. In this sense, perhaps the lack of punishment of white-collar crime ought not to be seen precisely the way Robb represents it, as further evidence of the class bias of the Victorian establishment. The widows and orphans of Victorian melodrama aside, most of the victims of financial fraud were to be found among the gentry and bourgeoisie. Indeed, one could regard the stricter enforcement of tougher laws in this century less as belated social justice than as one more example of the use of the state and the police to protect the interests of the comfortable classes.

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CAROLE SEYMOUR-JONES. *Beatrice Webb: A Life*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 1992. Pp. xii, 369. \$30.00.

Carole Seymour-Jones's life of the English social reformer Beatrice Potter Webb (1858–1943) is thoroughly researched, informative, and eminently readable. Its outstanding characteristic is its balanced sympathy for its subject. This judicious empathy in itself is no small accomplishment, for Webb is no easy subject for a biographer.

In her own volumes of autobiography—*My Apprenticeship* (1926), which deals with her early life and with her conversion to socialism, and *Our Partnership* (1948), which deals with her working collaboration with her husband Sydney Webb—Beatrice Webb claimed a major role for Sydney and herself as

architects of British social reform and of Labour Party policy. Although biographers and historians of the labor movement have agreed that the Webbs were important, as people they have often been caricatured as unattractive eccentrics and as reformers they have been seen as mechanistic, cold, undemocratic, and fundamentally wrong-headed. Beatrice in particular has been subject to harsh treatment, for example in Kitty Muggeridge and Ruth Adam's *Beatrice Webb, A Life* (1967).

By contrast, in this book she has found a sympathetic biographer. Seymour-Jones offers a sensitive treatment of Beatrice's early years. She is informative about the family background of the Potter household; she deals well with Beatrice's difficult relationship with her mother and with her at times equally difficult relationships with her sisters. In the central chapters of the book, she provides a clear and well-informed account of Beatrice's development from Charity Organization Society worker to social investigator and finally to Fabian socialism. She deals sympathetically with Beatrice's failed romance with Joseph Chamberlain and with her relationship to Sydney Webb.

Seymour-Jones has set out to accomplish the biographer's traditional objective, namely, to write a narrative that will enable her readers to know her subject as a person. Thus, although Seymour-Jones has a sound knowledge of the context within which Beatrice Webb lived and worked, she is never primarily concerned with the context, but rather with Webb's own experience. In consequence, while the book is successful as biography, it leaves many questions unaddressed. For example, although Seymour-Jones says at the outset of her study that "Beatrice's story is a very modern one, which deserves to be told in the context of the movement for women's emancipation which was stirring in England from the 1950s" (p. ix), in fact her treatment of Webb's equivocal relationship to feminism is cursory. She merely mentions that Webb "thoughtlessly" signed Mrs. Humphrey Ward's anti-suffrage appeal in 1889 and passes quickly on. Her treatment of Webb's relationship to the women's movement contrasts sharply with that of Deborah Epstein Nord, whose *The Apprenticeship of Beatrice Webb* (1985) deals at length with Webb's relationship to feminism and offers a feminist analysis of Webb's early life. But if Nord's strength lies in her analysis, Seymour-Jones's strength lies in the grace and persuasiveness of her narrative. As a sympathetic biography of this major nineteenth and early twentieth-century social reformer, this book makes an important contribution to Beatrice Webb scholarship.

DEBORAH GORHAM  
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D. G. PAZ. *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. 332. \$42.50.

From Belfast to Bosnia to Beirut, sectarian conflicts fueled by religious bigotry make the headlines every day. It is, therefore, not surprising that many historians are now turning their attention to explore comparable episodes and attitudes in the past. D. G. Paz's study of English anti-Catholicism in the nineteenth century makes a useful, if uninspiring, contribution to this genre. As Paz notes, scholarly attention to popular Protestantism, English nationalism, and anti-Catholic or anti-Irish activism has increased considerably in recent years. One of Paz's primary objectives is to separate fact from speculation on these subjects and to warn against the danger of exaggerating the role of anti-Catholicism as a force in either elite or popular consciousness.

As Paz points out, it is important to distinguish anti-Catholicism from anti-Irish prejudice that, he argues, was concentrated primarily within the working class and was motivated by economic fears rather than ethnic hatreds. Anti-Catholicism per se, he contends, was primarily a movement of the middle and lower middle classes that had its center of gravity in the evangelical wing of the Anglican church. Organized anti-Catholicism arose in the aftermath of Catholic emancipation and reached two crescendos, first, in 1845, with opposition to the state endowment of a Roman Catholic seminary at Maynooth and, second, even more dramatically, in 1850–52, with the pope's restoration of a Roman hierarchy in England—which resulted in a cascade of Protestant protests and, in 1852, the passage of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act. The movement that coalesced around these two episodes briefly threatened to realign the entire mid-Victorian political landscape, but it petered out during the 1850s. After a brief but ultimately abortive revival during the late 1860s and 1870s, the anti-Catholic movement gradually faded away.

Paz gives several reasons for anti-Catholicism's rise and fall. Longstanding political fears of the dangers of foreign despotism combined with a deep-rooted attachment to constitutional liberties to ignite hostility to the allegedly subversive designs of the pope. The hunger for popular entertainment could be at least partly sated by colorful demonstrations and quasi-pornographic fables about the lurid sexual practices of nuns and priests. Most important, however, anti-Catholicism could be portrayed as the foundation of an ecumenical alliance that could reunite all the various Protestant denominations and churches in a common program, thereby counteracting the fragmentation and sectarian conflict that was threatening to overwhelm national religious life. Nevertheless, according to Paz, it was precisely such denominational antagonism and conflict that ultimately proved to be the anti-Catholic movement's undoing. From the outset, he argues, anti-Catholicism was (and was widely perceived as) less an ecumenical Protestant movement than a clever Anglican, evangelical ruse to regain popular support in the face of a double challenge—from radical Nonconformity on the left

and from High Church Tractarianism on the right. For a time this strategy seemed to succeed, especially in detaching many Wesleyans and some other Non-conformists from their identification with an increasingly aggressive movement of ultraliberalism and militant Dissent. Eventually, however, the partisan nature of the anti-Catholic "alliance" became increasingly transparent. As other issues rose to the fore, it was submerged in the larger mid-Victorian currents of struggle between liberalism and Toryism, and between chapel and church.

Conceived narrowly, anti-Catholicism is, no doubt, exactly as Paz portrays it: a minor episode in the mid-Victorian reconfiguration of religious and political life. There is, however, much that his story leaves untold. The relationship between anti-Catholicism and hostility to the Irish is considered but left unresolved. Surely it is no accident that English anti-Catholicism climaxed at just the moment when Irish immigration was reaching its peak. Even more surprisingly, Paz provides no sustained discussion of the relationship between anti-Catholicism and a more diffuse strain of English (or, alternatively, British) nationalism that predated the period on which Paz concentrates, and that resurfaced (in other forms) after anti-Catholicism disappeared. It is here that one would expect to find linkages between elite and popular consciousness, and it is only by examining this cultural configuration that the true extent of working-class xenophobia could be assessed.

Increasingly impressed by the limits of class and class consciousness as tools of historical analysis, many social historians are beginning to turn to other sources of collective identity such as religion or nationalism to find explanations of popular behavior and belief. It is unfortunate that, by refusing to address these issues directly, Paz has diminished the intellectual force and historiographical significance of his book. It will, nevertheless, prove to be a useful resource for the future scholars who will take up the problems that he has ignored.

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PETER HINCHLIFF. *God and History: Aspects of British Theology, 1875–1914*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. 267. \$65.00.

This book is a provocative, insightful volume about how British theologians explored the "problems raised by new ways of understanding history and its relationship with faith" (p. 1). Peter Hinchliff approaches the topic with a theologian's as well as a historian's eye, and the result is historical theology as much as history of theology. But even readers who do not share his method or theological leaning will find much of value; this is an excellent book.

After an introduction, there are chapters on John

Henry Newman, Benjamin Jowett, Edward White Benson, Charles Gore, Edward Caird, Lord Acton, Andrew Martin Fairbairn, R. J. Campbell, and B. H. Streeter. There is no attempt to argue that this selection is inclusive or representative; "aspects of British theology" is what the subtitle promises and is what Hinchliff delivers. Naturally, had he chosen other writers, different aspects might have emerged. For instance, beginning in the 1860s there was a controversy between the "scientific" history of Henry Thomas Buckle and the "biographical-narrative" approach often associated with Charles Kingsley. Following this debate forward would have drawn attention to the interplay of divine providence, human free will, and impersonal social forces, and especially to the age's concern for individual and social morality.

Hinchliff's book focuses on other, equally interesting concerns, ones more doctrinal and biblical than ethical. His characters wanted to stabilize belief in the face of two challenges: the idea that faith itself is developmental and the historical-critical approach to biblical study. Three responses emerged. First, Idealists disassociated faith from history, hoping thereby to protect belief against historical criticism; faith properly rested on a metaphysical Christ, not a historical Jesus. Second, and in contrast, liberal Protestants pursued the historical Jesus; they trusted historical scholarship eventually to supply an unobstructed view of Jesus as he really was. Third, Catholics and Anglo-Catholics looked to church tradition as a foundation for faith.

Hinchliff is particularly good at reducing a complex argument to its essence, and his characters as well as his readers benefit from this. The chapters range widely around their central figures and often provide delightfully unexpected bonuses, such as a comparison of Catholic modernists and liberal Protestants in the chapter on Acton, or a passage on women's educational opportunities in the chapter on Caird. The thinkers are set in the context of the church and the universities, and they always share their chapters with several related thinkers. (I remain unconvinced, however, that B. F. Westcott and J. B. Lightfoot are more properly associated with Benson than with F. J. A. Hort.)

Hinchliff, the twentieth-century theologian, is often impatient with the nineteenth-century minds of his subjects, and he is quick to criticize their near-sightedness. Thus, while he finds the Idealists' separation of faith from history intriguing, he concludes that "a purely metaphysical Christ was no real substitute for a historical one" (p. 149). Liberal Protestantism fares no better. It was a "cul-de-sac" (p. 50) from the start, and its futility should have been recognized long before Albert Schweitzer pronounced it dead. Hinchliff seems more in sympathy with the third course, "the recognition that tradition is the *real* link between the historical Jesus of first-century Galilee and Judaea, and the Christ of twentieth-century

Christian faith" (p. 247). "Because there has actually been a continuous chain of shared experience across the intervening centuries," he concludes, "the history of faith is part of the truth about Christ" (p. 247).

CHARLES D. CASHDOLLAR  
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EDWARD M. SPIERS. *The Late Victorian Army, 1868–1902*. (Manchester History of the British Army.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. xiii, 375. \$69.95.

This book is a superb examination of all aspects of the late-Victorian British Army. It is a remarkable synthesis of the veritable flood of excellent studies published over the past thirty years, combined with an exhaustive examination of government documents and the private correspondence of political and military leaders. Edward M. Spiers has written a book that is essential reading for specialists in military history and also useful to general readers, particularly those interested in social history.

The book opens with a detailed look at the extensive Cardwell reforms of the late 1860s and early 1870s. For the rest of the book, Spiers tests these alterations against Britain's military requirements. He argues convincingly that the Cardwell reforms proved inadequate, partly because they bestowed a structure and organization on the army with which subsequent officials refused to tamper. The problems of the army, if anything, multiplied throughout this period.

Central to the difficulties was that while the army's commitments were ever-expanding, resources remained static. Recruiting for the voluntary army proved an insoluble problem as the government refused to provide adequate pay or decent living conditions for the rank-and-file. Secretaries of State for War, who often did not receive the support of their own cabinet colleagues, were not only overworked but also overly dependent on the advice of military officials who could not agree among themselves. One wonders how the army coped at all during this period. Spiers rightly emphasizes that the army and its officers proved sufficient to deal with the many small-scale wars that constantly popped up throughout the empire. Even that, however, was not easily carried out, since the War Office and the Admiralty often refused to cooperate with each other.

The social history of the officers and the rank-and-file is particularly well done in Spiers's account. Even though the purchase of commissions was abolished, officers continued to be drawn primarily from the landed class, as well as a fair contingent from the public schools. Snobbishness prevailed, and pay in most cases did not cover living expenses. Little was demanded of the officers, however, and they normally reveled in their various forms of recreation. The common soldiers suffered from poor training

and, all too often, miserable living conditions. Under-employed and bored, they resorted to drink, which in turn led to fights.

The final chapter deals with what Spiers regards as the ultimate test of the army, the second Boer War. This chapter, one of Spiers's finest, includes a review of the historiography of the war, with the critical and influential multivolume *Times' History of the War in South Africa* (1900–09) edited by Leo Amery holding center stage. This history has always provided much material for criticizing Britain's conduct of the war. Spiers acknowledges the revisionism of several recent historians, including Thomas Pakenham in his *Boer War* (1979), but he essentially believes that most of the *Times'* criticism was correct. The Boer War exposed the many persistent shortcomings of the British Army. One wishes that the book would have ended later, so that we could see Spiers's explanation of Haldane's fundamental reforms of the army.

LOWELL J. SATRE  
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DAVID BLAAZER. *The Popular Front and the Progressive Tradition: Socialists, Liberals, and the Quest for Unity, 1884–1939*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 247. \$54.95.

Broad cross-party alliances have proved singularly unsuccessful in twentieth-century Britain except in wartime. This failure was particularly striking in the late 1930s when the issue of appeasement seemed to offer fertile ground for cooperation between political groups opposing the Conservative-dominated National Government of Neville Chamberlain. But attempts at a "Popular Front" bringing together Labour, Liberals, Communists, and even dissident Tories proved fruitless in 1938 and 1939, largely because of the Labour Party's refusal to consider such entanglements. Their explicit reason for rejecting the alliance was the specter of communist manipulation, seen earlier in the decade with the Moscow-inspired Unity Campaign, which had aimed to bring together all anticapitalist parties against fascism. Having spent much of the previous decade pruning communists from the party membership, Labour was unlikely to accept flowers of reconciliation in the 1930s, however urgent the issue.

The Popular Front campaign has generally been viewed as an interesting but ultimately futile political cul-de-sac for the British Left. The value of David Blaazer's monograph lies in the way it places this campaign in a longer tradition of cooperation, or at least sympathy, among progressives on issues of foreign policy since the 1880s. The starting point for his study of this progressive tradition is the extraordinary intellectual melting pot of socialism and Liberal radicalism at the end of the nineteenth century. As Blaazer suggests, there was a great deal of overlap between Fabian socialists and advanced Liberals at



this time, where formal political affiliations paled beside common ideological sympathies. He examines a "progressive discourse" (p. 19), embracing such intellectuals as J. A. Hobson and H. N. Brailsford, with much incisiveness.

Foreign and imperial issues both disrupted and showed the persistence of this progressive discourse. The Boer War and World War I produced such precursors to the Popular Front as the South Africa Conciliation Committee and the Union of Democratic Control, both of which united liberals and socialists. As the Liberal Party faltered after 1918, the energies of the progressives naturally focused on the Labour Party. Blaazer shows effectively how the Popular Front of the late 1930s was not simply a brainchild of the British Communist Party and thus of Moscow, but a recurrence of longstanding cross-party or cross-ideological efforts of the British Left. Although not an innovative achievement, his book is a valuable piece of synthesis, adding significantly to our understanding of early twentieth-century intellectual history.

There are, however, some weaknesses in Blaazer's analysis, particularly with respect to his account of left-wing politics in the 1930s. Surprisingly, this subject suffers from what seems a relatively rushed treatment, leaving important lacunae. A fuller treatment of the views of those who opposed the Popular Front campaign (notably the Labour leadership) would have been useful, for instance, as would a clarification of who the audiences or supporting casts were for the pro-Popular Front intellectuals and spokesmen. A more extended discussion of the remarkable success of the Left Book Club would have added much depth in this respect. One could also suggest that Blaazer is occasionally too charitable to those who supported the Popular Front, such as Harold Laski and Stafford Cripps. He does succeed in exonerating left-wing intellectuals from a fuzzy simplemindedness about the Soviet Union or British Communists, but they can still be charged with political naïveté when it came to the nature of the Labour Party itself. Laski, Cripps, and, to a lesser extent, G. D. H. Cole and Brailsford all blundered about during the 1930s (and, in the case of Laski, well into the 1940s), making rash pronouncements that could only alienate the party's national executive, the trade unions, and, indeed, the rank-and-file membership. This demonstrated a breathtaking lack of acumen that undoubtedly undercut arguments for a Popular Front.

Blaazer may also underestimate the desire on Labour's part to remain independent, not just from Communists or Liberals but from everything and everyone. The reference point for this desire was not simply 1918, but more precisely 1931, when the party watched haplessly as its own leadership defected to join an antisocialist coalition government. As a result of this trauma, a fierce will toward independence colored Labour policy and outlook up to 1940 and,

indeed, as I have argued in my own work, right through to 1945. However misguided, this attitude brooked no arguments for collaboration with outsiders, particularly when those arguments were made loudly and clumsily.

Despite these criticisms, this is a worthy contribution to twentieth-century British political and intellectual history and, at a time when the present Labour Party is contemplating cooperation with the Liberal Democrats, one that has much contemporary relevance.

STEPHEN BROOKE  
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HENRIKA KUKLICK. *The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology, 1885–1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. ix, 325. \$44.95.

Henrika Kuklick begins where George W. Stocking, Jr.'s *Victorian Anthropology* (1987) left off, but emphasizes the sociology of knowledge. She attempts to describe anthropology's emergence as a discipline and to explicate the complex relations between professional anthropologists and colonial administrators. Unfortunately, by oversimplifying the intellectual history of anthropological thought (indebted to both positivism and *fin-de-siècle* interest in the irrational), she presents British anthropology as the source of Victorian ideas on everything from family models to psychoanalysis.

Kuklick supports her analysis of anthropology's transition from a field dominated by amateurs to one controlled by academics with statistical data on members of the Royal Anthropological Institute, but she takes a reductionist view of the relationship between class and profession. She assumes that all anthropologists were alike and views "successive generations" of them as "specimen social types, whose successive career patterns reflected broad social changes" and whose "personal experiences of occupational changes shaped their analyses of societal order" (pp. 31–32). They aimed "to justify the emergence of the middle classes, to which they belonged" (p. 35). Kuklick equates professionalization with the origins of class consciousness, which she oddly dates from the late nineteenth century. She also categorizes anthropologists "in the aggregate" as "hostile" to religion (p. 79). Many rejected Christianity and theology, but their scholarly fascination with religion and ritual belies a keen understanding of religion's significance. Kuklick states that because "many prominent Victorian anthropologists were of dissenting origins . . . they may well have judged uncompromising opposition to religion to be the continuation of a progressive trend" (p. 79), a dubious assertion that would have puzzled Victorian dissenters. She explains academic reluctance to accept anthropology as a discipline by arguing that late Victorian "Oxford and Cambridge were resistant to any sort of innovation because they were

suffering from a loss of prosperity" (p. 52) resulting from the agricultural depression of 1873. One might argue that the universities had always resisted innovation and continued to do so, as the lengthy battle over degrees for women demonstrated.

Kuklick is at her best when dealing with anthropologists in action. The chapters "The Savage Within" and "The Colonial Exchange" explore the relationship of anthropologists to their subjects and to colonial administrators. Kuklick broadens the discussion of the shaping of anthropologists' views by exploring their use of British cultural/political models to interpret other societies, as well as examining their contributions in other arenas, such as W. H. R. Rivers's work on shell shock. She focuses on Africa, with the Gold Coast and Tanganyika as her primary case studies. In the end, Kuklick claims that "the colonial policy of encouraging the shift of individuals' loyalties from small-scale societies to large ethnic groups has left a destructive legacy for new nations" (p. 240), and that colonial administrators perverted anthropologists' findings and ignored their advice in developing this policy. Thus, she exonerates anthropologists from complicity in colonial endeavors, while acknowledging their early dependence on government for both funding and access to research sites. Ultimately, her interpretation of the impact of anthropology on colonial administration would be more impressive if she offered fewer generalizations and more evidence from anthropologists' works.

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BASUDEV CHATTERJI. *Trade, Tariffs, and Empire: Lancashire and British Policy in India, 1919-1939*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 521. \$45.00.

Britain's cotton-cloth industry stands as central to the economics and politics of its imperialism. Dependent on foreign sources of raw material and foreign markets, this industry rose and declined concomitant with Britain's empire. In this book, Basudev Chatterji has meticulously researched and analyzed for the interwar period the complex relationships among this industry, its international trade (with India in particular), and the politics and economies of Britain and India.

Chatterji begins with an insightful survey of the British role in the world economy, concentrating on the cotton industry of Lancaster. He argues that Britain advocated largely free-trade policies prior to World War I not for the sake of the development of Indian industry but rather because such policies suited Britain's relatively efficient, and export-dependent, cotton industry. Following World War I, British industry worked ever more closely with the British government, vainly trying to recover its former eco-

nomic advantages through government policies of "discriminating protection" based on "imperial preference" (p. 189), in the face of declining competitiveness as well as industrial and nationalist pressures from India. The government of India remained largely bound to support British economic interests, despite public pronouncements designed to placate Indian commercial and nationalistic elements. Here Chatterji distinguishes his position from those of Clive Dewey ("The End of the Imperialism of Free Trade," in Clive Dewey and A. G. Hopkins, eds., *The Imperial Impact* [1978]), B. R. Tomlinson (*Political Economy of the Raj* [1979]), and Ian Drummond (*British Economic Policy and the Empire* [1972]) in the limited weight he accords political pressures in Britain and India on the setting of British trade policies.

Subsequent chapters examine components of his overall survey during the interwar years in more depth. The Lancaster cotton industry, in its organization and manufacturing infrastructure, proved incapable of adjusting to increased international competition, for example, dropping from an export to India (its largest market) of three billion yards in 1913 to less than 5 percent of that amount in 1939 (p. 3). Demands by Indian nationalists and industrialists led to the Indian Fiscal Autonomy Convention of 1919; Chatterji argues, however, that this convention did not, despite its public image in India and Britain, really restrict the ability of the British government to determine Indian tariffs to the advantage of its imperial interests. He goes on to illustrate the interplay of the conflicting economic and political forces in Britain and India that led to the abolition of the Indian Cotton Excise in 1925 and eventually to the Indo-British Trade Agreement of 1939. Throughout, he argues that the parallel goals of the British government and the government of India were the preservation of as much imperial control and economic advantage to Britain as circumstances would allow.

Chatterji founds his arguments on research in an impressive body of official records and reports, private papers in Britain and India, trade and industrial publications, and secondary works. This work, originally a doctoral thesis from Cambridge University (1978), was updated by Chatterji during the late 1980s. His greatest contribution stems from his ability to weave intricate detail into overarching patterns of policy and economic trends. Scholars of international trade and imperial economics, the British empire, or India will find much of value in Chatterji's work.

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S. P. MACKENZIE. *Politics and Military Morale: Current Affairs and Citizenship Education in the British Army, 1914-1950*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 245. \$60.00.

Why did Britain vote Labour in 1945 after a Conservative-dominated coalition government led the nation to victory in World War II? The question continues to puzzle historians as the party in power is ordinarily expected to reap the electoral benefits of a successful war. One explanation is that it was due to Britain's wartime expanded army education program. Conservatives were quick to portray the program as an attempt to turn rank-and-file soldiers into socialists through lectures and discussions of current events and to claim that men and women in the armed forces overwhelmingly voted Labour as a result of this political indoctrination.

This is one of the most important issues addressed by S. P. MacKenzie in this volume. Although he traces the history of the Army Education Corps (AEC) from its formation during World War I to its effective end in 1950, he devotes four of his nine chapters to World War II, during which the AEC—and its offshoot, the Army Bureau of Current Affairs—were most influential. MacKenzie demonstrates that the belief that the army education program was responsible for the outcome of the 1945 general election is a myth. Of the twenty-five million who voted in the election, less than two million were in the armed forces; as the service vote was spread over 640 constituencies, it could not have been a decisive factor in determining the outcome. Furthermore, members of the armed forces were less likely to vote than the civilian population: only 59 percent of those in the armed forces who were registered to vote actually did so, whereas the figure for the entire population of registered voters was 72.7 percent. Civilians, who had not been exposed to the AEC, voted Labour in much greater numbers in 1945. MacKenzie concludes that the increased Labour vote by the armed forces was a reflection of the same factors that affected civilians rather than a result of the AEC.

This is an important contribution to the social history of the British armed forces. It suggests that conscious efforts to shape the political views of rank-and-file soldiers in either a right or left-wing direction had limited success. Based on extensive research in manuscript collections, this carefully written study should finally lay to rest one of the continuing myths arising out of World War II.

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AUSTEN MORGAN. *Harold Wilson*. London: Pluto; distributed by Westview, Boulder, Colo. 1992. Pp. xv, 625. \$48.50.

Surely no British administration has matched the avalanche of memoir and "Cabinet Diary" materials produced by members of the Harold Wilson government of 1964–70. The former prime minister once half-jokingly threatened to revisit—possibly several

times—the historical terrain he had been the first to describe in his memoir, *The Labour Government* (1972); he anticipated that only his ultimate version would be "a book about what really happened with instructions that it should not be published until after my death" (p. 385). Wilson has ample reason to add to his earlier account, given the intense criticisms directed at him and his political leadership by such formidable diarists as R. H. S. Crossman, Barbara Castle, Tony Benn, and other erstwhile colleagues-turned-memoirists. Yet any further contribution on Wilson's part appears unlikely, given the mental deterioration—explained in this new book as Alzheimer's disease—which has since the mid-1980s slowed his once overpowering mental capacities. In place of his own revisions of the record, we will deal increasingly with the biographies that will follow; Austen Morgan's is the first such written since 1977. It is an independent critical study rather than an authorized account, and Morgan had no access to Wilson's own papers. Not surprisingly, the man himself is not much revealed, even if the character of the statesman is closely scrutinized, often at Wilson's expense.

The key to Morgan's reading of Wilson's political character is in evidence as early as 1951, when he joined Nye Bevan in resigning from Clement Attlee's collapsing government which, at the age of twenty-nine, he had joined as a junior minister in 1945, the youngest member of any administration since 1900. Morgan discerns in his actions a pattern "both calculating and indecisive" (p. 172) and all but devoid of socialist purpose, despite the fact that his resignation placed Wilson publicly in the ranks of the Labour left. Arguably that admixture of calculation and vacillation proved the hallmark of his public career, which extended through a further term in Downing Street between 1974 and 1976.

Few if any observers would dispute his opportunism, although his defenders would counter, as did Wilson himself, that such political craft was required to preserve the unity of a Labour Party confronted by divisive and near-constant internal disputes. Nor would his most outspoken critics question Wilson's extensive abilities, nurtured by what a Labour colleague described in some awe as "a capacious mind and a remarkable memory" (p. 220). All those skills were needed in what may well be Wilson's foremost political achievement, securing a decisive national victory in the 1975 referendum on Britain's membership in Europe despite the fact that only 135 of 315 Labour MPs accepted his late conversion to the cause and the terms his government had renegotiated. The list of failures, including such outright debacles as the devaluation of 1967 and the implosion of industrial relations two years later, is by any objective measurement a longer one.

In fairness to Wilson, some account must be taken of the limited possibilities open to any government of the era, given Britain's economic vicissitudes, with particular dangers for a party so closely tied to

powerful trade-union interests. The fates of regimes headed by Wilson's Conservative rival, Ted Heath, and his Labour successor, James Callaghan, serve as an appropriate reminder of the massive difficulties faced by Wilson's governments and mandate some measure of historical charity directed at his eight years in power. In this latter dimension Morgan's biography falls short: although he recognizes the range and scale of those problems, he seemingly does not factor their intractability—until Margaret Thatcher arrived later on the scene—into his judgments. Thus, where Morgan argues that Wilson's centrism failed British socialism, so too did significant portions of the labor movement fail their political leader. Obviously, the nature and responsibilities of political leadership weigh heavily in any such judgment.

To Morgan's credit, he is judicious in sorting through the various sordid conspiracy theories that had in common the suspicion that Wilson was, simply stated, a Soviet agent of some sort. Such allegations ran through several decades and took the form of several so-called plots, culminating in the hints of scandal attached to Wilson's unexpected retirement in 1976. Morgan concludes that Wilson's patriotism is unsullied by these allegations, although he properly recognizes that Wilson's own addiction to conspiracy theories, and the questionable company he kept (and conferred honors on), are not an attractive feature of his public life. Nonetheless, in this regard Wilson was more sinned against than sinning.

Morgan is correct as well in asserting that Wilson lacked charisma after his first Kennedy-like months in office; perhaps the lack in his subject is responsible for Morgan's less-than-inspired prose style. His biography, for all its comprehensiveness, is alas a dull read.

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S. J. CONNOLLY. *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 346. \$87.00.

With his iconoclastic *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780–1845* (1982), and his substantial chapters in volume 5 of *The New History of Ireland* (1989), S. J. Connolly has established himself as one of the chief authorities on early nineteenth and late eighteenth-century Ireland. With the current work he extends his view some hundred years further into the past, confronting the obscure (and sometimes controversial) terrain of "Protestant Ireland."

The resulting monograph is difficult to describe. It is not a narrative of Irish history from 1660 to 1760 nor, despite its subtitle, is it an analysis of "the making of Protestant Ireland," for in his early chapters Connolly declines to explore the vexing seventeenth-

century land settlement that underlies Protestant Ireland's importance. Connolly's study is rather a weighty and extended attempt to retrieve Protestant Ireland from the retrograde, perhaps oversimplified, reputation it has acquired as an allegedly "colonial" society in what, for lack of a better term, must be called mainstream Irish historiography.

This, then, is a work of special pleading: scholarly, careful, and intelligent, but sharply pointed and on occasion doctrinaire. Connolly believes that eighteenth-century Protestant Ireland was—in modern terms—no worse, and in some respects better, than other eighteenth-century elite societies. Huguenots in France, he thinks, were worse treated than Catholics in Ireland. Irish Protestants, given the not-insignificant early eighteenth-century menace they faced from Catholics and Jacobites, were commendably restrained in their hostility. Mainstream historians, he implies, have projected back into the period 1660–1760 a keen sense of social grievance that developed only at the end of the eighteenth century and that was far more appropriate to the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than it was to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Connolly's argument is cogent; some of it is persuasive and provides a timely prod to an orthodoxy in danger of smugness. But a residue remains to trouble a reader essaying an open mind. Suppose Connolly is right and the conditions for Catholics in eighteenth-century Ireland were merely typical of the unprivileged, whoever they were, in *ancien-régime* Europe. How urgent is it that we make this correction? Connolly would say, I infer, that justice requires no less; in an ideal sense, he is probably right. In that case, his monograph mitigates the reputation of Protestant Ireland as an inherently oppressive and intolerant sectarian state. But suppose Connolly is wrong and the European comparison does not tend to absolve Protestant Ireland? France drove out its Protestants in 1685, but they were a small minority of the population. The penal laws in Ireland, however erratically applied, attacked the religion, person, and property of the overwhelming majority. Is it merely modern democratic sentimentalism that invests that difference with force? If Connolly's reading of eighteenth-century Ireland fails to convince all readers on this particular point, he has nonetheless produced a major work that will be central to discussion of the subject for decades to come.

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STEVEN FIELDING. *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England, 1880–1939*. (Themes in the Twentieth Century.) Philadelphia: Open University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 180.



Steven Fielding's welcome study on the Irish in Britain is about the tensions between class and ethnicity in defining the identity of that immigrant community. The book is about Manchester and Salford, with occasional references to other places in Lancashire and to London and comparisons with the Irish immigrant community in the United States. Thus, it makes an important companion to W. J. Lowe's *The Irish in Mid-Victorian Lancashire: The Shaping of a Working-Class Community* (1989), which covers the period 1840–75.

Fielding's study rests on the published memoirs of Manchester Irishmen, secular and Roman Catholic newspapers, Roman Catholic parish records, and local Labour and Liberal party minutes, as well as on a thorough reading of secondary accounts. The book is densely written but Fielding's prose is clear and holds the reader's attention.

Fielding begins by placing his subject in an interpretive framework. Although praising Lynn Hollen Lees's treatment of the London Irish for recognizing the important role played by the Roman Catholic church (*Exiles of Erin* [1979]), he faults her for assuming that both the English working-class culture and the Irish Roman Catholic subculture were homogeneous. In his view, Irishness was a contested concept between many groups and interests: between those who lived outside Ireland and those who remained, between the English and the Irish who lived in England, and between the church and secular forces such as the Labour Party. Fielding maintains, as have others who have written on Jewish immigration, that Irish Roman Catholic immigrant culture, although seeming to be a confusing amalgam, was in fact a separate and viable way of life that lasted until urban renewal after 1945 wiped out Ancoats and Angel Meadows (the centers of Irish immigrant society).

Fielding does not attempt to answer the vexing question of the size of the immigrant community. He accepts the rule of thumb of doubling the number of Irish-born to arrive at the number of ethnic Irish. He would have done well to have followed Lowe's example by constructing indexes based on the careful sampling of the manuscript census records. As for the extent to which Irish immigrants lived in "ghettos," Fielding finds for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries what Lowe found for the mid-Victorian period: that poverty rather than religion or ethnicity was the chief determinant of place of residence, that poor Irish lived cheek-by-jowl with poor English, and that a majority of the Irish lived elsewhere than in the stereotypically Irish districts. The trend of the twentieth century, moreover, was for the Irish to be increasingly dispersed. Fielding touches on the issues of family size and occupational structure, but in general Lowe is much stronger on social history. Fielding excels in his discussions of the relationship between the institutional church and the people, the tension between "official" Roman Catholicism and popular culture, and the tensions among

Roman Catholic identity and Irish nationalism on the one hand and Liberal and Labour political adherence on the other.

Unlike the Roman Catholic church in the United States, in which the Irish (and to a lesser degree the Germans) dominated the hierarchy, the English church's hierarchy was composed of Englishmen. This hierarchy tended to support the Conservative Party, was patriotic, and feared the specter of socialism much more than the excesses of capitalism. The bishops stressed loyalty to the crown in order to buttress its claim to be the "true" Church of England. Because the Conservative Party favored denominational education, whereas the Liberals and Labour favored state-run secular schools, the hierarchy discouraged its flock from supporting the latter. But for a variety of reasons the church's control over the political behavior of its laity was limited and fraught with contention. After the creation of the Free State and the vicious civil war that followed, nationalism declined in significance, but Labour's support of family planning and of the Spanish republic added new bones of contention to the old one of secular education.

Fielding discusses all of these issues, and many others. In addition, he stresses the tensions between the clergy's view of Roman Catholicism as a faith system with the laity's view of it as a cluster of ingredients that made up group identity. The church sought to police the laity by many different means. The laity, especially adult males, took what they wanted from the array of activities without abandoning their independent culture of pubs and clubs. Fielding's evidence suggests that the females were more willing participants in the church's "official" activities, but he does not deal with the question of whether official teachings affected the crucial domestic issue of family planning.

Fielding closes with brief remarks on the situation after 1945, observing that the postwar immigration of West Indians, Indians, and Pakistanis has drawn more attention than the numerically larger influx of Irish. The new Irish immigrants tended to settle in the Midlands and southeast, partly because that was where the jobs were. Moreover, urban renewal in the late 1950s and 1960s wiped out Manchester's traditional Irish neighborhoods. Finally, ecumenism and the Second Vatican Council reduced the distinction between Roman Catholics and others. It is increasingly difficult to differentiate between English Roman Catholics and others, with respect to marriage patterns, divorce, and contraceptive practices. Nevertheless, the English Irish community maintains its distinct sense of self-identity.

Manchester is an interesting place. The "shock city" of the nineteenth century, as Asa Briggs called it, it retains its interest into the twentieth century. Although Birmingham has overtaken it in size, it retains a vitality and character that Liverpool and Leeds have lost. Thus, Fielding's study makes an important con-

tribution to an important topic, while still leaving the field open for an all-England approach.

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ROGER CHARTIER. *L'ordre des livres: Lecteurs, auteurs, bibliothèques en Europe entre XIV<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. (De la Pensée.) Aix-en-Provence: Alinea. 1992. Pp. 118. 95 fr.

The history of the book investigates how books as material objects communicate and the place of their production and dissemination in cultural history. The discipline employs many methodologies from such diverse fields as literary criticism, sociology, and analytical bibliography. In some ways, Roger Chartier's study reflects this diversity. It consists of essays on readers, authors, and libraries during the *ancien régime* that pose somewhat different problems and draw on the physical evidence from books in varied ways.

The first essay, "Communities of Readers," considers how to study readers and reading practices. The primary problem is the ephemeral nature of reading. Chartier criticizes the sociological approach that employs quantitative methods to associate particular sociocultural groups with certain types of books. In contrast, he argues for making the physical book central to a historical reconstruction of reading because the book is the form in which the reader encounters the text. He cites examples of how formats of early printed books with multiplication of paragraphs or illustrations affected the apprehension of content. Placing the book at the fulcrum of the relationship between text and reader restores the dynamics of interchange between books as creators and products of communities of readers.

Whereas the essay on readers takes issue with sociological investigation, the second essay, "Figures of the Author," relates to literary theory, which, along with other disciplines, has seen a "return of the author." Chartier argues for the relevance of the history of the book to analysis of the "author function." Using examples of books from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, he demonstrates that the legal status of the author concerning property rights and censorship as well as bibliographical association of authors with books and texts varied during the early modern period. Thus, specific historical cases make generalization about authorship tenuous.

The third essay, "Libraries without Walls," focuses on a concrete historical problem: the tension that multiplication of printed books created between the ideal of unlimited access to increasing amounts of information and the necessity of selection from available material. This essay is less theoretical and uses more traditional evidence, the contents of certain types of books including seventeenth-century dictionary definitions of "library" and sixteenth-century bibliographical catalogues usually entitled *Bibliothèque*. These sources reveal the frustrating gap be-

tween the infinite possibility of the ideal library without walls and the particular limitations of any individual library collection.

Although these essays exhibit differences in subject, approach, and use of historical evidence, collectively their interconnections unite them. Each topic illuminates from a different perspective the effect of the transition from manuscript to print on elite and popular culture in France. In each case of readers, authors, and libraries, the "physical reality" of the book that joins author, text, and reader imposes order and meaning on the topic. The sound analysis in these essays arises from making the book itself the essential foundation for the history of the book as a field of historical inquiry.

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DENIS CROUZET. *Les Guerriers de Dieu: La Violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525—vers 1610*. Volume 1, *Le Temps du "Triomphe de la guerre"*; volume 2, *Le Temps du repli de la violence*. Foreword by PIERRE CHAUNU and DENIS RICHEL. (Epoques.) Paris: Champs Vallon. 1990. Pp. 792, 739. 490 F.

This remarkable book by Denis Crouzet offers a new frame of reference for our understanding of the religious conflicts of the sixteenth century. A revised *thèse d'État*, it is the product of a decade of close study of the representation of religious violence in sixteenth-century French writings. Not limiting himself to literature that is overtly polemical, Crouzet has charted explicit and implicit references to the religious crisis in a wide variety of popular and learned sources, from almanacs and prognostications to personal diaries, essays, and histories. A single overarching theme emerges from this mountain of research and serves to unite the book into a coherent albeit dense and complex narrative. Crouzet argues that a profound change in cultural perceptions occurred between the arrival of Protestant ideas in France and the death of Henry IV in 1610. This change derived from—and in turn affected—the very relationship that individuals posited between themselves and God.

The early sixteenth century was a time of profound religious anguish, Crouzet avers, a period haunted by fear of God's impending judgment. The Reformation, he argues, represents one attempted path of escape from the omnipresent despair. At the same time, the penetration of Protestant ideas was seen by French Catholics as yet another sign of God's impending wrath. Heresy was a sign that the final days were here, and the anti-Huguenot violence perpetrated by French Catholics was, in Crouzet's interpretation, an attempt to find union with God and thereby escape his wrath. The period of overt violence (in Crouzet's term, "violence in God") that began in 1560 climaxed with the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day in 1572, after which a process of reaction set in.

Religious hatreds were expressed virulently in polemical writings, but acts of aggression declined.

This period of "impossible violence" lasted through the creation of the Catholic League. During this time, religious violence was endemic. French Catholics became caught up in penitential movements not because they felt guilty about the violence of Saint Bartholomew's Day, but rather because they were distressed by the evident failure of their attempt to free the kingdom of the heretics that plagued it. When violence against the Huguenots no longer seemed to offer a path to union with God, the same end was sought through rituals of humiliation and penitence. The Holy Union of the Catholic League was the ultimate product of this millenarian piety. It represented an attempt on the part of "true Catholics" to mobilize against the disorder, tyranny, and oppression believed to threaten the ruin of the kingdom (vol. 2, p. 367). The assassination of Henry, duke of Guise, was the key act in the mobilization of the League because it was the act by which King Henry III revealed himself to be the Antichrist, whose "accursed reign announced, by its violence and its cruelty, the Final Judgment of God" (vol. 2, p. 379). The subsequent assassination of Henry III was a product of the same surge of eschatological mysticism. As Crouzet demonstrates, the regicide was not seen at the time as the work of Jacques Clément alone but rather as a "miracle" produced by the collective movement of the people toward God (vol. 2, p. 485).

In contrast and opposition to the eschatological fervor that marked the Catholic League, the *Politiques* drew on traditions of stoic philosophy to fashion their own remedy for the religious anguish of the times. Accepting the limits of humankind's ability to influence the working of God's will, they rejected any attempt to achieve union with God through collective action and turned inward to cultivate, with Montaigne, their own uniqueness (vol. 2, p. 552). They replaced the Leaguers' vision of the end of time with a new image of a "time of purity, peace, and concord," and they sought to realize this time through the actions of a temporal and not a heavenly king (vol. 2, pp. 570–71). Transposing to politics the need for religious union evinced by the League, they laid the ideological foundations for absolutism.

It is difficult in the space of a review to do justice to the rich and nuanced argument that Crouzet presents, and the above summary leaves out important parts of his argument, particularly where the ideological bases and "revolutionary potential" (vol. 1, p. 749) of Calvinism are concerned. It is precisely at this point, however, that I have some difficulty accepting Crouzet's argument. His essential premise that Huguenot violence sprang from sources other than Catholic aggression is sound. Having rid themselves of eschatological anguish, the Huguenots had no need to seek union with God through violence. Rather, they sought through acts such as iconoclasm both to demonstrate the truth of their teachings and

to enact a utopian purification of their world. Crouzet's argument becomes more tenuous when he goes on first to ascribe to Calvinist utopianism a subversive and potentially revolutionary character and then to attribute King Charles IX's presumed role in the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day to the need to defend "monarchical legitimacy" from this revolutionary threat (vol. 2, p. 25). He does not persuasively demonstrate either that democratic and egalitarian undercurrents in French Calvinism threatened the sociopolitical basis of the state or that the king's role in the massacre was a response to the perception of such a threat. It is possible that Charles IX (wrongly) feared a Huguenot coup after the failed attack of August 22 on Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, but it mystifies the situation unduly to interpret the king's motive in ordering the assassination of the Huguenot leaders as the product of his determination to protect the "sacrality" of monarchical authority rather than as a simple attempt to avert a rumored plot to seize his royal person (vol. 2, p. 24).

There are certain other points as well where I find Crouzet's interpretation of events and behaviors less than compelling. His portrayal of the religious wars as proceeding from "the confrontation between a traditional culture founded on the presence of God in the world and a culture of modernity, a culture of liberation from anguish [*désangoissement*], whose principal axis is the growing autonomy [*autonomisation*] of the worldly sphere" (vol. 1, p. 51), although on one level true, seems to me to court misinterpretation when presented as a statement of the fundamental cause of the wars. There is a danger of exaggerating the "modernity" of French Calvinism and thereby overstating the contrast between Catholic and Huguenot behaviors during the wars. There is also a danger of overstating the independence of religious motivations in the conflicts.

Still, in terms of the broad sweep of Crouzet's thesis, my reservations are few. This is a book of major importance. In an area of history long dominated by social and political approaches, Crouzet has succeeded in recapturing for religious culture a decisive formative role. He has vastly increased our understanding of the fratricidal violence that occurred in France as the confessional conflicts progressed. His interpretation of the Catholic League is particularly effective because it shows how firmly these events were rooted in the religious mentality of the time.

It is unfortunate that the study is so long (1,500 pages), because it will almost certainly get neither the wide audience it deserves nor the careful reading it requires. It could have been pared down through judicious editing of repetitious passages, and more of the evidence could have been relegated to the already lengthy footnotes. Even so, it would have remained vast. Provocative and at times perplexing, it is nevertheless richly rewarding.

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BARBARA SHER TINSLEY. *History and Polemics in the French Reformation: Florimond de Raemond; Defender of the Church*. Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press or Associated University Presses, Toronto. 1992. Pp. 238. \$38.50.

Florimond de Raemond (1540–1601), member of the Bordeaux Parlement, friend of Michel de Montaigne, and best-selling author of ecclesiastical histories, has largely been ignored by scholars because of his admittedly polemical intent. In this compact volume, Barbara Sher Tinsley demonstrates that it is precisely because of Raemond's subjectivity that he merits attention. Raemond's stated purpose, writes Tinsley, was to "reach . . . out to ordinary readers, providing them with the means for educating themselves about historical and theological topics formerly reserved by an arcane language (Latin) for an elite class" (p. 10). Raemond thus offers more insights into popular mentalities than can be gleaned from the universal histories or philosophies of the time. Because he was "too passionate and too prejudiced" (p. 12), Raemond both reflected and helped to shape the religious ideology of his time.

After a brief discussion of Raemond's life and the religious climate in France in the second half of the sixteenth century, Tinsley analyzes his works: *Erreur populaire de la Papesse Jane* (1587), *L'Anti-christ* (1599), and *L'Histoire de la naissance, progrès et décadence de l'hérésie de ce siècle* (1605). Tinsley's discussion of the *Erreur populaire* is one of the most interesting parts of the book, because the legend of Pope Joan has seldom been investigated. Raemond wrote the book in response to Protestant propaganda that drew on a thirteenth-century literary tradition to discredit the papacy. Prior to the Reformation, the story had been told and retold as entertainment and titillation with strong misogynistic overtones, but in the sixteenth century both Luther and Calvin used the apocryphal story to show the fallibility of an apostolic succession that had, according to the Pope Joan version, been broken. This section also provides information on Raemond's historiographical methods and insights into contemporary attitudes toward women.

The discussion of the posthumously published history of heresy is also important. In his research, Raemond consulted "eyewitnesses," Catholic works, and both Lutheran and Calvinist treatises. Tinsley acknowledges that Raemond used scandalous anecdotes, provided astrological charts for the major reformers, and made many factual errors, but adds that he showed considerable accomplishment in Renaissance historical skills, translating from Greek and Latin and subjecting myths to critical inquiry. His comparative analysis of the reform movements in several European countries and his study of behavior and events in terms of geography, climate, and anthropology all marked advances in historical method, even if this sometimes led to comments such as "Luther's religion was material and gross" because he

was "a man of the North" (p. 133). This monumental work displays an awareness of the differences between Protestant reformers and provides information on Calvin's life not available elsewhere. Tinsley's argument that Raemond was a "conservative idealist [who yearned] . . . for the simplicity and safety of a bygone era" (p. 150) is convincing to those familiar with late sixteenth-century thought.

The book is marred by an occasionally awkward writing style and inconsistent and irregular typesetting of quotations. In places, Tinsley's language and ideas seem curiously out of date and even sexist. At the beginning of the second chapter, she argues that "[t]wo forces shape the lives of men—events and other men," and "[e]vents and men are the materials of biography" (p. 33). Later, she seems unaware of recent debates about women in the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation, stating unequivocally that "[r]esearch into feminine history indicates that medieval attitudes toward women were predominantly misogynist, but that a softening of opinion occurred during the Renaissance and persisted into the Reformation" (p. 76). These qualifications notwithstanding, the book adds some important elements to our knowledge of late sixteenth-century French thought through the examination of a man whose work was truly representative of his time.

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MARCEL LACHIVER. *Les années de misère: La famine au temps du Grand Roy 1680–1720*. Paris: Fayard. 1991. Pp. 573. 180 fr.

Covering the period 1680–1720, Marcel Lachiver presents a masterful analysis of French demography, agriculture, and climate. He synthesizes an astonishing mass of regional studies, and the bibliography runs to twenty-eight pages. The chief novelty in his figures comes from his expert use of two as-yet-unpublished sources: the daily record of Parisian temperatures, rainfall, and atmospheric pressure kept by the scientist Louis Morin from 1676 to 1712; and the data on births, deaths, and overall population collected by a team of researchers at the Institut National d'Études Démographiques.

Lachiver does not alter the general picture historians have formed of the meteorological disasters, abysmal harvests, famines, and epidemics of the period. Instead, he presents nuances plus the hard data to support earlier suppositions. Not every year was disastrous, and even in the worst years parts of France escaped untouched. In average or good harvest years the country produced more than the minimum amount of grain needed for its population. This amounted to enough grain to produce about one-and-a-half pounds of bread per person each day. Adult male manual workers were able to get the nearly 4,000 calories per day that they required. The



years from 1680 to 1687 were generally good, providing moderate temperatures and generous harvests. The period from 1687 to 1700, however, was too cold and wet, on average 1.3 degrees Celsius cooler than preceding years.

Whereas most historians have focused on the terrible winter of 1709, Lachiver amply demonstrates that the crisis of 1693–94 was far worse. Frigid temperatures and endless rains resulted in horrendous harvests in 1692 and 1693. This situation was aggravated by the lack of stored supplies from the mediocre harvests of earlier years. In their weakened condition, tens of thousands died in dysentery and typhoid epidemics. Lachiver estimates that the total population dropped from 22,452,700 in 1691 to 20,736,400 by 1695. (These figures are for France's present-day borders.) Only in the fall of 1694 did the new harvest bring respite.

The winter of 1709 was not as deadly, but it was tragic nonetheless. For a string of eighteen days in January the temperature in Paris never rose above minus ten degrees Celsius. Thousands of people froze to death, and even the royal court experienced discomfort. Interestingly, however, the Arctic temperatures at the start of the year did not damage the wheat that had been planted in the fall. The stalks lay protected under a layer of snow. What destroyed most of the wheat crop was the thaws of February and March, when snow first melted and then froze to ice when the temperatures plummeted again. Wheat harvests were tiny in the spring, but the country was saved by a bounty of barley that autumn.

Lachiver presents his material in prose that is lively and free of jargon. Frequently he focuses on the particular stories of individuals. Only occasionally does he go too far with statistics, presenting what amounts to a month-by-month and city-by-city tabulation of births, deaths, rainfall, grain supplies, and temperatures.

One underlying theme is that the famines and epidemics of these years can be attributed to nature rather than to the government of Louis XIV. Another is that the French people exhibited remarkable resiliency. By 1716 the total population again topped 22 million.

Despite Lachiver's modest claims, this book will be a standard reference tool for many years to come.

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MARY VIDAL. *Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century France*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 238; 180 plates. \$50.00.

That Jean-Antoine Watteau's art was connected to salons and aristocratic *politesse* is a commonplace in art-historical criticism, but no previous study has given conversation the centrality it receives in Mary

Vidal's insightful and probing monograph. As seen by Vidal, Watteau's figures give themselves over to gallant conversation and demonstrate fine social comportment, much as contemporary aristocrats would have behaved. Generalized conversation is the appropriate mode, not speech, and certainly not pedantry or the erudite learning of the specialist. The reserved gestures of Watteau's figures belong to the social and spiritual world of the salons and the French tradition of *honnêteté*. Central to this tradition is social conditioning, which begins in childhood, and in Watteau's paintings children observe and learn from the deportment and conversation of elders. It is as if Watteau's children were participating in the civilizing process in which the tradition of *honnêteté* was embedded. Even the way Watteau organized figures and applied paint reflects these aestheticized ideals and pursuits. Vidal sees Watteau as an aristocratic amateur who eliminated pedantry from his works and whose easy brushwork suggests aristocratic *sprezzatura*. Technical mastery is not the goal of the aristocrat, for whom ease of manner is a social necessity. All of this, as argued by Vidal, is most persuasive.

Yet for me her case is not altogether convincing. Chapter 5, an analysis of *L'Enseigne de Gersaint*, maintains that Watteau is not subversive and that the painting represents continuity with the *grand siècle*. Watteau might not have rejected the age of Louis XIV, but such an interpretation cannot be considered a product of "post-Revolutionary consciousness" (p. 180), as any reader of Baron de Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1721) understands. Vidal is correct in saying that the monarchy was not yet discredited, but a wealth of contemporary evidence indicates that France breathed a sigh of relief when the reign of the Sun King came to a final end.

Uneasiness with the pride and ambitions of this monarch began to find its way into French art even before Watteau arrived in Paris in 1704 or 1705. It was he, more than any other artist, who gave voice to the new, aestheticized ideals of an aristocracy that had become weary of a king who deprived the nobility of independence. The very tradition of *honnêteté* to which Watteau and his art are connected was in part a response to, and for some a substitute for, Louis XIV's ordered world. The aestheticism of *honnêteté* was rooted in frustration. Beneath the polite and refined forms of aristocratic life there was resentment. A subversive spirit filtered into both art and literature as the reign of Louis XIV drew to a close, and Watteau saw himself and his art as part of that pattern of change. This is why the shopkeepers in *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* consign Hyacinthe Rigaud's portrait of Louis XIV to a crate. The direction Watteau gave to French art was not one that the Sun King would have approved, and this Watteau understood. Vidal's analysis of conversation in Watteau's art

is superb, but the historical explanation is less persuasive.

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ANTOINE PICON. *French Architects and Engineers in the Age of the Enlightenment*. Translated by MARTIN THOM. (Cambridge Studies in the History of Architecture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 437. \$140.00.

The literature on modern architecture commonly points to the founding of the École des Ponts et Chaussées in 1747 as the beginning of the end of architecture. This is the moment when architecture and science are said to have been torn apart, leaving dispassionate engineers free to deploy the power of technology and architects with little to do but design the packaging of buildings. Antoine Picon's book, which collects for the first time an enormous amount of material on the exchange between architecture and engineering in France during the eighteenth century, is devoted to explaining this infamous rupture. By transforming simple reason into a complex and materially productive rationality, Picon argues that what he terms the "engineer's system" was better adapted to the needs of bourgeois capitalism, not only enabling technology to supersede classicism but also leaving architecture forever marked by a "seal of impotence" (p. 339).

Although Picon's discussion moves between science and architecture, he assigns engineering the dominant and more active role in the exchange. He argues that the classical tradition in architecture survived as long as it did only by virtue of internal ambiguities that gave it sufficient flexibility to keep up with its principal task: to reveal and reinforce existing social structures. According to Picon, scientific calculation replaced architectural theory when the latter could no longer negotiate the difference between the conceptual logic of architectural form and the complex demands made by the processes of production. Unlike architects, who primarily had to satisfy the individual needs of specific clients, engineers needed to provide for every citizen of the nation by building public roads and bridges, a scope of activity that demanded a new union between theoretical knowledge and material production. Picon asserts that, as a result, engineers developed a conceptual and practical system that was intentionally rather than accidentally elastic, that collapsed theory and practice into the notion of process, that conceived of stability as due not to visible solidity but to the interaction of invisible forces, and that let aesthetic concerns be similarly shaped by the ebbs and flows of natural resources.

Although Picon's description of the failure of architecture may be less compelling than it is indebted

to standard critiques of modernism, his contribution lies in having searched for a common conceptual basis in the many duties of eighteenth-century engineers. These included adapting construction systems to changing economic requirements ranging in scale from specific bridges to urban development, from regional planning to a national system of roads. Underlying all these activities, in Picon's view, was a notion of laissez-faire intervention designed to enhance productivity by facilitating the movement of goods, people, and services and that equated science and technology with unlimited and ever-increasing progress. In the various developments of eighteenth-century engineering that attempted to quantify, manage, and exploit natural processes, Picon thus finds an overwhelming and perhaps precocious interest in dynamics. One may not agree that this emphasis on interlocking processes rather than discrete objects led either to a crisis in architecture or to the insertion of engineering into all domains of human activity. Picon's discussion nevertheless goes far to explain the complex relationship between a desire for rational control of the natural world and the rationalist understanding of nature as an uncontrollable and dynamic force that characterizes both architecture and engineering in the age of Enlightenment.

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P. N. FURBANK. *Diderot: A Critical Biography*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1992. Pp. xiii, 524. \$30.00.

This is a lively and colorful biography written largely for a general audience. It has value for specialists, too. P. N. Furbank, author of books on Daniel Defoe, Samuel Butler, E. M. Forster, and Italo Svevo, acknowledges in this new study that he is indebted to Arthur Wilson's great scholarly biography, *Diderot* (1972): "I certainly cannot pretend to know as much about the subject as Wilson did" (p. xii). That this judgment is largely true can be confirmed by a comparison of both books. Wilson's biography is much more amply researched than Furbank's and includes manuscript as well as printed sources. Wilson's description of Denis Diderot's life is also much more detailed, as is his description of the publication history and contents of the *Encyclopédie*. In fact, Furbank's discussion of the *Encyclopédie* is too brief for the reader to make much sense of it. Moreover, without being certain that the story is authentic, he retells Voltaire's account of Louis XV's conversation with his courtiers and Madame de Pompadour regarding "Poudre" and other articles from the *Encyclopédie*. Voltaire made up this story to inflate the *Encyclopédie*'s reputation as a work of scholarship and to minimize its reputation as subversive. "Poudre" did not appear until after Madame de Pompadour's death.

Furbank's general interpretation of Diderot, the man and his thought, differs little from Wilson's. Furbank presents Diderot as, on the whole, an appealing genius—sociable, extremely talkative, charming, witty, self-confident, generous with his time, eager to give advice even when it was unwelcome, outspoken, versatile in learning, and full of ideas. To Furbank, like Wilson, most of Diderot's books are original, skeptical, experimental, undogmatic, and difficult to grasp. He was an atheist, a materialist, and a determinist, but not in the uncomplicated manner of Baron d'Holbach or Jacques-André Naigeon; and in any event, he was much more than that, also being a pioneer in art and drama criticism, fiction, and other creative writing.

What distinguishes Furbank's book from Wilson's, besides its much shorter length, is its stress on Diderot's literary works other than the *Encyclopédie*. Subtitled his book "A Critical Biography," Furbank writes that "the narrative chapters are interspersed—and increasingly so as the book goes on—with chapters of literary criticism" (p. xii). Furbank's analysis of Diderot's individual plays, novels, short stories, dialogues, art criticism, and philosophical treatises is informative. He summarizes the plots and main points of these works, no simple task given Diderot's many-sided and elusive genius. Furbank also possesses a wide knowledge of Western literature and philosophy, which enables him to compare Diderot's ideas with those of earlier and later thinkers. In addition, although benefiting from the insights of Roland Barthes, Michel Butor, Jacques Derrida, Stanley Fish, Michel Foucault, and others, he is independent-minded, a far from slavish follower of fashionable critics. The general reader interested in Diderot's works more than his life will find this book easier to read than Wilson's, and specialists will appreciate Furbank's subtle and stimulating discussions of Diderot's individual works.

The Diderot presented in this book is someone who speaks to the modern world more than to his own time, for, as Furbank points out, more than half of his manuscripts were unpublished in the *ancien régime* and would surely have shocked his contemporaries.

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ANNE HIGONNET. *Berthe Morisot's Images of Women*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. 311. \$45.00.

In this book, Anne Higonnet illuminates the gendered operations of nineteenth-century visual culture and Impressionist modernism in particular. Feminism has prompted renewed interest in Berthe Morisot. A major exhibition of her work was mounted in 1987, a new English edition of her correspondence was published the same year, and Higonnet's *Berthe Morisot: A Biography* appeared in

1990. The present study focuses on the images of women that constitute the bulk of Morisot's *oeuvre*. Grounding her account in archival research, social analyses, and feminist psychoanalytic theory, Higonnet develops new approaches to this imagery and redefines the formalist problematics of modernist art history.

It has been common practice to judge Morisot's work as a frothy Impressionism without muscle. More thoughtful evaluations define her success through a combination of class position and cultural coincidence: Morisot's bourgeois upbringing and education enhanced her access to important artists like Jean Corot, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, and Édouard Manet, and the Impressionist commitment to quotidian subjects provided a hospitable context for her domestic and family scenes. Higonnet digs beneath this tale of "Impressionism in the Feminine Case," as she calls it. Building on Linda Nochlin's account of the institutional barriers women artists faced ("Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" [1971]) and Griselda Pollock's charting of the classed and gendered spaces of nineteenth-century modernity ("Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* [1988]), Higonnet explores the cultural practices that shaped Morisot's career. Her study replaces the story of Morisot's professional good fortune with a sense of the artist's agency and determination to produce an original body of work.

Chapters on amateur traditions and feminine visual culture offer new material on art outside the academy and the avant-garde. Higonnet describes the picture-making skills that were part of a bourgeois girl's education and were used to make picture albums commemorating personal and family events. But after mid-century, Higonnet argues, the proliferation of mass-produced fashion plates and magazine illustrations altered the forms of album production, turning it from a practice of image-making to image-collecting and consumption, and reorienting the terms of women's representation as decorative objects of desire. Higonnet presents Morisot's images of women as subtended by the themes and formats of feminine visual culture. She makes this connection not as an essentialist alignment of Morisot's work with women's visual traditions, but to indicate how various forms of picture-making operated as gendered spheres. In light of that framework, Morisot's ambitions and professional reach are all the more remarkable.

The second half of the book develops new approaches to two central themes of high culture: the female nude and the mother-child relationship. Morisot's "failure" as a painter of the nude is explained through a discussion of the historically gendered ways of seeing and articulating sexual experience. The problem was not a matter of training and skill but an evasive rendering of the body. For Higonnet, Morisot's stumbling pictures of women at their

toilettes expose her discomfort, as female painter and spectator, at this culturally licensed site of male sexual pleasure and control. Bourgeois codes of decorum disallowed a woman's feelings as either sexual subject or sexual viewer. How would she then produce pictures in which some aspect of that sexuality would be displayed?

Yet maternity, the most valorized female experience, elicited inventive pictures of Morisot's daughter Julie Manet. Framing the discussion in psychoanalytic theories of object relations, Higonnet suggests that maternal love appears in these images as "artistic attention rather than physical intimacy" (p. 228). Julie is consistently depicted as an autonomous person, separate from the mother's body, but Morisot maintains a feminine "genealogical" presence in the work through allusions to herself as both artist and mother (pp. 237 and following). The result, for Morisot's *oeuvre* and for future art-historical analysis, is a suggestive revision of the forms of maternal picturing and assertion of female identities.

There is much to be learned from this book and its nuanced arguments. Higonnet's text is well written and refreshingly jargon-free. Her book is feminist art history at its best. It expands women's history and our understanding of nineteenth-century art.

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JAMES D. HERBERT. *Fauve Painting: The Making of Cultural Politics*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. 224, 93 plates. \$40.00.

Early in this century the bold, bright-colored paintings created by the Fauves did not seem to bear political messages or to be a part of France's "grand tradition." As James D. Herbert makes clear, the artists whom a critic compared to "wild beasts" were not well understood in 1905. In their treatment of famed Impressionist sites (London and Châtaou), the canvases of André Derain and Maurice Vlaminck seemed awkward depictions of the mundane, especially to critics impressed by Symbolist painting and the late works of the Impressionists. In Herbert's reading, Fauvism was much more than its conspicuously unsophisticated techniques and colors suggested.

Herbert does the traditional art historian's task of clarifying the Fauves' distinctiveness by comparing their work with earlier art (the Impressionists, Nicolas Poussin) and with that of their contemporaries (Maurice Denis, Henri Gervex, and others). He also recounts the reactions of art critics: the sympathetic ones who hailed the new style for reinvigorating art, and the Symbolists who lamented the lack of a sense of mystery and spiritual meaning. But then he goes much further, offering a reading of the paintings as part of a dialogue on national concerns of the time. While giving us little on the lives of the painters or

their intentions, he focuses at length on the meanings that the canvases had for diverse contemporary viewers. He presents testimony from political spokesmen, cartoons, postcards, and photographs as well as art critics and historians of the early twentieth century. For additional meanings the author draws on film and gender theory and psychoanalytic literature. There is nothing simple about fitting the paintings into these frameworks of tensions and differences. The argument and style of this book are complex, in stark contrast to the bright directness of the Fauve paintings discussed.

Herbert's study is a fine addition to a growing body of recent art history treating the cultural politics of modern French art. In the wake of Debora Silverman's book on Art nouveau (*Art nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France* [1989]) and Paul Tucker's political interpretation of Claude Monet in the 1890s (*Monet in the '90s* [1989]), Herbert elucidates the subsequent period, which he takes up to Kenneth Silver's history of the Parisian avant-garde in World War I (*Esprit de Corps* [1989]). Throughout the book Herbert argues that the Fauves engaged in "dissimulation" as they created pictures that appeared purely aesthetic (p. 13). In their seemingly disinterested nudes and landscapes Herbert finds the same power relations that were current in the society at large: the male artist and viewer dominating woman, Parisian artists and tourists invading southern villagers, French artists and colonists laying claim to Africa. Apparently neutral art lent support to a variety of power moves. Scenes of the Mediterranean coast and villages put an artistic seal of approval on tourists' incursions into land previously little visited. Such paintings as Henri Matisse's *Bonheur de vivre* (1905–06) played a role in a nationalist campaign to improve the health of the French population. Somewhat less persuasively, Herbert argues that Matisse's paintings of African subjects were "a symbolic appropriation" of Africa (p. 170) that helped legitimate France's colonial conquests.

Herbert shows that the Fauves were not just innovators, not simply another modernist avant-garde movement in rupture with the past. They were also renewers of tradition. They linked their works to earlier innovators and, particularly after 1907, to France's classical heritage. Their paintings gave support to the Right's glorification of the nation's Latin tradition, a program popularized by Charles Maurras. Yet, unlike Maurras, the Fauves accepted the present and by implication the Third Republic.

This study ends with Pablo Picasso, who ended Fauvism. When confronted with the challenges presented by the innovative Spaniard, French critics came to see the Fauves as a great new part of French tradition. Those nationalistic views became a virtual consensus in World War I, as Silver has shown, and they continued through the interwar period, as Herbert demonstrates. In sum, this short book on a short-lived art movement tells a big story. With its



splendid illustrations and provocative, at times ingenious, argument, Herbert's book opens the way to new enjoyment and understanding of Fauve painting. It is an important contribution.

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THOMAS A. KSELMAN. *Death and the Afterlife in Modern France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 413. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$17.95.

This is a fascinating discussion of various facets of the treatment of death in nineteenth-century France. Thomas A. Kselman has mined a wealth of sources in using death as a window into aspects of the society of the living. The nineteenth century was in his view a period of major adjustment and uncertainty in French attitudes toward death, with changes resulting both from growing secularization and the related conflict between church and state. Philippe Ariès is cited approvingly for his vision of the nineteenth century as a period of transition between predominant fear of the death of self and more modern concern with the deaths of others, and changes noted in cemetery visits and epitaphs corroborate this view. But Kselman is really working a different analytical line around a new set of disputes and anxieties.

The book starts a bit slowly, with a discussion of basic demography and the importance of demographic reports in shaping new fears about death. The opening chapter is not much utilized in subsequent analysis, although it is competent enough. Oddly, related medical judgments about bodily deterioration, in which French pathologists took a lead, and changes in the actual causes of death do not receive comparable attention. A second chapter, again interesting in itself but rather isolated in the book, deals with rural ethnography. Rural death attitudes and rituals are detailed and a few shifts are briefly noted (again, however, not picked up clearly in later sections). On the whole, Kselman believes that the rural outlook altered little, which is why this segment stands alone.

The main argument begins with chapter 3, covering Catholic attitudes toward death as evidenced in sermons and other popularized statements. Kselman offers a clear historical discussion here, noting the decline of hellfire imagery by the 1830s (a bit later in the provinces), growing if grudging inclusion of doctors in actual deathbed settings, and heightened conflict with localities over control of burials. Catholic approaches to death included a vigorous practice in indulgences. Catholic understanding of death, itself evolving, encountered several alternate intellectual strands, including the spiritualism of liberals like Victor Cousin, positivism, and the spiritism of figures like Allan Kardec (whose views ultimately would have greater impact in Brazil than in France). Non-reli-

gious views of death worked toward maintenance of a sacral outlook, although they also increasingly confined death to specific and separate treatments in literature. Kselman's textual analysis here is intriguing.

Changes in cemeteries, including relocation, increasing enclosure as a means of separating death, newly trite epitaphs, and a desire to bury families together, follow the intellectual history and confirm some of its themes. The final section deals with the rise of commercial funerals and efforts to regulate them. Kselman views this pattern as a case where, by the later nineteenth century, market values clearly had to battle, inconclusively, against nonmarket motives, the result adding to the ambivalence and unease with which the urban French tried to handle death in a changing context.

Kselman spends less time on explicit analysis than he might, particularly because what he does offer is so persuasive. The lack of a full relationship among segments of the book, enhanced by use of a final chapter less to conclude than to explore artistic renderings of death, follows from a certain analytical timidity. Opportunities for comparison are rarely evoked, despite obvious similarities between patterns in France and in England and the United States. And some relevant topics are not explored adequately, including reactions to changing causes of death, the problem of children's death, mourning, and emotion. Kselman recurrently refers to nineteenth-century attempts to curb the expression of grief, and he offers some fleeting evidence, but his treatment is too brief and the premodern baseline too unclearly established for much certainty here. Finally, questions of audience remain largely unanswered. We do not know who was interested in approaches to death, aside from specific intellectuals or the implications of a rural-urban split. It would be hard to develop clear class or gender correlations to connect the cultural evidence more firmly with the social framework, but more explicit efforts might have been ventured.

Despite opportunities for further connections and additional research—opportunities that Kselman generously anticipates—this remains a very imaginative study, with far more facets than a brief review can suggest. The book is a major contribution to French history and to the larger history of death, and it stands also as a significant use of cultural evidence and method.

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ALLEN DOUGLAS. *From Fascism to Libertarian Communism: Georges Valois against the Third Republic*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 328. \$40.00.

Allen Douglas has written an impressive work—analytically subtle, solidly documented, and extremely well written—about one of the most ideologically

protean figures in modern French history. Georges Valois began his political career as an anticlerical anarcho-syndicalist, converted to Catholicism and royalism in 1906, founded one of France's first major fascist movements, the *Faisceau*, in 1925, only to sharply reverse himself in 1929, abandoning the Right (and, with it, his former Christianity) for the Left. In 1930 the former anticommunist praised the Soviet experiment in Russia and described the persecution of communists in France as "unjustified" (p. 150). In 1934 the former fascist denounced fascism, as well as "the banks and the trusts" that, he said, fomented the riots of February 6 (p. 181).

In 1936 the former anticommunist, antisocialist, and antiliberal backed the Popular Front, eventually criticizing the government of Léon Blum for not being left-wing enough. Back in 1925 Valois had praised the fighting qualities of French war veterans who had joined the paramilitary legions of the *Faisceau* and had described war as an antidote to decadence, but in 1934 he characterized supporters of war and militarism as "criminals and madmen" (p. 186). In 1935 he was on good terms with the pacifist wing of the SFIO (French Socialist Party) although the organization rejected his application for membership because of his fascist past. In 1936 he backed French military cooperation with Spain's republican government in its fight against Francisco Franco. He also demanded that fascism be outlawed in France and that Charles Maurras (his former mentor) and other members of the *Action Française* be arrested. In 1939 he said that he preferred to risk his life in battle rather than "die like an animal under the blows of a Hitlerite or Stalinist killer" (p. 221).

Before World War I Valois engaged in anti-Semitism, but in the 1930s he condemned such views, arguing that Jewish bankers acted no differently than their gentile colleagues. He warned that Nazi racism in Germany could lead to the enslavement of entire populations and the wholesale slaughter of the Jews.

In 1930 Valois condemned plutocracy and called for its overthrow; in 1940 he praised the economic expertise plutocrats brought to society and allowed his earlier right-wing books to be republished after having tried to keep them out of circulation following what Douglas calls his "great political sea change" of 1929 (p. 225). In 1941 the former nationalist approved of Adolf Hitler's elimination of national boundaries on the European continent and wrote about "the end of Bolshevism" (p. 240). According to Douglas, however, Valois was neither anti-German nor pro-Allied during the German occupation, although in 1942 he warned against the Russian and Japanese "Asiatic" danger and saw no solution coming from the Western democracies or from Charles de Gaulle. This did not prevent him from writing for a clandestine Resistance journal, mainly on economic matters. In 1944 he was arrested by Gestapo agents, interrogated by Klaus Barbie, and deported to Ber-

gen-Belsen, where, now hoping for an Allied victory, he died in January 1945.

Douglas concludes that "if a death can define a life, then surely Valois' does," that he "gave his life for his ideas" (p. 251). One might ask for which ideas: only those he adhered to at the end of his life, which were themselves inconsistent? Douglas insists that Valois was not an opportunist, although as a book publisher it was to Valois's economic interest to turn to the Left after 1929. Douglas does make a strong case for the continuities in Valois's thought, especially for his visionary preoccupation with a technocratic reordering of society (however much Valois's solutions differed over time).

During his fascist period, Valois differed from Benito Mussolini (and even more so from Hitler) in preferring coldly reasoned discourse to emotion-laden demagoguery. Indeed, there is almost an academic quality to Valois's writings, similar to that of an ambitious scholar who seeks to be intellectually original at all costs, playing with ideas as brilliantly as possible, irrespective of their human consequences. Although Douglas contends that Valois displayed a serious concern for social and economic justice, there is much evidence to the contrary, especially from Valois's fascist years. Douglas's claim that although Valois did not "anticipate feminism" his views on the family show that "he would easily have added it to his system of human development" (p. 255) perhaps is even more of a stretch.

In contrast to the cover of Douglas's book, which seems to suggest that fascism (black) merges smoothly into communism (red), Douglas himself rejects the idea that Valois's career shows a fundamental unity between the radical Right and the radical Left. Rather it reveals the opposite: "More than anything else, his intellectual odyssey illuminates the fundamental differences between the radical-rightist and radical-leftist critiques of modern society. The idea of a golden age of radical right-left union . . . is really a myth propagated by later fascists . . . searching nostalgically for an impossible fusion" (pp. 254–55). Thus, while the cover of this book may please those who maintain that fascists and communists were ideological soul mates, its contents will not.

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FRANÇOIS MONNET. *Refaire la république: André Tardieu, une dérive réactionnaire (1876–1945)*. Paris: Fayard. 1993. Pp. 638. 190 fr.

François Monnet's political and intellectual biography of André Tardieu is the first full-length, scholarly study of one of the French Third Republic's most important politicians. Basing his work on Tardieu's writings and documentary sources, including the hitherto unavailable large collection of Tardieu papers in the Archives Nationales, Monnet focuses on

the interwar period, particularly Tardieu's efforts from 1929 to 1935 to modernize France's republican system. He sees Tardieu as a paradoxical figure: one of his generation's most brilliant men, who achieved little and is generally forgotten. He traversed the republic like a meteor but left only a fugitive trace (p. 7).

Parisian bourgeois Tardieu, born in 1876, belonged to the second generation of republican politicians who reached political maturity after World War I. For many, the war served as a break, an opportunity for renovation and the restoration of unity and authority, themes Tardieu's programs propounded. French high commissioner in Washington during the war and Georges Clemenceau's assistant in drafting the Treaty of Versailles, Tardieu was a strong *Clemenciste* in the early 1920s, denouncing repeated concessions to Germany. He alienated his former patron, however, by joining Raymond Poincaré's cabinet in 1926 as minister of public works.

Tardieu's goal, as it was later when he became premier in 1929, was to modernize and enrich France. He also sought to renovate France's political institutions, republican culture, and social conditions. Essentially, he wanted to rehabilitate the concept of republican authority. Rooted both in the Orleanist tradition of *juste milieu* political liberalism, with its defense of the social order and ideological moderation combined with an enlightened elitism, and the Gambettist tradition of ardent nationalism and republicanism, the "neo-Opportunist" Tardieu belonged to the center-right of the French political spectrum. He was, however, a leader without troops (p. 71).

Monnet divides Tardieu's political action into three periods: his efforts to "rearrange" the republic as premier from 1929 through the elections of 1932; his proposals of 1933–34 to revise the constitution; and his crusade of 1935–39 for France's political reeducation. Tardieu, who moved from moderate, center-right republicanism to a militant, conservative position, illustrates the impasse of an individual career and the general crisis of French liberalism in the 1930s.

Marked by his American experience, Premier Tardieu launched a program of American-style prosperity, advocating a Tory-like conservative party and a strong, personalized executive power. But his premiership of 1929 was backed by a precarious majority, aroused leftist fears of his dictatorial ambitions, and confronted threatening international economic and political realities.

After the leftist electoral victory of 1932, Tardieu turned to constitutional revisions. Like Alexandre Millerand in 1920, he wanted to restore the right of dissolution, promote the use of referenda, and limit parliamentary omnipotence. Above all, as he stated in *L'Heure de la décision* (1934), "a strong executive is the technical condition of a free democracy" (p. 288). Although his revisionism exposed him to charges of neo-Boulangism and fascism, Tardieu did not join the anti-parliamentary leagues. His solitary crusade

of speeches and journal articles evoked little public response.

The events of February 6, 1934, with the recall of "savior" figure Gaston Doumergue, briefly transformed Tardieu's revisionism into a governmental program. Disillusionment with the Doumergue experience ended Tardieu's ministerial career and inaugurated a progressive break that culminated in his withdrawal from Parliament in 1936 and his move to Menton. Thenceforth he considered himself a political educator, attacking parliamentarism as the source of French decay, pursuing his anti-socialist crusade against the Popular Front, and opposing the Munich pact as another abdication of French rights vis-à-vis the traditional enemy, Germany. Although sympathetic to the ideas of Charles Maurras and the Action Française, he never joined the organization, nor did he totally reject the principles of 1789. He was a liberal conservative, a twentieth-century version of Edmund Burke, whose career was unified by a concern for French grandeur.

To Monnet, Tardieu's political itinerary reflects a progressive disenchantment with the political system, from a commitment to the republic to one against it. It was an itinerary that mingled three traditions of the French Right: a modernized, Americanized Orleanism in the years of power; Bonapartism in his extra-parliamentary revisionism; and traditional reactionary in his intellectual activities after 1935. His renovating proposals prefigured the Fifth Republic although they created mistrust in the Third.

With the paucity of scholarly biographical studies of republican leaders, Monnet's carefully documented and detailed, although occasionally digressive, account of Tardieu's interwar career is a needed and important contribution to the historical literature of the French Third Republic.

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CAROLYN J. DEAN. *The Self and Its Pleasures: Bataille, Lacan, and the History of the Decentered Subject*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 270. Cloth \$36.95, paper \$15.95.

Carolyn's J. Dean's book is an intelligent, well-researched, and thought-provoking study of an important problem in modern cultural and intellectual history. Focusing on the difficult work of Jacques Lacan and Georges Bataille, Dean furnishes a critical history of the decentered subject in early twentieth-century France—a history that has broader implications given the widespread influence of modern French thought, particularly of figures for whom Bataille was a lodestar (Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, for example) and Lacan at least a crucial reference point. Dean recounts the story of how the quest for a regenerated self, which her protagonists shared with many others (including those in hygiene

movements), led—whether intentionally or not—to the blurring of differentiating boundaries between self and other and the dissolution or decentering of the sought-after object of desire.

As a specific link between her discussions of Lacan and Bataille, Dean offers a history of the reception of the Marquis de Sade. Attempting to “demonstrate how and why Sade’s sadomasochistic self came to be a metaphor in sexual and textual terms for a new concept of the self” (p. 198), she traces the transformation of the prevalent nineteenth-century portrait of Sade as a moral monster into an often apologetic idea of Sade as victim and visionary. Especially for surrealists, Sade became the martyred masochist of criminal pleasures or even the vilified bearer of liberation who presumably was driven to sadistic fantasy and had the courage to reveal the innermost desires of “Everyman.” This tendentious transvaluation that presented Sade as the prophet of sublime ecstasy as well as the (at times monitory) herald of transgressive excess tended to gloss over or ignore evidence of Sade’s actual sadomasochistic behavior—notably his abuse and torture of Rose Keller. It focused instead on the adulated writer as object of (masculine) identification.

Although they distanced themselves from surrealists, Lacan and Bataille nonetheless repeated a male-centered vision of the divine marquis. In somewhat different yet related (post-World War II) studies, they refashioned the image of Sade as an ambivalent figure of the modern self, notably in their fascination with sadomasochistic desire, the repetition compulsion (or death drive), transgressive violence, (self-) victimizing release through (self-)destruction, and the impossible quest for absolute mastery. Lacan, however, perversely linked Sade to Immanuel Kant by emphasizing the compulsion to virtue and the way desire is constituted through reaffirmation of law—a tragically twilight, paternal law that resulted in endless cycles of violence that the fragile, melodramatic, yet still noble and all-too-human Sade presumably acted out on the level of self-punitive fantasy and endless compensatory demands. For Dean, the model of artistic creativity in interwar France, which Bataille articulated in terms of “headlessness,” also involved a desire to be guilty and punished for crime in a movement of masochistic self-dissolution—what amounted to a “*masquerade* of self-sacrifice” as a paradigm of authorship (pp. 202–03).

Dean’s overall project, which will interest cultural and intellectual historians of other times and places, is to bring contextual and textual approaches into a genuinely interactive and mutually informative relationship with one another. Her treatment of intricate texts is sophisticated, informed by the best available commentary, and never a matter of mere summary. Moreover, although her non-sequential movement between time periods is occasionally a little confusing, her research into pertinent discursive and social contexts is rigorous and detailed. Her specific, well-

formulated goal is not to take at face-value but instead to show how the specific questions or theoretical constructs of Lacan and Bataille were elaborated historically—in her own words, to “account for the process by which *their* regulatory fictions were constructed as fictions” (p. 122).

This is a tall order, and Dean should be praised for undertaking it and being as remarkably successful as she is in addressing it. Her book is replete with insightful analyses of how the “other” (the criminal, the madman, the woman) was constituted as other, and how the other came to inhabit, disorient, and dissolve the boundaries that separated it from the “self.” She shows, for example, how Lacan’s early patient, the self-punitive “paranoid” Aimée, became a paradigm case in his reformulation of psychoanalysis and his challenge to the opposition between the normal and the pathological. Particularly insightful is the discussion of how the traumas of World War I and the turmoil of the interwar years took particular form in psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, and art in ways that Lacan and Bataille responded to and helped to fashion.

I would raise two issues that would imply, at most, sympathetic criticisms or even requests for the type of work Dean has undertaken to be carried even further. One issue is contextual, while the other bears on the relation between contextualization and critical-theoretical problems.

On a contextual level, Dean’s account would have benefited from more extensive inquiry into fascism and World War II with respect to the figures and questions she discusses. In discussing Lacan she makes only a few passing allusions to fascism, notably in reference to Lacan’s criticism in 1938 of the work of Edouard Pichon, from whom he nonetheless borrowed a great deal. Pichon supported the Action Française, and Lacan’s critique of his defense of excessive paternal authority, which Lacan at the time believed to be characteristic of modern cultures and especially of fascist movements, is seen by Dean as itself being anti-fascist. This has a certain circumscribed plausibility, but Lacan’s critique is indirect and of rather limited significance. Moreover, as Dean herself notes, Lacan has been criticized for his patriarchal if not excessively authoritarian bias. Here one would have liked a more elaborate discussion of Lacan’s activities not only during the interwar years but during the Vichy period as well. One would also have appreciated at least some attempt to pose the problem of the more formal relations (or nonrelations) between Lacan’s thought (of which Dean is in certain respects critical) and fascist ideologies—however discriminating and qualified one would have to be in addressing this problem.

Dean provides some analysis of Bataille’s relation to fascism, and she remarks on the limitations of a politics of self-loss and the paradoxical status of the idea of opposing fascism through *surfascisme*. But, as she notes (p. 231), her account is restricted in nature



and does not do justice to the complexities of the issue. There is a need for a careful treatment of the ways Bataille's thought both invited and resisted fascist resonances or appropriations. In their readings of Bataille, Foucault and Derrida paid insufficient attention to the explicitly political dimensions of his thought, and the task of contemporary commentary should be to investigate these dimensions in a sufficiently extensive, complex, and critical manner. Such an undertaking (particularly in view of Bataille's near obsession with the sacred and sacrifice) would provide the opportunity to reopen more fully a question to which Dean alludes: the displacements of the religious in the secular and their imprint on political movements or aspirations.

The second issue—or, more precisely, set of questions—may be even more difficult to address than the first. Does contextualization enable the historian, who would also be a critical theorist, to add significantly to relatively ahistorical analyses and critiques of a body of thought? Indeed, does contextualization in the specific form of genealogical reconstruction both provide perspective on bodies of thought or discursive procedures one may be inclined to emulate, and enable one to pose critical questions concerning them that might not otherwise be apparent? Does it allow one (at least potentially) to go further than Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen or Alice Jardine, for example, in the reading and criticism of Lacan? Would the extent of one's ability to do so be related to the degree to which one could elaborate a critical-theoretical framework that both oriented and was tested or even reoriented by contextual research? Addressing these questions places extreme demands on the historian who wants to do interdisciplinary work on the border between history and critical theory. Many historians would dismiss such questions as irrelevant to their undertaking, but such a dismissal may lead to underconceptualized history of limited critical interest. The virtue of Dean's book is that she is willing to engage such questions, and she is sufficiently successful in addressing them to indicate the value of the approach she has been intellectually courageous enough to pursue.

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ALASTAIR HAMILTON. *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alumbrados*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1992. Pp. iv, 156. \$60.00.

Say the words "Spanish mystic" and usually one thinks of John of the Cross or Teresa of Avila; although the two had their differences with the Inquisition, they wound up as saints, not heretics. Yet Spain's only native heresy of the early modern period was a result of the popularization of mysticism during the sixteenth century, ironically under the auspices of the country's highest religious authority, Cardinal

Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517). Cisneros sponsored the translation and publication of Northern European devotional tracts and patronized religious women and men given to trances, raptures, and revelations. The high nobility followed the cardinal's lead, and several of the ducal palaces in the early sixteenth century harbored practitioners of the new religious fashion. Before long in parts of New Castile certain enlightened (*alumbrado*) individuals were being singled out for their unorthodox ideas and tried by the Inquisition. Later in the century the term *alumbrado* was applied to groups of beguines in Andalusia whose excesses and occasional frauds offended the sober sensibilities and patriarchalism of the Tridentine church.

The *alumbrados* are well known to specialists in Spanish history, but until now no treatment of them has been available in English. Alastair Hamilton brings to his subject a familiarity with Northern European religious currents rarely found among writers on Spanish religious history. This training enables Hamilton to place the *alumbrados* within the context of reform movements in general; nonetheless, his book makes it quite clear that they were a peculiarly Spanish phenomenon. The first *alumbrados* were denounced to the Inquisition in 1519. Given the Jewish ancestry of many of the accused, and the inquisitors' mission to catch Judaizers, at first the judges not surprisingly had difficulty understanding that they were faced with a new form of heterodoxy. Then the enormous popularity in Spain of Erasmus, tainted by Martin Luther's apostasy, led the inquisitors to fear that they were really Lutherans. In reality, they were neither. Hamilton concludes that in their austere form of mysticism and quietism, the early *alumbrados* bore the closest affinity to some Northern European evangelicals.

Hamilton dedicates the greater part of his book to the first *alumbrados*, who in the past have received the brunt of scholarly attention. Meant as a work of synthesis and divulgation, the study does not question the work of previous investigators or propose new avenues for discussion. One of the remarkable aspects of the movement was the high proportion of women who led or were involved in the conventicles. Hamilton notes this but does not explore the issue (although it is beginning to receive some attention from other scholars). Similarly, Hamilton is at pains to point out the Jewish heritage of so many of the *alumbrados*, without making clear exactly what should be deduced from this; the term *converso* applied to anyone in Spain with Jewish ancestry, however remote or strong the connection. This is a tendency of Spanish scholarship in general, which has yet to understand fully the consequences of the assimilation of Jews into Spanish society during the sixteenth century. On the whole, students of Reformation history will find Hamilton's book a reliable and suc-

cinct introduction to Spanish heterodoxy during the early modern period.

SARA T. NALLE

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WILLIAM A. CHRISTIAN, JR. *Moving Crucifixes in Modern Spain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. 220. \$24.95.

This is the fourth book by William A. Christian documenting his exploration of religious behavior in Spain, past and present. With its focus on visionaries and the social meaning and reception of their experiences, it is a companion to his study of late medieval and Renaissance apparitions, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (1981). This new study focuses on ideological concerns in a beleaguered church in the early twentieth century that fostered the climate that informed the nature and occurrences of the visions but that also clearly controlled much of their reception. The principal vision, the first major one in twentieth-century Spain, was of a moving crucifix (featuring eye-rolling, sweating, and a changing complexion) in 1919 in the church at Llimpias (Santander, now Cantabria, province) in northern Spain. The vision at Llimpias had a few Spanish precursors and the crucial French one at nearby Lourdes. In some quarters it was hoped that Llimpias could become a "Spanish Lourdes."

The Llimpias events were followed shortly by visions of movement in crucifixes elsewhere in Spain. The Llimpias case was negatively affected by those that followed. All shared a fate of ambiguous interpretation, ambivalent reception, or outright denial of recognition. Llimpias has neither been certified nor denied status by the Catholic church; none of Spain's moving crucifixes of this period became more than at best local, sometimes temporary, attractions for a few faithful and none ever emerged from the shadow of Lourdes.

Christian's interest is at least threefold. Beyond the narration of events at Llimpias, the central case, he endeavors to understand the sociological contours of the occurrences as well as the visions' connections to one another; to understand the social and ideological climate out of which the visions were born and which, in turn, received and judged them; and to examine as closely as possible the personal experiences and emotions of the visionaries themselves. The book's major contributions lie in the first two efforts. The product of the third effort is less fruitful in good part because its subject is more elusive; most of the principals are dead and the documents are sparse, partial, nonexistent, or sometimes apparently (as at Llimpias itself) inaccessible.

Christian's reconstruction of the local context in which the Llimpias crucifix was first seen to move and in which new visions and massive pilgrimages were received provides important perspectives on local

social history and religious practice. He covers everything from the role of communications (especially roads and railroads), the importance of hymns, the structure of missionary activity in the church, and missions as local pageantry, to the crucial actions of the local elite in the religious field. His tracing of ideological considerations and debate and of the sources of stress affecting Spanish Catholicism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—urban growth, industrialization, diverging class cultures, anticlericalism, and unbelief—form a second major contribution. The meticulous presentation of the copious literature treating the Llimpias visions as well as wider issues is a model for the contextualization of local events and an important display for readers in many fields of the nitty-gritty of church politics.

The book's major defect lies only in its structure, not in the range of materials presented or in Christian's interpretations. Christian is obedient to a heavily chronological narrative plan. This ordering dulls and disorganizes the study's analytical conclusions. For example, the lengthy chapter on Llimpias offers only an inconclusive explanation of Llimpias's failure to become a Spanish Lourdes; the conclusions of that story, diluted by separation, are contained only in the description of the later visions at Piedramillera (Navarra). Likewise, the sociology of vision promotion and, if you will, "contagion" along networks of personal contact and migration is submergled in the epilogue on the town of Eraul; the discussion is never given the analytic force it merits, nor is it explicitly enough connected to the preceding material on the sociology of devotion at Llimpias.

Were the book differently crafted, its real finds and even its story line would have much greater power. As it is, the reader must reorder materials to find their most significant juxtapositions. But it is worth the effort. Step by step, Christian is giving us materials for acquiring as complete a grasp as we can have of the social, geographic, historical, economic, political, and spiritual facets of any nation's religious culture.

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ALEKSANDER KAN. *Nikolaj Bucharin och den skandinaviska arbetarrörelsen* [Nikolai Bukharin and the Scandinavian Labor Movement]. (Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia, number 6.) Summary in English. Uppsala, Sweden: Historiska Institutionen. 1991. Pp. i, 187. 40 KR.

Aleksander Kan has examined an interesting topic, namely, the relationship between the Bolsheviks in Russia and the Bolshevik leadership of the Comintern, on the one hand, and the Scandinavian labor movement on the other (Scandinavia is defined in the book primarily as Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; Finland represents a different case and has been

largely excluded from this analysis.) Within this larger relationship the focus is on one of the Bolsheviks, Nikolai Bukharin, who had extensive experience with the peninsula through lengthy residence there and also a deep personal involvement in the labor movements of all three countries.

It is not well known now that Scandinavia in fact was one of the main targets of the internationalist movement that developed after the Russian Revolution in 1917. Most readers of political history tend to look on the three small democracies in the north as models of social democracy and the welfare state, not outposts of revolutionary ardor. But in 1917–18 revolutionary enthusiasm swept all three countries, particularly Norway and Sweden, and the Comintern speculated that this area might be the next to hark to the appeal of the *Internationale*. There were some good reasons for this optimism. The Scandinavian countries had experienced rapid industrialization, so that the emerging proletariat looked more like the Russian counterpart than the settled and older working classes of Britain, France, and Germany. The youth organizations of the three Scandinavian workers' parties in particular exhibited strong leftist radicalism, and when the old-fashioned labor parties of the region split after the Russian Revolution, a substantial part went with the Bolshevik-dominated Third International; in Norway, the majority of the old Social Democratic Party chose this path. Thus, Scandinavia occupied a position out of proportion to its own size and power in the perceptions of the Comintern and the Russian Bolsheviks.

In this context, Bukharin played a prominent role. He was recognized as the Comintern's designated Scandinavian expert because of his long residence there before the revolution, a period in which he had forged strong personal relationships with many leftists in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. It was Bukharin who represented Moscow in the dramatic factional struggles in the Scandinavian labor parties—struggles that produced major splits and eventually reduced the pro-Moscow factions to relative insignificance and impotence. This struggle was particularly intense in Norway, which was the most radicalized country, but with an anarcho-syndicalist emphasis that was focused on the charismatic leader Martin Tranmael. In the end, Bukharin became involved in all of these splits; he was Moscow's spokesman and therefore a major force in pushing Scandinavian leftism into greater sectarianism and irrelevance.

Bukharin, the "darling of the party," fell victim to the purges in Joseph Stalin's era. Kan gives a detailed account of the Bukharin case, the show trials, and the demise of the "darling" at the hands of Stalinists, as seen from the vantage point of the Scandinavians. Bukharin's destruction, he argues, signaled the death of any democratic tendencies within the international communist movement.

Kan has written an interesting book whose contribution is mainly in the form of new material, not new

conceptual schemes or startling models. He has examined a great deal of archival material in many countries, and the information he presents adds new insights into a fascinating period of political history. With all the material available, it would have been worthwhile to analyze the Scandinavian "intermezzo" in Bukharin's life in light of broader questions concerning the gradual erosion of the Western elements in the Comintern and the domination of "Eastern" tendencies, based on the Russian and not the European experience. This shift caused the Scandinavian labor movement to turn away from Moscow; it also was the factor that decisively eliminated any chance for a socialist revolution elsewhere in Europe. In this context, Bukharin played a double, and a tragic, role. He was, on the one hand, considered a "Westerner" because he had lived in the West in exile and presumably understood those societies and thus also necessary policies for success. On the other hand, he was a dedicated Bolshevik who saw his function as that of enforcer of the prevailing party line in the Russian-dominated Comintern. Had Kan added a chapter on this issue, his book would have gained in conceptual value. But even without it, Kan has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge on a fascinating subject.

TROND GILBERG

National University of Singapore

ULRIKE PROKOP. *Die Illusion vom Grossen Paar*. Volume 1, *Weibliche Lebensentwürfe im deutschen Bildungsbürgertum 1750–1770*; volume 2, *Das Tagebuch der Cornelia Goethe*. (Psychoanalytische Studien zur Kultur.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1991. Pp. 443; 443. DM 24.80 each volume.

Unconventional in form and methodology, this study is compelling history. Ulrike Prokop, a former student of Theodor Adorno, Jürgen Habermas, and Alexander Mitscherlich, is author of several sociological and psychological studies. Building her historical inquiry on the lives of three Frankfurt women, Cornelia Goethe, Catharina Elisabeth Goethe, and Susanna von Klettenberg, Prokop employs the tools of psychoanalysis to unlock the meaning of eighteenth-century sources. Rejecting Sigmund Freud's "anti-feminism" and other "simplistic . . . formula[s]" (vol. 1, p. 8), Prokop models her analysis on Alfred Lorenzer's psycholinguistics and on the ethnographic methods of Maya Nadig, a researcher of Native Americans.

Prokop refutes the notion that companionate marriage emancipated women in the eighteenth century. She argues that love and marriage were masculine inventions that destroyed women's identities. She fortifies her study of the cultural histories of women by weaving them tightly into the context of the political economy, which was undergoing a profound transition from the agrarian-based household to the middle-class market system.

Prokop uses interesting devices of her own design. She reverses convention by placing substantive primary source quotations in larger print than her own narrative, emphasizing her ethnographic method of viewing women's culture from the participants' perspectives rather than from the observer's. The author shifts intentionally between past and present tense, bringing the reader into dialogue with the historical characters. Prokop often articulates problems and then pursues their solutions by tracing them backward historically. She sketches the biographies of her historical characters and returns to them in later chapters with fuller analysis and contextual material.

Prokop opens with Cornelia Goethe's powerful story. Cornelia's father, a successful attorney, educated his daughter and son, Johann Wolfgang, intensely and almost equally. The siblings enjoyed an intimate companionship and shared an abiding interest in intellectual matters, especially literature, until the brother departed home to study in Leipzig.

Cornelia sought to persevere in their sustaining relationship through correspondence. Johann became increasingly patronizing, however, advising her that it was not a woman's place to read novels or pursue scholarly interests. Wounded, Cornelia wondered what a woman's place was. She fantasized about love but found that men treated her in a demeaning manner, especially because they assumed she had no intellectual capacities. At the age of twenty-two—when she had been eligible for marriage for six years and was becoming a concern to her family—she married Johann Georg Schlosser. Schlosser wrote, "I have found a girl who loves me and whom I love like my life" (vol. 1, p. 13). He would not have understood Cornelia's feelings, recorded privately and somewhat earlier: "Life is senseless . . . I am becoming uglier and uglier; my mind counts for nothing . . . I do not wish to love any more" (vol. 1, p. 27). Immediately after the marriage, Cornelia fell ill and never recovered. Three and one-half years after her wedding and four weeks after the birth of her second daughter, Cornelia Goethe died. Prokop calls her condition "illness as protest" (vol. 1, p. 13). The author finds "aggression and destructive rage" (vol. 2, p. 221) embedded in Cornelia's diary.

The other two women found the personal fulfillment that society had denied to Cornelia Goethe, but, significantly, not in marriage. Susanna von Klettenberg rejected matrimony and became a widely respected Pietist, mystic, and student of alchemy, maintaining an extensive correspondence with leading scholars of her era. Prokop argues that an "imaginary marriage" (vol. 1, p. 106) with Jesus sustained von Klettenberg.

Catharina Elisabeth Goethe was mother of Cornelia and Johann Wolfgang. Until the age of fifty-one, when her husband died, she led an unnoticeable existence, performing domestic duties in a loveless marriage. As a widow, however, she gained public esteem as a supporter and critic of the theater,

savoring her role as "mother of the poet" (vol. 1, p. 205). She established spirited and intense relationships with actors and others associated with the theater. Her preserved correspondence, only a portion of the original, comprises over 500 printed pages. Prokop contends that motherhood allowed her a public and rewarding life that wifehood had prohibited. The three women experienced in their respective ways that marriage led to "destruction of women's culture" (vol. 1, p. 379).

Prokop's complex interpretive account is engaging and readable. It is enhanced with attractive illustrations from material culture. The boldness of its conclusions and novelty of its approach may disturb some historians. Others will find the work masterful. None should ignore it. It deserves the respect of the historical profession.

MARION W. GRAY  
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DIRK SCHUMANN. *Bayerns Unternehmer in Gesellschaft und Staat, 1834–1914: Fallstudien zu Herkunft und Familie, politischer Partizipation und staatlichen Auszeichnungen*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 98.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1992. Pp. 355. DM 58.

Dirk Schumann, one of Thomas Nipperdey's last doctoral students, has produced a fine statistical analysis of Bavarian entrepreneurs in the nineteenth century. The sample of some two hundred businessmen for the pre-1871 years—expanding to nearly five hundred for the imperial period—is drawn from the five cities of Munich, Augsburg, Regensburg, Nuremberg, and Ludwigshafen. Schumann discusses geographical and social background, education and marriage, religion, ennoblement, distinctions, and politics.

Interesting patterns emerge from this research. Before 1871 Bavaria's industrialists frequently hailed from other parts of the state or southern Germany. They were disproportionately Protestant and typically possessed a family background in trade or merchant banking with the accompanying on-the-job education (*Handelslehre*). Once established in a town, entrepreneurs tended to stay there, devoting considerable attention to local governments, which afforded them great influence; they did not ignore politics in the *Residenzstadt*, but they generally eschewed social and political contacts with their counterparts in other cities. Their sons usually carried on the business and married into other local business families, while daughters of wealthy commercial families somewhat more frequently made nuptial ties with families of the cultivated bourgeoisie or bureaucracy. Ennoblement and receipt of distinctions from the king were very rare. These trends continued after 1871 with some noteworthy new developments. Formal education at a university or engineering academy increased, while



more daughters married officers. Moreover, the new title of *Kommerzienrat* was granted to an increasing number of entrepreneurs after it was introduced in 1880.

Schumann's book is a welcome complement to older works by Friedrich Zunkel and Hartmut Kaelble on Rhineland-Westphalia and Berlin, respectively. He also drives another nail in the coffin of the feudalization thesis, for Bavarian businessmen were more interested in coopting themselves into the educated bourgeoisie and a largely middle-class bureaucracy. Nor were they courted to any significant degree by the king and aristocracy. Even the increased awarding of *Kommerzienräte* may have been an attempt by state officials to mollify businessmen angry at social legislation. Finally, Schumann offers a convincing corrective to the notion of middle-class solidarity advanced by the University of Bielefeld's investigation of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie (Jürgen Kocka, ed., *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert* [1987]). Although it is true that businessmen distanced themselves from both artisans and noblemen and valued overall bourgeois goals such as education, the existence of middle-class fragmentation between propertied and cultivated and civilian and military elements—factions that had to be bridged through marriage—detracts from the thesis of a fairly unified bourgeoisie. The weak regional ties of Bavarian businessmen undermine any notion of class solidarity still more. Schumann may be faulted for compelling the reader to go between the lines too often in search of wider significance. But he has certainly produced a good book.

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MORDECHAI BREUER. *Modernity within Tradition: The Social History of Orthodox Jewry in Imperial Germany*. Translated by ELIZABETH PETUCHOWSKI. (The Leo Baeck Institute.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 514. \$47.50.

Historical works on the modern Jewish experience concentrate mainly on those Jews who broke with traditional religion either as religious reformers, political ideologues, or exemplars of acculturation. Traditional Jews—both the religiously observant and the culturally conservative—are portrayed as marginal, if they are portrayed at all. Because of the contemporary resurgence of religious fundamentalism and conservative ideologies throughout the world, as well as a fascination with those who have defied what once were regarded as the immutable laws of secularization, historians are beginning to take a second look.

Mordechai Breuer contributes richly to this reassessment with his magisterial and provocative analysis of a century-long experiment by Jews who lived as thoroughly bourgeois German patriots while simultaneously preserving their patterns of religious obser-

vance. Eschewing a chronological approach in favor of wide-ranging thematic discussions, the author tackles diverse themes: he analyzes the communal arrangements that enabled this population, which had shrunk to between 10 and 20 percent of German Jewry by the eve of World War I, to maintain its independence; he explores the relationship between the economic success of Orthodox Jews and their viability as a community; he focuses sharply on the investment Orthodox Jews made in the religious school, rather than the synagogue, as the primary institution of their community; he challenges the conventional view that Orthodoxy was cool to the Jewish national movement by bringing to light those Orthodox Jews in Germany who supported Zionism; and he describes in detail the activities of Orthodox Jews as consumers of German culture—opera, music, popular literature, and so on. True to the promise of the book's subtitle, Breuer delivers a social history of German Orthodoxy, not limiting himself to the writings and pronouncements of its rabbinic and intellectual elite. He writes about Orthodox economic networks, women's experiences, the education of children, the folk piety of rural Jews, and the alienation of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe.

The author candidly announces his familial connection to his subject. A great-grandson of Samson Raphael Hirsch, one of the founding rabbinic leaders of German Orthodoxy, Breuer succeeds admirably in writing as a historian rather than as a partisan. He is frequently critical of Hirsch and his disciples: "There were those who repeated after [Hirsch], but none created like him. His symbolism satisfied, but did not inspire" (pp. 162–63). He offers a balanced analysis of the rift between the two centers of German Jewish Orthodoxy, the Berlin community centered around Esriel Hildesheimer's rabbinical seminary and the Frankfurt community dominated by Hirsch and the Breuer family. And he is quite blunt about the religious laxity and intellectual laziness of many Orthodox Jews in Germany.

Still, there are places where Breuer's biases weaken his book. It is one thing to set the record straight and indicate where, from a historical point of view, the Orthodox proved correct and their ideological opponents wrong. It is irritating, however, that Breuer cannot bring himself to acknowledge the accomplishments of liberal Jewry and its religious spokesmen. His dismissal of the achievements of the practitioners of the so-called Science of Judaism is one-sided; and he lacks empathy for the enormous challenge facing non-Orthodox leaders who struggled to maintain Judaism in the face of massive social upheaval. Most problematic is Breuer's stated chronological frame: although the book's subtitle limits the study to the imperial era of German history, Breuer in fact ranges widely in time. The difficulty with this approach is that the periods prior to the empire and the Weimar and Nazi eras afterward are covered arbitrarily to suit the author's interests. Moreover, the author does not

offer a convincing rationale for his time frame, since neither the legal nor political circumstances of the empire were decisive in shaping German Orthodoxy. One cannot help but speculate that the author wished to avoid writing about the depressing and perhaps not entirely edifying interwar era, a time, which Breuer briefly notes, that witnessed the decline of German Orthodoxy due to external circumstances and internal failings.

This book stands as a remarkable achievement in the historiography of German Jewry. Its nuanced evocation of a Jewish society destroyed fifty years ago has been made possible by the author's broad scope of research coupled with his judicious use of family lore that adds a rich texture to his narrative. Breuer has rescued his subjects from the margins of German Jewish historiography by bringing to life the vitality and complexity of German Orthodoxy. No one interested in modern European Jewry can afford to ignore this book.

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STEVEN E. ASCHHEIM. *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany 1890–1990*. (Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism, number 2.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 337. \$40.00.

To a somnolent literature, Steven E. Aschheim brings the fireworks of the Heidegger-Nazi debate. He makes the case that the miseries of the century can be laid at the door of German Nietzscheanism. Whereas a reigning monumentalism seeks to make it up to Nietzsche for a century of misuse by rectifying the "legend" linking Nietzsche to Nazism, Aschheim traces this very legacy. Historiographical concerns frame the inquiry. The introduction, "The Historian and the Legacy of Nietzsche," and the final two chapters, "National Socialism and the Nietzsche Debate: *Kulturkritik*, Ideology, and History" and "Nietzscheanism, Germany and Beyond," are followed by an afterword, "Nietzsche and Nazism: Some Methodological and Historical Reflections," where Aschheim buttonholes the reader one last time.

Aschheim's postmodernist perspective is refreshingly free of existentialist deference to the modern. He dispenses with the cult of misunderstood genius and does not lament the death of the author. He is not inhibited by the old caution that a study of German Nietzscheanism would necessarily become a cultural history of Germany in the first half of the twentieth century. Where scholars moved hesitantly—Richard Krummel's encyclopedic *Nietzsche und der deutsche Geist* (1974) and R. Hinton Thomas's *Nietzsche in German Politics and Society* (1983) got no further than 1918—Aschheim moves sprightly forward. He cuts the greats of Nietzschean modernism down to size, allotting only a few (such as Martin Heidegger,

Carl Jung, and Thomas Mann) more than a few paragraphs.

The book processes a vast literature on fast-moving transmission belts propelling Nietzscheans toward their encounter with Nazism. Three are singled out: the literary avant-garde (the Freudians, the Stefan George Circle, and the expressionists); the Nietzschean socialists, ranging from extreme right to extreme left; and the Nietzsche cult proper. The procedure works best when analyzing the appropriation of Nietzsche by other movements (such as feminism, the youth movement, Zionism, and pan-Germanism). But all is not flow, occasionally belts speed up or snap. Aschheim's central chapter, "Zarathustra in the Trenches," has difficulty coping with the three-way struggle between the anti-Nietzscheanism of the entente, Left-Nietzschean defeatism, and Right-Nietzschean resentment. Having separated out the various strands, presenting confrontation in a crisis becomes problematic. Aschheim allows his central theme, the ascendancy of Right Nietzscheanism, to crowd out the significance of the losers. The initial war enthusiasm of 1914 overshadows the Antichrist of the home front at war's end, and the expressionist apocalypse of the aftermath gets lost in Aschheim's gloomy portrait of Weimar culture.

In Nietzsche studies, Nietzsche is Nietzsche and Nietzscheanism is Nietzscheanism and never (or so it seems) the twain shall meet. Explicators turn to the reception only to explain how so many got it wrong for so long, while students of Nietzscheanism, overcome by the plethora of appropriators, celebrate an inexplicable, multitudinous Nietzsche. Aschheim does not bridge the gap. He posits no Nietzsche, and warns against "essentialist" interpretations: "Only a *Rezeptionsgeschichte* sensitive to the open-ended, transformational nature of the Nietzsche legacy will be able to appreciate its rich complexity" (pp. 3–4). Yet Aschheim veers too closely toward the "anything goes," Nietzsche-as-mythology school for his own comfort. By focusing so heavily on the second generation of Nietzscheans, for whom the authority of Nietzsche's world had faded, Aschheim permits the death of the author to include that of his friends. Neither Lou Andreas-Salomé nor Franz Overbeck are mentioned, even though they contested Nietzsche's sister's claims on the legacy. Aschheim slips into a nationalist identification of German culture with Germany, a singularly inappropriate perspective to apply to a stateless thinker—never a *Reichsdeutsche*—who lived at the outer rim of German culture. The periphery from Basel to Budapest to Copenhagen responded first; although Aschheim includes some valuable pages on Eastern European Zionism, something needed to be said about Nietzsche's Swiss connection and the Nietzscheans in exile. Aschheim's study would have benefited from greater respect for the antiquarian mode of history. The ball has, how-

ever, been deftly served into the court of the Nietzsche scholars.

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BRUCE A. MURRAY and CHRISTOPHER J. WICKHAM, editors. *Framing the Past: The Historiography of German Cinema and Television*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 348. \$34.95.

*Holocaust*, shown in four parts on American television in 1978, drew this critique from Auschwitz survivor Elie Wiesel: "In spite of its name, this 'docu-drama' is not about what some of us remember as the Holocaust." History, in short, had been cheapened. Wiesel's comment is cited by Anton Kaes, one of eleven contributors to Bruce A. Murray and Christopher J. Wickham's book, in his essay on "Public Memory in the Age of Electronic Dissemination" (pp. 311–12). The premise of most of the essays, as Murray states in the introduction, is "the relationship between narrating the past and the (German) subject's effort to formulate individual and cultural identities in the present" (p. 33). The issue of authenticity, raised so pointedly by Wiesel, is therefore of general concern. What does it mean to say that a film is historically authentic? Is it a question of how the past is represented or of the response that a representation evokes?

Kaes approaches the issue from a variety of angles. To begin with, *Holocaust's* intercutting of documentary material creates "a strong reality effect . . . seeing these images . . . implicitly validates the historical correctness of the film." The past, Kaes cautions, cannot be reexperienced, only reconstructed from existing historical images. Concerning the reaction in West Germany when the series was broadcast in 1979, Kaes reasons that the overall Hollywood presentation had left genocide so "innocuous" that "the Germans had finally become able to look their history straight in the eye" (pp. 312–14). Then, promoting alternative over mainstream media, he offers a perspective that perhaps would do more to satisfy Wiesel. He praises Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1986) precisely because it dispenses with familiar images and appeals instead to "the power of personal memory and the immediacy of oral history." Yet he also admires Hans-Jürgen Syberberg's *Our Hitler* (1977) because it depicts not the dictator himself but the filmic means by which he is customarily depicted; history is a "closeout sale of new and old public myths" (pp. 318–20).

*Holocaust* is also at the heart of Michael E. Geisler's particularly fine piece about the treatment of the Third Reich on West German television. Geisler emphasizes that the massive audience response to *Holocaust* was anticipated in the international media and to some extent even orchestrated not only by the German network that aired the program but also by other institutions of the Federal Republic, including

schools and the press. Further, he casts a pall on the idea of a nation suddenly beyond denial, pointing out that the American series followed two decades of West German shows about the Nazis (pp. 220–24). True, *Holocaust* was different: most of the German programs had presented the mass murder of the Jews from a distance; the American series used the discourse that Geisler identifies as television's specialty, that of "everyday life," and thus made the life stories of its victim characters comprehensible to the viewers who, receiving this in their living rooms, were best prepared to grasp information that seemed personal and immediate—almost domestic (pp. 224–36). Starting in the late 1970s, West German television in fact saw a larger trend toward documentaries concerned with direct experience of the Holocaust. Recognizing that personal memories can dissolve into personal distortions, Geisler argues compellingly that they still mark the best approach to the "labor of mourning" called for by German psychologists Alexander Mitscherlich and Margarete Mitscherlich in 1967 (pp. 237–53).

Thomas Elsaesser, in an essay on the "New German Cinema," proclaims "the end" of this labor of mourning—at least as the "paradigm" for filmmaking that it became in the late 1960s and early 1970s (pp. 291–92). The films that it helped to inspire were limited by an "authenticity complex" (p. 282) and, in keeping with the Mitscherlichs' debt to Freud, by the "oedipalization" (p. 289) of the German past. Films like Syberberg's *Our Hitler* move beyond authenticity, giving the medium its due through open representation of its specific "irresponsibility towards the referent" (p. 293) and forswearing the attempt to reconstruct another time or effect mourning. The new paradigm, which joins "cinema, spectacle, and warfare," was anticipated in the analyses of Weimar intellectuals like Siegfried Kracauer and Ernst Jünger (pp. 292–93, 295–96), and actually corresponds to a basic pattern of Hitler's regime (p. 300). The last point may expose Elsaesser to the criticism that some of these new films are merely concerned with a new form of authentic portrayal. In general, Elsaesser seems to say that filmmakers should conform to a (perhaps sound) cinematic theory rather than meet a (perhaps widespread) audience need—for films addressing not the medium's kinship with spectacle but rather historical experience.

Films about National Socialism are a direct stimulus to the authenticity debate, but Weimar seems to have witnessed the birth of a German preference for the historically genuine. Thomas J. Saunders shows that this was one of the qualities that the nation's young film industry sought to emphasize in distinguishing a German filmic identity from that of American or Soviet competition. Generally, the essays on Weimar cinema follow Saunders in tracing the development of the industry and analyze specific films in terms of the attitudes they promote, which tend only in part to nationalism and fascism.

The essay by Linda Schulte-Sasse on Leni Riefen-



stahl's feature films goes the farthest into the wider area of aesthetics. Schulte-Sasse contends that the fascism of a work of art depends not only on "content-based motifs" but also on "structure" or "modes of address" (pp. 140–41). Citing Bertolt Brecht and particularly Walter Benjamin, she develops a theory of the "fascist aesthetic" by which "the aesthetic sphere begins to permeate others, including that of politics" (p. 146). The choice of these feature films—*Das blaue Licht* (1932) and *Tiefland* (1954)—is important both in the context of Riefenstahl's more famous propaganda work and because "they belong to the suspicious mountain film genre Susan Sontag labels 'an anthology of proto-Nazi sentiments'" (p. 142). Schulte-Sasse demonstrates that neither is patterned after fascist aesthetics; they fit into modern narrative traditions instead.

This book includes essays on the Third Reich's use of television and on the cinema of East Germany. The editors are to be credited for the variety of topics and approaches. The book has weaknesses—Murray's hyperbolic introduction, Elsaesser's difficult prose—but it will stimulate interest in its discipline, not least among historians. General questions remain. Should film studies—especially if they aver an interest in filmic technique—rely as heavily on plot interpretation as many of these essays do? On reception, can even the most able use of psychological theory replace a close analysis of the viewers, many or most of whom would be alive and available?

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W. E. YATES. *Schnitzler, Hofmannsthal, and the Austrian Theatre*. New Haven Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 286. \$35.00.

This book describes and contrasts the lives, loves, and labors of its two protagonists, Arthur Schnitzler and Hugo von Hofmannsthal. W. E. Yates approaches them as "complementary figures, whose contrasting dramatic work illuminates some of the consequences of the intellectual upheaval of the turn of the century and political upheaval of 1914–1918" (p. viii).

Yates's most valuable service is to acquaint the English-speaking reader with these two prominent Austrian men of letters, whose lives and works are ill-served in English. Both had a prodigious output of plays, essays, and letters. The plays are rarely performed today outside of Germany and Austria. Hofmannstahl is better known, thanks to the magisterial libretti he wrote for Richard Strauss, especially *Elektra* (1909), *Der Rosenkavalier* (1911), and *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1912), and his founding (along with Strauss and Max Reinhardt) of the Salzburg Festival.

After a somewhat confusing and cluttered first chapter, the book takes off, as the author explores the lives and works of Schnitzler and Hofmannstahl. Al-

though the two knew each other for nearly forty years, they were never close friends. Despite being influenced by certain intellectual trends (above all Freudian psychology), they could not have been more different.

Schnitzler's success was hard won; his work always elicited unfriendly criticism (especially in the anti-Semitic press), his private life was a shambles, he hated politics and ideology, and he secretly opposed World War I. According to Yates, Schnitzler was never really convinced of his own worth. In contrast, Hofmannstahl seemed to have led a charmed life. He came from a prosperous bourgeois family, was a recognized poet before the age of twenty, had a long and happy marriage, publicly supported the war effort, and was prone to vaunting great ideological constructs such as the "Austrian idea," that is, the notion that, despite Austria's political collapse in 1918, its religious and cultural past could rescue its identity and self-consciousness.

Yates's best chapters elucidate in great detail the major plays of the two artists. These include Schnitzler's *Professor Bernhardt* (1912), *Das weite Land* (1911), *Leutnant Gustl* (1901), his early *Anatol* plays (1893), and *Reigen* (1897). Whereas many have accused Schnitzler of writing "immoral" plays about the battle of the sexes, the author demonstrates conclusively that Schnitzler was a feminist who decried the double-standard toward women evident in Vienna's leisure classes. Yates argues that the playwright's greatest contribution was his ability to delve into the psychological and instinctual forces that rule people's lives, and to explore the hypocrisy—military, political, social, and sexual—that pervaded this world. The censors always gave him trouble; they did not like the mirror he held up to society.

Hofmannstahl's major works, the libretto of *Rosenkavalier* (1910) and the plays *Der Schwierige* (1921), *Elektra* (1903), *Jedermann* (1911), and *Der Tor und der Tod* (1893), are more eclectic. *Der Rosenkavalier* is a mild yet clever satire on Vienna life made whole by Strauss's rich score. *Elektra* was Hofmannstahl's reworking of the Sophoclean play (and later his libretto for the first of his collaborations with Strauss). In Yates's view it "betrays an engagement with Freudian psychology as intense as Schnitzler's" (p. 137). His adaptation of the medieval English morality play *Jedermann* became the inaugural event of the Salzburg Festival in 1920, its success assured by Max Reinhardt's brilliant staging. It is still presented today. *Der Schwierige* is a comedy of manners influenced by Molière. Hofmannstahl intentionally painted an idealized picture of the prewar Austrian nobility in a world that had vanished.

Yates presents a fascinating picture of the two artists' contrasting reactions to World War I. Hofmannstahl was enthusiastic from the start, and ended up writing war propaganda for the government. Schnitzler avoided public controversy, but in his diary (which he kept all his life) he articulated his horror at the pointless slaughter.



In the postwar era, Schnitzler, now in his sixties, had little creative energy left, although he could at least have the satisfaction of seeing some of his heretofore banned plays performed, such as *Reigen*. The younger Hofmannstahl continued his work with Strauss (*The Egyptian Helen* [1928], *Arabella* [1933]) and became a selfless, untiring promotor of the Salzburg Festival. He saw it not only as a means for preserving the (mythic) Austro-Bavarian cultural tradition but also as a kind of haven, whose geographical centrality, natural beauty, and association with Mozart would combine to bring all Europeans together, after the bloodletting of the war, to worship at the altar of great art.

Hofmannstahl died suddenly in 1929 and was universally praised; when Schnitzler died two years later, the critics agreed that an era had ended. Both escaped the horror that Nazism was to bring, but both of their graves were desecrated after the *Anschluss*. Schnitzler had been a target of anti-Semites all his life. It was ironic that Hofmannstahl, a sincere Catholic of only partial Jewish extraction, should have shared the same fate.

Yates's book serves an important purpose: it resurrects two important creative artists who were among the outstanding lights of the very complex and vibrant society of the Austro-Hungarian empire that collapsed in 1918, and whose legacy, for better or worse, is still with us.

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VICTORIA BARNETT. *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest against Hitler*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. 358. \$30.00.

After all that has been written about the churches and National Socialism, one would be justified in asking, "What more is there to say?" Indeed, Victoria Barnett's study of the Confessing church, the principal source of Protestant opposition in the Third Reich, draws conclusions that are hardly new. Hers is not a story of "the triumph of good over evil" (p. 6), she remarks in her introduction. Rather, in a narrative that has by now become depressingly familiar, she reaffirms that the opposition of the Confessing church was both qualified and limited, confined largely to preserving the autonomy and integrity of the German Evangelical church as a whole. Moreover, the political and cultural conservatism of the Confessing church severely disabled its witness against the Nazi regime's imperialism, its destruction of the institutionalized, and finally its murderous anti-Semitism. Resisting the totalistic claims of Nazi ideology against the religious faith of Confessing church members, she suggests, did not bring resistance against the Nazi menace as such. No surprise here. Because Barnett is a journalist and not a historian, she lacks familiarity with much recent scholar-

ship, a further indication that the value of her work does not reside in her thesis.

This book is nevertheless well worth reading. It is primarily an oral history for which Barnett interviewed some fifty survivors of the Confessing church, from such well-known leaders like Martin Niemöller, with whom she spoke before his death, to the anonymous. Nearly half of her subjects are women, some of whom recount the difficulties they faced in receiving ordination from their male superiors, even when the Confessing church was critically short of pastors. Barnett allows her subjects to talk at length. This strategy first of all deepens the tragedy of a movement that approved of the Nazis as often as the regime offended its conscience. Those interviewed share the life experiences that prompted so few of them to question fundamentally Nazism's anti-Jewish policies or even to construct an effective opposition to euthanasia. They describe their internecine conflicts as to whether to conciliate or confront the regime, debates that often produced moral confusion and even demoralization. They admit to the tenacity with which they believed they could separate their duty to the Fatherland from the behavior of the Nazis in power, even as the regime reminded them incessantly of the affinity between their own conservatism and major Nazi objectives.

Barnett's interviews go beyond the Third Reich to reveal the guilt that followed a number of these survivors into the postwar era. Had they acted with greater clarity, humanity, and resolution, they ask retrospectively, could they have prevented at least some of Nazism's horror? Barnett follows the careers of her subjects into postwar West and East Germany in order to describe movingly how the Nazi experience changed them, even if the bugbear of institutional preservation hindered fresh approaches to resolving the tension between religious conscience and political responsibility. Before National Socialism, one's identity as a Christian stood in a close and unproblematical relationship to one's identity as a German (and a conservative one at that). The impact of National Socialism revealed all too clearly how easily patriotism could be corrupted and conscience numbed. Barnett's interviewing skills realize her primary purpose: the stories of her subjects "bear witness to the necessity not just of remembering history but of learning from it" (p. 6). She also demonstrates that oral history, an approach suited to *Alltagsgeschichte*, does not have to result in trivialization.

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RICHARD MULLER. *The German Air War in Russia*. Baltimore, Md.: Nautical and Aviation. 1992. Pp. xviii, 301. \$24.95.

As late as 1943 the air war in Russia consumed a majority of the assets of the Luftwaffe, an amount

that was not nearly as much as the German Army's assets, but in the end the results were the same. More importantly, the air war cruelly exposed the limitations of German air-power theories. The eastern war provided a better stage for evaluating German prewar concepts of air power than the western front, and the Luftwaffe was found wanting. Why was this? Richard Muller explores this topic in his excellent study of the little-known eastern air war.

The Luftwaffe started Operation Barbarossa on an optimistic note. Their brief and dazzling victories in the west coupled with their typical German assessment of eastern inferiority boded well for the future of the operation. The brilliant initial victories matched earlier successes and, indeed, exceeded their own expectations. But, as many have pointed out regarding Nazi Germany, the Luftwaffe fell victim to its successes. By 1942, the Luftwaffe confronted a complexity of problems that overwhelmed its strategy, doctrine, and technology. The Luftwaffe general staff sought to extricate itself from its dilemma by reverting to its prewar concepts of waging an independent air war, especially strategic bombing. The dilemma facing the air force was that its very successes supporting the army (a role it had not really prepared for) had turned it into a mere *Hilfswaffe*, or auxiliary weapon. In a remarkably determined effort, the general staff sought in 1943–44 to conduct a strategic bombing campaign to win the war. The results were disastrous. By that time, the Luftwaffe was barely able to meet the immediate demands placed on it, let alone assume a new massive strategic bombing program where the results, judging by the Allies' campaign, promised little success. This is not to say that the general staff failed everywhere, for they did not. During the last half of the war, the Luftwaffe adjusted as well or better than the American and British air forces to the technical, command, and control problems of air support. But with their limited industrial capacity and attritional demands, even their clever adaptation of western strategic bombing measures were grossly inadequate. The overall result was that their feeble efforts at mustering a strategic bombing campaign against the Soviet Union worked to the detriment of their military situation. Muller rightly blames the steadfast adherence to mystical faith in air power on the general staff. Adolf Hitler's intervention and the many other problems that impinged on the Luftwaffe were important, but the Luftwaffe was victimized mainly by its own thinking.

This is an example of a good dissertation turned into a better book. The research is solid, the writing is clear, the judgments are judicious, and the thesis is convincing. Perhaps now after the recent events in Eastern Europe, a Russian view of the air war will be written matching this one.

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HERBERT GIERSCH *et al.* *The Fading Miracle: Four Decades of Market Economy in Germany.* (Cambridge Surveys in Economic Policies and Institutions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 302. \$39.95.

Since the 1950s, the performance of the West German economy has fascinated scholars. Faced with substantial wartime destruction and dislocation, foreign occupation, and political division, West Germans had by the mid-1950s reconstructed their cities and factories and were staging a *Wirtschaftswunder*, or "economic miracle." Phenomenal growth continued into the 1960s. Even after the 1970s, when economic growth slowed and persistent high levels of unemployment appeared, West Germans enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in the world. Commentators from around the globe admired and envied such accomplishments from the early 1950s to the present.

The contrast between such broadly held perceptions of West Germany's sustained and substantial economic accomplishments and the title and content of this book is startling. The authors, three economists, argue that the impressive economic growth rates of the *Wirtschaftswunder* deteriorated sharply beginning in the late 1960s owing to escalating labor and energy costs, stifling regulations, increasing social programs, bigger and more active government, and foreign competition. As a result, by the 1970s and 1980s, West Germany had become an economic "laggard." They contend that "the main lesson [of West German economic history] comes down to one fundamental proposition: miracles emerge when spontaneity prevails over regulation, and they fade when corporatist rigidities impair the flexibility for smooth adjustment" (p. xi).

Despite their impressive and thoughtful overview of their subject, the authors' portrayal of West German economic performance as slow but steady deterioration from the mid-1960s on is ultimately not convincing. West German economic history is much more complex than their linear argument leads one to believe. As the authors themselves point out, for instance, "retail trade, banking, insurance, communications, transportation and utilities have always been and still are heavily regulated branches" of the West German economy (p. 217). They do not produce any evidence that the alleged lack of "spontaneity" in these branches owing to regulation in any way affected the economic miracle. Corporatism—with some accompanying "corporate rigidity"—has also been a feature of West German politics since at least the early 1950s. The miracle occurred nonetheless.

The authors do not address such complicating evidence. Had they done so, they may have avoided a shortcoming in their book: in order to maintain their linear argument, they systematically overstate aspects of West German economic performance during the 1950s and understate it for the late 1960s and be-

yond. Werner Abelshauser and Rolf Dumke, for example, have argued convincingly that West German economic performance in the 1950s, while impressive, was part of a general trend for industrial powers (even those in Eastern Europe) during the period (Rolf Dumke, "Reassessing the *Wirtschaftswunder*: Reconstruction and Postwar Growth in West Germany in an International Context," *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics* 52 [1990], 451–91; Werner Abelshauser, "Wiederaufbau vor dem Marshall-Plan: Westeuropas Wachstumschancen und die Wirtschaftsordnungspolitik in der zweiten Hälfte der vierziger Jahre," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 29 [1981], 545–78).

The opposite problem crops up in the authors' treatment of developments after the mid-1960s. The authors argue that West Germany "gradually turned into a laggard in the international growth race" after 1973 (p. 185). As part of the evidence and explanation for this, they point to "high" inflation levels (pp. 190–91) and "a worsening of industrial relations" (pp. 213–14). One must ask: compared to what? Inflation may have been high in 1979–80 compared to other eras in West German history, but not compared to rates in other industrialized countries. West German labor relations have also been relatively quiet throughout the country's recent history. The authors themselves call into question the notion of deterioration in West German economic performance when dealing with the impact of unification; they point out that "East Germany has taken over a market economic order that has proven its viability throughout the course of West Germany's economic history" (p. 270).

Readers will nevertheless find this book valuable because it presents an overview of macroeconomic performance in West Germany between 1945 and the present. It also describes a variety of contemporary debates among economists and within the government. Readers must look elsewhere, however, for analyses of microeconomic developments in West Germany or for a comprehensive and consistent interpretation of West German economic history.

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SHARON T. STROCCHIA. *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 308. \$42.50.

Sharon T. Strocchia's examination of the ritual of death in Renaissance Florence is a welcome addition to the recent studies by James Banker on Sansepolcro, Richard Trexler on Florence, and Edward Muir on ritual in Venice. Not the least of the book's virtues is its clear organization. Strocchia divides the book into two parts. The first is a fifty-page introduction to the world of Florentine death ritual, and to the constants that defined the relationship between social

structure, political power, and the practices of funerals and requiems. The second, longer part of the book attempts to show the relationship between political and social change in fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Florence, and the evolution of ritual forms of expression in funerals and other rites associated with death and burial.

The first part of the book takes an explicitly functionalist stance that the purpose of ritual in Renaissance Florence was to resolve the ever-present tension between the needs of individuals and families to aggrandize themselves at the expense of others, and the need to reinforce communal solidarity. In this respect, funerals and requiems did for families and clients of the deceased what confraternal membership did for lay brothers in the confraternities studied by Ronald Weissman. Indeed, since Dante, this has been a standard reading of Florentine political history. One might justly ask what anthropological assumptions Strocchia is making. Is the "conflicting desire to assert the principles of a harmonious communal order but to lay claim to one's special place in it" (p. 6) specifically Florentine or even specifically tied to ritual?

The second part of Strocchia's description of funerary ritual depends on Gene Brucker's now standard account of the Florentine shift after 1382 from a corporative to an elitist state, and the way this new *reggimento* developed its own distinctive civic ideology. Strocchia's chronology and organization of chapters are not based on changes in the funeral rites themselves (for which she gives 1353, 1406, and 1515, among others, as key dates), but on the traditional markers of Florentine political history. Despite this rather schematic approach, the author nonetheless provides a sensitive reading of the close relationship between Florentine politics (both domestic and foreign) and funeral ritual, a reading that is at its complex best in a discussion of the obsequies for Baldassare Coscia (the deposed Pope John XXIII) at the end of 1419 (pp. 134–43).

Strocchia points out that changes in funeral rites were delicate and nuanced rather than overwhelming and grand between 1350 and 1530. The most appreciable changes were in the ever-increasing levels of consumption, in the civic humanist revival of the crowning of poet laureates, and in funeral oration. Both the temporary stabilization of the Medici regime in 1480 and the Medici restoration of 1512–27 were critical junctures at which funeral ritual became more self-consciously an instrument of political power.

Strocchia promises more anthropological analysis than she delivers. She inserts funerary episodes into a derivative scheme of political development rather than fashioning from the primary sources a more organic analytical structure. Nonetheless, Strocchia has enriched our understanding of successive Florentine *reggimenti*, the Medici, and the deliberate manipulation of symbols in funerary ritual, as well as issues concerning women's use of costume and consump-

tion to negotiate more ample social space. Most importantly, however, the implications of Strocchia's work take us beyond the private grief and public ritual of Renaissance Florence and into interesting questions about the origins of sixteenth and seventeenth-century attempts to build states not on pater-nosters, but on the more ontologically solid bedrock of ritual form and practice.

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ROBERT MELSON. *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust*. Foreword by LEO KUPER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. Pp. xxi, 363. \$29.95.

One way of reckoning with our century of unprecedented human slaughter is to find patterns. Robert Melson's book does this admirably for what he calls "total domestic genocide": massacres of designated minorities perpetrated by states in order to eliminate these segments of their own populations. Within a framework of comparative history, Melson seeks to explain how such genocidal killings begin. Although he refers to other instances of this kind of genocide—notably, the destruction of the kulaks in the Soviet Union and the "autogenocide" of Cambodia—his focus is on the murder of close to a million Armenians at the hands of the Committee of Union and Progress, or Young Turks, who came to power with the overthrow of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1908, and on the Nazis' massacre of European Jews.

How do such genocides originate? Melson rejects the "provocation" thesis, still widely argued in the case of the Armenians, that the victims presented a threat to the established order. As Melson sees it, both Armenians and Jews emerged from a marginal or pariah status in traditional societies and enjoyed rapid progress and social transformation to the point that they were perceived, in some quarters, as a menacing force in the Ottoman empire and imperial Germany respectively. For a time, the experiences of the two societies differed. The Ottomans massacred Armenians at the end of the nineteenth century, with estimates of the number of victims ranging from 50,000 to 300,000. In Germany at the same time anti-Semitism spread, but its most radical proponents found their way blocked by the ideology, leadership, and institutions of the Wilhelmine Reich. The ultimate danger for Armenians and Jews came with the overthrow of the respective regimes by revolutionary movements: the Young Turks, who set out to remake Turkish society in cultural, ideological, and political terms, and the Nazis, whose anti-Jewish obsession was at the heart of a revolutionary vision. Revolution, Melson believes, opened the door to genocide. Not only did these political upheavals bring the murderously inclined to power but they also generated

radical ideologies and warlike policies that made the killings possible.

War provided the opportunity for murderous assault. As their societies grappled with the foreign foes, Young Turks and Nazis mobilized fear and hatred of their victims in an atmosphere conditioned by feelings of vulnerability as well as illusions of invincibility. In each case, war uncoupled the state from the constraints of domestic and foreign opinion that might have impeded the killing. War also closed off alternative ways of dealing with internal enemies such as expulsion, assimilation, or segregation.

Anticipating criticism from historians of the Holocaust, Melson accepts that the Nazis' attack on European Jewry stands out even from the general category of total genocide. In a word, Nazism permitted Jews no escape whatever; there was no possibility of converting to the majority religion, for example, as was available to some Armenians, and no stopping at the borders of the Third Reich in an assault that was global in scope. Moreover, the Committee of Union and Progress never developed an anti-Armenian ideology equivalent to Nazi anti-Semitism. Notwithstanding these differences, however, the Holocaust remains an instance of total genocide and thus lends itself to comparative analysis. In a different critique, others might argue that Melson's scheme slights the Nazis' general obsession with racial hygiene, racial engineering, and the construction of a racial utopia. These impulses, after all, prompted the Nazis to murder over three million Soviet prisoners of war, to sterilize over 320,000 Germans, and to conduct the "medical killing" of as many as 100,000 mentally ill and physically handicapped persons, mostly non-Jews. Seen in this context, as is the tendency for many historians of late, the Holocaust appears far more the result of the perversion of scientific ideas and social pathology than is presented here.

But Melson does not claim that his explanations are exhaustive or that his two cases match in every respect. Readers who approach the work without much background will appreciate its generosity of spirit, its patient survey of the Turkish and German background, and its schematic clarity. Most of us, however, are pressed for time, even when it comes to books on genocide. Those with such preoccupations, I fear, may become impatient with Melson's style: his laborious declarations of where he has gone and where he is going, his methodical introducing, defining, reiterating, and summing up. As a historian and not a social scientist such as Melson, I found myself bogging down and urging the author to get on with it; either that, or to take us in some unfamiliar direction or introduce some unfamiliar idea. I finished with relief, much of which I attribute, however, to the dreadful theme this book surveys.

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STEFAN SAMERSKI. *Die katholische Kirche in der Freien Stadt Danzig 1920–1933: Katholizismus zwischen Libertas und Irredenta*. (Bonner Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte, number 17.) Cologne: Böhlau. 1991. Pp. x, 320. DM 78.

One may wonder why the small Roman Catholic church in Danzig warrants such a detailed history that spans a mere fourteen years. The answer has everything to do with time and place.

Both Germans and Poles regarded the Danzig church as an important influence in an ethnic tug-of-war. The Treaty of Versailles reconstituted Danzig, overwhelmingly German, as a "free city" under the League of Nations, but one in which Poland gained certain residual rights. Danzig existed in a political limbo, the ultimate question being whether Danzig would eventually become German or Polish. Danzig was, accordingly, a target of both German revisionism and Polish acquisitiveness.

German Protestant Danzigers were unlikely to assimilate to Polish Catholic culture. But Germans and Poles might assimilate to each other's ethnic culture under a common Catholicism. Much depended on which ethnic group controlled leading clerical positions, and that, in turn, depended greatly on the attitude of the Vatican. Stefan Samerski traces this struggle over ethnic influence through the various phases of reconstituting diocesan borders and ecclesiastical relationships in Danzig.

The stakes for Germany in the larger ecclesiastical struggle become more clear in the fifth part of the book. German ministries and agencies, devoted to strengthening "Germanness" in the eastern ceded areas, financed German Catholic causes in Danzig. Through Danzig they also sought to bolster German ethnic consciousness in the adjoining corridor. Sometimes they appeared to act out of sheer desperation. Thus, the German Foreign Office tapped the German president's discretionary fund to augment the salary of Danzig's first bishop. The Foreign Office hoped to win the bishop's sympathy for the German cause.

The Danzig senate acted similarly. It subsidized the church at a high level to give the Polish minority no reason for ignoring the services of a largely German church. Even so, Polish Danzigers began to develop their own institutions. The senate gave generously also to win Vatican recognition for the right it claimed to veto Danzig clerical appointments and thus exclude Polish nationalists.

The place of Danzig in the larger eastern complex of issues is, for the most part, missing in this study. The reader would do well to consult Stewart A. Stehlin, *Weimar and the Vatican 1919–1933* (1983), for the broader picture.

Samerski concentrates on German efforts and attitudes. It would be helpful to learn more fully how Poland reacted to German revisionism at each stage in the controversy. Similarly, some accounting of Polish oppression of Germans in the corridor is

needed to help explain the resolute determination of the Danzig senate and German clergy to strengthen "Germanness" in Danzig.

The subtitle suggests the thematic thrust of the book: Catholicism between freedom and irredentism. The irredentism of both German and Polish segments of the Danzig church diminished loyalty to a common Catholicism. Even so, it does not seem that the Danzig church was organizationally disabled by ethnic feuds. The Vatican aspired toward "freedom" for the church independently of ethnic conflicts. But there was no "free" path for the Vatican, only one of careful compromise while it hewed to ethnic neutrality.

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G. M. HAMBURG. *Boris Chicherin and Early Russian Liberalism 1828–1866*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 443. \$47.50.

The fact that Russia lacks a viable liberal tradition is surely having an adverse effect on present efforts to institute democratic institutions in that country. Where, in their past, are the Russians to learn about toleration of minority positions, compromise, or party formation? How can they even define the realm of the political when Russian thinkers of all stripes have tended to confuse politics with eschatology and reform programs with the apocalypse?

Boris Nikolaievich Chicherin (1828–1904) would appear admirably qualified to fill the liberal gap in Russian political thought. Legal philosopher, historian, and later politician, influenced both by Hegel and by French liberal politicians and theorists, Chicherin was one of the few Russian thinkers of the Reform period to call himself a "liberal." Unlike radicals, reactionaries, and slavophiles, he saw the need for both civil liberties and a strong state; and he lived long enough both to originate and to embody a conservative liberal tradition in Russia.

But Chicherin never captured the imagination of the scholarly community, and until now students of Russian thought seeking to understand Chicherin have had to depend on his own four-volume memoirs (reprinted by Oriental Research Partners, 1973) and on brief and not very satisfactory accounts in general surveys. G. M. Hamburg has half-filled the gap with his monograph on the first period of Chicherin's life (he promises a sequel, on the later career). Students of modern Russian political thought are in Hamburg's debt for making this pivotal figure accessible at last.

Hamburg's work also shows us, sometimes directly and sometimes only implicitly, why Chicherin remained such a marginal figure, despite his great gifts and despite his country's profound need for someone to provide a Russian interpretation of the Western liberal tradition.

As Hamburg makes clear, the scope for liberal reform activity was narrow indeed. There were no institutions in 1860s Russia that could serve as a liberal base. The attempt by Chicherin and others to use Moscow University failed, just as a similar effort by T. N. Granovskii's generation had failed earlier. Liberal reformers were forced to maneuver between a suspicious ruling group, unwilling to undertake any major limitation of its power, and a radicalized public, especially among the young, impatient with moderation and with Chicherin's thorough lack of sympathy for broad democracy.

Chicherin was not merely a victim of political circumstances; he also lacked the ability to lead a movement or to establish a tradition of liberal thought. Perhaps Hamburg's greatest service is his lucid analysis of Chicherin's works. This makes clear that he was not a particularly original thinker, and that his position of moderate, property-based conservative liberalism was unlikely to gain many adherents. His admiration for French *juste-milieu* liberals would not win him support in Russia, if indeed his Russian audience was aware of it. Moreover, Chicherin's personality seems to have militated against his political effectiveness. Arrogant and tactless, he not only alienated would-be supporters but also at the crucial moment when the reforms of the 1860s were being prepared managed to split the tiny liberal camp into mutually hostile splinters. Politically, he was remarkably inept, with a pattern of forcing confrontations in situations where he could not win. The book ends with his resignation from the faculty of Moscow University after such a confrontation.

Hamburg has mined the unpublished Chicherin family papers for his biography. His work recounts the life and views of the youngish Chicherin lucidly, in a clear if inelegant prose. The human being behind the writing remains shadowy, however. I also missed a discussion of the dynamics of how the liberal camp operated during the early Reform period. Chicherin's public life and work has been well charted here; his inner life and his milieu await further explication.

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BRUCE W. MENNING. *Bayonets before Bullets: The Imperial Russian Army, 1861–1914*. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 334. \$35.00.

For more than two decades Russian historians have been producing a diverse body of quality studies that examine the social, political, and military development of the Imperial and Soviet armies. Ranging from empirical monographs to broad synthetic narratives, these works represent the fruits of a scholarship that is at once individualistic, interactive, com-

plementary, and critical. Bruce W. Menning's history of the Imperial Army from the end of the Crimean War until the outbreak of World War I is an enriching example of the creative potential of scholarly discourse. Although his study is not based on new archival research, it provides original answers to important questions. Equally significant, it makes accessible to the general historian a range of technical information that is essential to any understanding of modern (particularly twentieth-century) warfare, with its unprecedented lethality and ever-increasing impact on civilian societies.

Menning logically and effectively organizes his book to highlight the relationship between resources, technological change, combat experience, and tactical organization. Beginning with the military reforms that followed the Crimean conflict, he focuses on the Russo-Turkish (1877–78) and Russo-Japanese (1904–05) wars to illustrate the persistent discrepancy between resources and military doctrine. In each case, he relates a specific wartime experience to a broader process of reform—that is, of incremental change in tactics, organization, and weaponry—that both preceded and followed a given conflict. Ending his narrative with an analysis of war plans prior to World War I, he convincingly conveys the full complexity and dynamism of Russia's ongoing "race between [military] adaptation and catastrophe" (p. 276) at a time when both the scale and speed of battle escalated dramatically.

Throughout the period he examines, combat experiences and efforts at military reform revealed an underlying continuity in the tactical problems faced by the Russian Army, although not always for the same reasons or with the same results. The weaknesses repeatedly exposed by war included linkages between socioeconomic infrastructure and fighting armies, limited availability of strategic rail lines, inadequate reconnaissance and communications (including fragmented structures of command and control), fiscal restraints on rearmament, and the consequent difficulty of introducing new, rapidly evolving, and increasingly decisive technologies. In each period of reorganization, the time and resources needed to achieve fundamental change were lacking, as war intervened to thwart and redefine reform objectives. Menning wisely takes to heart the works of Norman Stone and William C. Fuller, Jr., who warned that Russia's military failures (and, according to Fuller, the successes of earlier eras) cannot be explained by economic backwardness or accidents of geography and climate. Rather, victory and defeat resulted from the decisions of rulers, military planners, and field commanders who did not necessarily learn the appropriate lessons from combat experiences or accept the advice of Russia's most forward-looking diplomats, strategists, and tacticians.

Although Menning's book covers a period in which military failures predominated, he does not ignore the strengths of the Imperial Army. In particular, he

documents a continuing ability to field large armies of motivated and steadfast soldiers, successes in adapting tactical organization to new technologies, and, by the twentieth century, improvements in medical services. This balanced approach allows him to identify the crucial failure of all reform efforts between the Crimean War and World War I as a failure to establish and maintain "intellectual and procedural linkages" (p. 236). This failure was implied but not fully developed in Dietrich Beyrau's study of the reforms that followed the Crimean War but proved inadequate in the Russo-Turkish War. The military calamities of the late-imperial period, with their disastrous consequences for the tsarist regime, resulted not only from limitations of resources and infrastructure but, more importantly, also from the inability of high-level commanders to understand the importance of linkages between "means and objectives," "supporting base and fighting front," "tactics and operations," "offensive-defensive correlations," and, finally, concentration and dispersion (pp. 122, 270).

Although Menning does not directly examine the Russian Army during World War I (a task already undertaken by Allan K. Wildman and Norman Stone), he provides considerable insight into the course and outcome of that momentous conflict. In particular, he explains how and why Russia failed to adapt adequately to changes in warfare that resulted from rapid technological development in the industrial age. Satisfying and substantive, this book represents a sophisticated contribution to an important topic.

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MARK D. STEINBERG. *Moral Communities: The Culture of Class Relations in the Russian Printing Industry, 1867–1907*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 14.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. x, 289. \$35.00.

This fascinating study by Mark D. Steinberg represents an important shift away from traditional approaches to Russian labor history. In an innovative examination of social relations within the prerevolutionary Moscow and St. Petersburg printing industries, Steinberg eschews older constructs that centered on political participation and class consciousness without revealing much of what either meant, concretely, to workers. Instead he challenges his readers to view these problems from a different perspective. What interests Steinberg is not the fact of workers' consciousness, radicalization, or politicization, but how these phenomena were culturally constructed at the workplace and in the daily lives of Russia's printers. To answer such questions the author takes us beyond a standard single-class analysis, exploring the mutual relations between workers,

managers, and employers and providing new insights into the way class relations—and class itself—were given meaning in workers' minds. Politics, of course, remains a central element of this work, although Steinberg treats the subject not through a detailed treatment of strikes, but through the writings of literate print workers as they struggled to express their vision of moral community and human dignity. In short, we are shown the actual process by which consciousness of class and social inequality took shape among industrial workers, and we are offered rare glimpses into the concrete manner by which an often ambiguous language of everyday interaction was deployed, appropriated, and transformed by workers during the complex processes of economic development, class formation, and revolution. The result is an exciting cultural history that avoids the increasingly popular tendency to substitute language and outmoded "Foucauldian" clichés for historical scholarship.

Following a description of changes that were reshaping the printing industry in the second half of the nineteenth century, Steinberg shows how Russian employers worked to legitimize relations of power and inequality through traditional, moralistic, and tutelary forms in a society that still viewed entrepreneurship as immoral. They elaborated a vision of community in which both workplace and the industry itself formed a "family" united by common interests. Assuming the role of "paternal guardians of labor," an activist minority of industry owners "sought to infuse social relationships with a sense of moral community" (p. 35), providing free medical care, libraries, and other cultural activities designed to make employees conscious of their moral duties. In addition, they established and managed charitable assistance funds that bespoke their ethos of benevolence. Employers also organized printers, festivals, and other workplace "rites of community" that emphasized their position as benevolent "fathers" of their enterprises as well as the ideal of a family of workers and employers. Sponsored Christmas parties and other festive gatherings, Steinberg notes, enacted both "a celebration of community and a theater of power" (p. 66).

Printing workers did not simply accept their employers' definitions of community or efforts to control workers' behavior, however. Despite the calm of an industry that experienced no major strikes before 1903, workers engaged in everyday forms of resistance on shop floors, revealing a moral community of their own making which opposed that created by industry owners. Through workplace rituals, dress, speech, mannerisms, and attitudes toward work and leisure, workers challenged their own domination. Standing apart from this ordinary working-class culture (often at the boundaries of class) and seeking a more "cultured" and "conscious" way of life, another group of workers presented a distinct challenge to authority by accepting the idea of moral community

but applying it as a means to criticize workplace conditions and assert their own worth as individuals, and as a standard for judging and holding employers morally accountable. In expressing their "moral outrage at violations of human dignity," these activist printing workers acquired and articulated "vocabularies of judgment and value" through their everyday encounters with the culture around them, "reading and recopying, decomposing and recomposing ideas and texts appropriated from the larger society" (p. 113). Yet as Steinberg argues, this worker critique remained ambivalent, for it was directed as much against less "cultured" workers as it was against employers. Moreover, for members of this moral vanguard who shared their employers' vision of a "family of labor," violations of dignity "represented a personal failing of the workers themselves as much as an effect of their oppression" (p. 249).

The 1905 revolution dramatically transformed the structure and psychology of class relations within the printing industry. Increasingly, relations came to be characterized by more direct and aggressive means of pursuing class interest and power, and by the widespread use of a new language of class that had been lacking even during the first major printers' strike of 1903. As workers and employers established separate organizations (unions, employers' associations), they came to view one another with growing hostility. But even as the old dream of a trade community seemed to fade, "the new rhetoric of class was not free of ideas about more embracing communities of interest and values, while notions of community and morality remained enmeshed with perceptions of class interest and assertions of power" (p. 212). The historical development of class relations in the printing industry continued to shape conceptions of class. Thus, while many workers embraced Marxism, their politics and social vision remained moral—even utopian—and ambiguous. Their emerging class culture centered on ethical principles that stressed workers' "honor," "dignity," and their "rights" to live "as human beings." Steinberg locates the source of this "cult of the human personality" in the pride of skilled labor that heightened the offensiveness of everyday hardships, in the daily experience of witnessing social inequality, and in reflections "on the ideas and images produced by literate society" (pp. 251–52). The humanist class consciousness articulated by Russian printing workers, in sum, was shaped by notions of universal humanity and dignity that transcended class, mixing morality and power, humanism and class struggle in a way not easily untangled. And yet, Steinberg concludes, workers may have seen no contradiction "between seeking to live in a more comradesly and moral society and fighting bitterly against the social classes and individuals responsible for their exclusion" (p. 253).

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EDWARD H. JUDGE. *Easter in Kishinev: Anatomy of a Pogrom*. (Reappraisals in Jewish Social and Intellectual History.) New York: New York University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 186. \$40.00.

Edward H. Judge's concise and well-written book examines the infamous Kishinev pogrom, the attack on the Jews that occurred on Easter Sunday and Monday 1903 in the capital of Bessarabia. Relying for the most part on a new reading of published accounts available for decades, the author—the biographer of Count V. K. von Plehve, the Russian minister of interior—reviews the complex social, economic, and political situation in Kishinev before the pogrom, details the outbreak and spread of rioting, looting, murder, and rape on Easter Sunday and Monday, and, most importantly, provides a careful, dispassionate, and largely convincing assessment of the evidence regarding the involvement of the local and central authorities in the pogrom and its aftermath.

In so doing, Judge joins the growing consensus among historians of Russia and the Jews who have examined the pogroms in late-imperial Russia and concludes that the Kishinev pogrom, as well as its predecessors, were not planned or orchestrated or even condoned by the Russian government, as has been assumed both by contemporaries and by the previous historiography. Rather, the pogroms were mostly spontaneous riots, caused by the deeply etched social and economic antipathies and antagonisms in the Russian empire. The Russian government not only did not plan or orchestrate the pogroms, we are learning, but also was terribly frightened and disapproving of them, often fearing that the pogroms were the work of revolutionaries. Although unable to organize itself efficiently and effectively, the tsarist regime, in its mortal fear and hatred of the revolutionaries, attempted to quell the riots and the rioters in the name of law and order. To be sure, there undoubtedly were soldiers or policemen who stood by and sympathized with the rioters; this, however, quite definitely was not the policy of the tsarist government and was, in fact, in direct contravention of government policy. This assessment obviously is not meant as an apology for the tsarist regime, which was marked by dishonesty, hatred, corruption, and deliberate subjugation of its entire population, Jewish or gentile, as well as by an increasingly anti-Semitic bias and policy in the last decades of the Old Regime. But there is a crucial analytic divide between hating the Jews or other minorities and ordering their murder, a matter on which Judge is particularly sensitive and careful. He is also aware of the fact that much remains unknown about this as well as the other pogroms in imperial Russia, although one wishes that he had pointed out more clearly that there are reams and reams of archival materials on this and related subjects in the former Soviet Union that are as yet untouched by historians.

But it is more than likely that further archival



discoveries will merely reinforce and document the conclusion of this excellent study, which can be recommended to all those interested in Russian and Jewish history as well as the broader question assailing so many societies today, the treatment and persecution of racial, ethnic, and religious minorities in an increasingly divisive and hate-ridden world.

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R. SH. GANELIN. *Rossiiskoe samoderzhavie v 1905 godu: Reformy i revoliutsiia* [The Russian Autocracy in 1905: Reforms and Revolution]. St. Petersburg: Nauka. 1991. Pp. 221. 4 r. 10 k.

This is a blow-by-blow account of the struggle between tsarist reform and social revolution. But the focus here is not on the political parties and popular movements that dominate the current scholarship. R. Sh. Ganelin builds on the work of Yurii Solov'ev and Georgii Gal'perin and pushes into a new era of scholarship in company with Evgenii Chermenskii and Kornelii Shatsillo. In his introduction Ganelin acknowledges American scholars Terence Emmons and Andrew Verner, though he does not cite them in his text. He does cite Lenin once in each chapter, but, whatever his roots in Soviet historiography, he is here branching out toward the venerable "statist school" of Russian history. He is "bringing the state back in."

Ganelin details the parry and thrust of four rounds of complicated conflict within the governmental apparatus and between state and society. Each round ended in a decisive moment: the tsarist decree of December 12, 1904, that offered half-hearted promises of extensive political reform; the Bulygin rescript of February 18, 1905, that hinted at representative government; the Bulygin constitutional draft of August 6 that so disappointed public opinion; and, finally, the October Manifesto itself. The rhythm of Ganelin's narrative builds toward each of these decisive moments rather than from them.

At first the tsar tried to coopt liberal opposition and popular discontent, but he failed. Then came forced and disingenuous concessions to "civil society" (*obshchestvennost'*) and to other social "strata." Tsarist authorities sought public acquiescence to imperial policy, but the public held these policies to be unjust, unwise, and unsuccessful. The disastrous Russo-Japanese War dragged on. Society sensed that the state was now weakened and irresolute. The Bulygin Duma seemed too little, too late. Official concessions were doomed, yet the mechanism of institutional reform moved forward of its own momentum, propelled by conflicts within the ministries and the court as much as by the pressure of civic unrest.

Ganelin views the action from the state's corner, even though he is not partisan to the state. We sometimes forget that the statist school of Russian history divides into two camps: both acknowledge the

dominance of central authority, but one camp approves of this while the other deplors it. Here action centers on the deliberations of leading figures in the Council of Ministers (*Sovet ministrov*), first of all on Sergei Witte. Ganelin devotes fresh attention to a series of ministerial position papers generated in connection with these sessions. Out of a variety of archival funds and published sources, the breadth of which we are not accustomed to seeing in Russian scholarship, Ganelin traces the emergence of a reluctant and narrow plurality of opinion among leading grandees; loyalty to the sovereign aside, autocracy no longer worked. The empire needed a unified ministerial structure and a representative assembly, it needed basic civil rights to allow such an assembly to work, but it did not need public disorder and economic collapse. In the etiology of the Russian Revolution, the logic of the reform struggle within the state itself was one of several independent variables along with social grievance and financial disorder.

With the October Manifesto, Tsar Nicholas II offered revolutionary perestroika but hoped for no more than short-term calm. In fact, he and his minions guided the empire into political turmoil that can rightly be called the first modern revolution in Russia and an essential moment in the process that led to the collapse of the Old Regime in 1917, the establishment of the Soviet Union, and the massive events of our own time.

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A. P. NENAROKOV. *K edinstvu ravnykh: Kul'turnye faktory ob'edinitel'nogo dvizheniia sovetskikh narodov 1917–1924* [Toward a Union of Equals: Cultural Factors in the Movement for the Unification of the Soviet Peoples, 1917–1924]. Moscow: Nauka. 1991. Pp. 270. 11 r.

This volume by A. P. Nenarokov, published in 1991, was submitted to the press in June 1990, some fourteen months before the coup that led to the demise of the Soviet Union. At first glance, the title suggests yet another addition to the already much-too-voluminous literature extolling the virtues of communist internationalism and the building of the Soviet Union.

The introduction of the book, however, offers a surprise, for it begins with a dedication to the memory of four friends of the author, famous dissidents such as Il'ia Gabai and Piotr Iakir. Gabai was arrested on May 17, 1969, for his involvement in the campaign of the Crimean Tatars aimed at securing an official approval to return to their homeland. Iakir was a founding member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union, which was founded in 1969. As dissidents, however, both Gabai and Iakir remained loyal Marxists and became involved in a critique of the policies of their party and government from the viewpoint of Marxist orthodoxy, not Western liberalism or any other ideology.

The ideological profiles of these two dissidents bear considerable significance for the discourse that follows because they reveal the political philosophy and ideology that shapes Nenarokov's analysis. His is a revisionist account of nation-building in the crucial years of the formation of the Soviet Union, but the discussion of the abuses and "myth-building" he provides is guided by explanatory models that focus on institutional and personnel failures rather than on the intrinsic flaws of the system.

In his first chapter, Nenarokov provides a review of the literature on the unification movement. The two "circles" of the spiral mentioned in the chapter title are the phases in the evolution of the historiography on the topic: the 1920s to the 1950s, and the 1950s to the 1980s. What is new here is Nenarokov's discussion of both Leon Trotsky and N. I. Bukharin's thoughts on issues such as class, national identity, and self-determination, in addition to his comments on the changes made to the text of the volumes of Lenin's complete works published after 1931. In this revised version, many materials regarding Lenin's views on the "national question" during the years 1915–18 were deleted. Equally interesting is the fact that, reviewing the historiography of the 1950s to 1980s, Nenarokov subscribes to L. M. Drobizheva's analysis of the "common spiritual patrimony of the peoples of USSR."

In the next chapter, Nenarokov discusses state-building in the context of an analysis of the efforts at "national-cultural" renewal and provides a restatement of the rationale for the hegemonic role of the Russian proletariat. His discussion of nation-building in Turkestan goes beyond the traditional dismissals of the local communists as "nationalists" and provides some details of the dynamics of the relationship between the Turkkomissii and the native peoples.

What is striking in the ensuing chapter is what Nenarokov chooses to omit: a discussion of the rationale for the emergence of the Tatar and Bashkir republics in lieu of Lenin's early promises for a Tatar-Bashkir republic. He offers no critique of the condemnations of nationalism launched from the podium of the Twelfth Party Congress in 1923 and leaves untouched the role of the Commissariat of Nationalities and Sultangaliev in opposing the centralizing efforts of Moscow.

Despite its very mild revisionism, Nenarokov's book should not be bypassed by students of the "nationality question," for it offers a promising departure from some of the old clichés.

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GEORGE O. LIBER. *Soviet Nationality Policy, Urban Growth, and Identity Change in the Ukrainian SSR 1923–1934*. (Soviet and East European Studies, number 84.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 289. \$59.95.

The growing nationalism in the republics of the former Soviet Union, associated with privileged claims to territory, linguistic primacy, and ethnically defined criteria for citizenship, ironically comes at a time when Western writing on nationality has tended to stress the provisionality and discursive construction of the nation. This irony may be lost on the ex-Sovietological community, however. With the important exception of Ronald Suny, nobody has extended the insights of Benedict Anderson, Miroslav Hroch, and Eric Hobsbawm to the Soviet (or for that matter, the pre-Soviet) past.

George O. Liber's detailed study of Soviet nationality policy is informed by this literature as well as the older, more mainstream social scientific work of Karl Deutsch, Walker Connor, and Ernest Gellner. It thus provides a welcome alternative to more partisan writing on the formative period of Soviet Ukraine. The book's three themes are interwoven into a narrative that stresses the political, demographic, and cultural (largely linguistic) components of Ukrainian nationality-in-the-making. Part 1 outlines the social and political history of Ukraine from the industrialization of the late nineteenth century to the collapse of Simon Petliura's Directory in 1919 and the subsequent working out of Bolshevik nationality policy under the rubric of *korenizatsiia* (indigenization). Part 2 analyzes social changes of the 1920s and early 1930s, specifically urbanization and the "peasantization" and "Ukrainianization" of the urban work force. Part 3 examines the political consequences of these changes, giving special emphasis to the emergence of Ukrainian national communism and the challenge it presented to central authority/legitimacy. The concluding section deals with the "center's reaction" up to the mid-1930s.

*Korenizatsiia* (or "Ukrainianization" in the Ukrainian SSR) represented an extension to the non-Russian peoples of the ideal of "*smychka*" (union) between town and country. Both were closely associated with the New Economic Policy (NEP) of the 1920s and both fell by the wayside during the collectivization drive. As Liber argues, *korenizatsiia* was intended to anchor the Communist Party in the Ukrainian countryside, where the overwhelming majority of the population consisted of Ukrainian speakers. But it proved to have profound implications for the cities and the republic's relationship with Moscow once Ukrainian peasants began to migrate en masse to take up jobs in the rapidly expanding industrial sector. As the "working class in the Ukraine was becoming a Ukrainian working class" (p. 86), central party leaders began to doubt the compatibility of *korenizatsiia* with proletarian hegemony. Fostering a Ukrainian-language print revolution and an associated national cultural "renaissance," Ukrainianization called into question the efficacy of accommodation and legitimation at the very moment when Ukrainian national communists such as Mykola Skrypnyk, Mykhailo Volobuiev, and Oleksander Shums'kyi were

seeking to expand its boundaries. Stalin's about-face over the promotion of multiculturalism, coinciding with his abandonment of NEP, left these and other Ukrainian officials exposed to charges of separatism and bourgeois nationalism. Their purging paved the way for an all-out assault on the Ukrainian peasantry and the emergence of new indigenous elites who, while identifying themselves as Ukrainian, "did not make an issue of their 'Ukrainianness'" (p. 180).

Other scholars, notably Basil Dmytryshyn, Bohdan Krawchenko, James Mace, and Roman Szporluk, have addressed one or more of the themes covered by Liber. Where this book breaks new ground is its careful application of quantitative methodology to questions of Ukrainian nationality and its emphasis on the contingent, almost fluid character of both class and national identities. Although gender is introduced as a hypothetical social identity, it unfortunately does not figure in Liber's equations. The absence of attention to the construction of urban family life (a crucial variable in migrants' social identity) and the occasional use of the universal "he" with reference to "the peasant" (pp. 52, 79) are also regrettable. The book is graced with three maps, a wealth of tables and appendixes, and an extremely impressive bibliography.

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V. A. KUMANEV. *30-e gody v sud'bakh otechestvennoi intelligentsii* [The Fate of the National Intelligentsia in the 1930s]. Moscow: Nauka. 1991. Pp. 295. 9 r. 24 k.

This is the story of Joseph Stalin's war against Soviet educated elites in the 1930s. V. A. Kumanev, a prominent historian of the Leonid Brezhnev era who wrote about early Soviet mass education, chronicles attacks on writers and artists, scientists and technologists, scholars and critics, journalists, military officers, party leaders, and state officials. Kumanev does not have an explanation for these persecutions except to say that they were part of a plan to produce a pliant polity and "an ideal people" who "will not revolt" (p. 132). He argues that Stalinism in some sense fit the tastes of the uneducated people who filled the bureaucracy.

Yet what is remarkable about the book is not the explanation for these horrible deeds but rather the panoramic view that the author presents. By describing the persecution of educated Soviet citizens as a single historic experience, he challenges, albeit often inadvertently, some prevalent ideas about various phases of the slaughter. The extent of the Stalinists' assault on thinking people, which destroyed not only independently minded intellectuals but also enthusiastic supporters of the regime in many fields, reminds us that Stalin and his colleagues had a fundamental quarrel with educated people in general. Reading this tragic history of what amounts to a modern inquisi-

tion raises questions about the importance of separate explanations of the fates of particular groups such as the technical intelligentsia, modernist artists and writers, and even in some sense the old Leninist party elite. The issue of Stalin's sanity or rationality pales beside this merciless sorting of the population.

To gather all victims from writers such as Isaac Babel and Osip Mandelstam to generals and party leaders such as M. N. Tukhachevskii and N. I. Bukharin under a single rubric requires some justification, since it means in effect to separate the whole group from the Stalinist system, including some very prominent collaborators. Yet this is exactly what Kumanev does. He draws his argument in part from his earlier work. He describes the Soviet intelligentsia as the participants in an inherently positive Leninist project during the 1920s. He points to the flourishing cultural life of the decade and what he considers the success of mass education campaigns of that time. "The Soviet state especially in the first ten years," he writes, "did much to raise the cultural level of the worker-peasant masses and also for the spiritual rebirth of entire peoples" (p. 6). He blames Stalin personally for what happened in the 1930s rather than the system or any particular group. "An analysis of facts nevertheless shows," he writes, "that almost without exception the fate of all the great figures of science and culture in this or that measure depended on the mood and whim of the leader" (p. 253). To exonerate Stalin's allies who later perished, he argues that almost everyone believed in Stalin. "Only after the passage of many years," he writes, "did society understand that the Motherland and Stalin are not synonymous, but have completely opposite meanings" (p. 195). However simplistic this division into victims and others may seem, it has the advantage of shifting the perspective in some sense to the perpetrators and their intentions. Kumanev remains predominantly concerned, however, with the tragedy of the victims' stories.

The book predates the most recent important archival revelations, but the author draws on myriad small discoveries. This is a reminder that the process of recovering Russia's hidden history is as meaningful as the result. This study would have been impossible without the thousands of scholars, intellectuals, and critics who have written about what happened in the many new publications and reinvented old ones that appeared after Mikhail Gorbachev came to power. The retrospective effort to make sense of human behavior under these circumstances, to discover small heroes and small villains as well as large ones, and to find out who behaved badly and who nobly is now of great concern. The endnotes are a reminder of how little of this went on during the Brezhnev era.

Yet if this is a book to be praised, it is also one to be criticized. Kumanev's decision not to separate opponents of the system from collaborators who fell victim is difficult to accept. In art he is concerned with socialist realist painters and sculptors, some of whom

ran afoul of the authorities, rather than the modernists who were at odds with the regime over the nature of art and the role of the artist in society. The idea that the Leninist projects of the 1920s had little to do with the Stalinist activities of the 1930s seems implausible. The argument that the Bolshevik old guard, some of whom followed Stalin until he turned against them personally, had nothing to do with the horrors of the era is difficult to accept. With this portrayal, however, Kumanev reminds us that the Stalinist system's relationship to Russian society and Russian cultural traditions in their broadest configuration was a hostile one. He does not pursue this issue, but his readers should be grateful that he raises it so forcefully.

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O. V. KHEVNIUK. *1937-i: Stalin, NKVD i sovetskoe obshchestvo* [1937: Stalin, the NKVD, and Soviet Society]. Moscow: Respublika. 1992. Pp. 268. 3 r. 80 k.

The Great Purge of 1937–38 represents the most horrifying and bizarre episode in all Soviet history. Millions of innocent Soviet citizens—including many of the country's political and military leaders—were charged with treason and incarcerated or shot. Despite numerous attempts to explain this massive repression, authoritative accounts of the purges are few. Until recently, historians lacked a solid source base, and even since archives have opened, works such as Dmitri Volkogonov's biography of Joseph Stalin have suffered from less than rigorous scholarship and a fixation with Stalin's guilt. In O. V. Khlevniuk's book we at last have a study that combines extensive research in the Communist Party archives with balanced analysis of the political struggles behind the purges.

Khlevniuk wisely begins his account in 1932, the year in which the costs of Stalin's crash program of industrialization became clear. The Soviet government faced a huge budget deficit, famine loomed over the countryside, urban living standards fell precipitously, and social unrest erupted in both villages and cities. Party members began to criticize the tempo of industrialization; some even called for Stalin's removal. Although Stalin wished to instigate an immediate campaign of terror against his opponents, Khlevniuk shows that he lacked the necessary support within the Politburo and even had reason to doubt the readiness of the secret police (NKVD).

It was only after the assassination of Stalin's potential rival Sergei Kirov in late 1934 that arrests and executions began. Without recapitulating the evidence implicating Stalin in Kirov's murder, Khlevniuk explains how Stalin used the assassination to galvanize the secret police and launch the purges. He also documents resistance to the purges that occurred on a scale heretofore scarcely imagined. Many West-

ern historians have mistakenly projected Stalin's unchallenged political power of the postwar years back onto the 1930s. Khlevniuk argues that, despite Soviet propaganda deifying Stalin, old Bolsheviks at this time held no special reverence for him. Sergo Ordzhonikidze in particular denounced Stalin's purges and fought to protect his cadres at the Commissariat of Heavy Industry. Many other party members and military officers also defended colleagues accused of treason, even at the risk of their own lives.

How, then, did Stalin overcome this resistance to proceed with millions of arrests and executions? Khlevniuk meticulously delineates the mechanisms behind the purges. Most significantly, the unchecked operation of the secret police allowed investigations and arrests to take place outside of party control. Another weapon furthering the purges consisted of mass meetings where rank-and-file party members denounced their bosses or where peasants and workers condemned local officials for the brutalities of collectivization and industrialization. Ultimately, the unleashing of popular anger eroded the party's authority, reduced economic managers' initiative, undermined labor discipline, and left a deep legacy of societal fear and distrust.

Khlevniuk does not answer all the questions surrounding the purges. The total number of victims will not be known until KGB archives on the subject are fully opened. (Khlevniuk rejects as incomplete recent archival findings that count purge victims in hundreds of thousands instead of millions.) Although Khlevniuk intentionally focuses on resistance to the purges, he might have also provided a few more examples of people who supported the purges. One other topic touched on by Khlevniuk but requiring further elaboration is the persistence in the 1930s of postrevolutionary social tensions. A large number of former oppositionists (Trotskyites, Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries) and prerevolutionary elites (nobles, tsarist officers, technical specialists) worked loyally in the Soviet bureaucracy and military. Yet their presence legitimated, however unjustly, Stalin's warnings about "internal enemies." Even party leaders who opposed the purges did not deny the existence of potential spies and saboteurs.

Further work remains to be done, yet Khlevniuk has made a vital contribution to our knowledge of the purges. His book is all the more noteworthy now, when economic collapse has prevented most historians in Russia from producing serious scholarship.

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DAVID R. MARPLES. *Stalinism in Ukraine in the 1940s*. New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. xix, 228. \$65.00.

The focus of this study by David R. Marples is narrower than the subject stated in the title. Most of this book deals with the Soviet collectivization effort



and resistance to it in western Ukraine between 1939 and 1951, when the Soviet Union annexed this territory from Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Romania. Marples also discusses the emergence of Stalinism and developments during World War II, and he analyzes the issue of Ukrainian collaborationism during the war.

Some parts of this volume originated in Marples's doctoral thesis, while other parts are new and based on Soviet primary sources and secondary works published during the era of Mikhail Gorbachev. Some sections are well written, but others, encyclopedic in nature, read as if they emerged from a dissertation. As a whole the book interprets aspects of Stalinism in Ukraine. But no overall thesis unites the study.

Instead of providing a narrative analysis of the 1939–51 period, Marples examines several specific questions in depth. His investigation of Nikita Khrushchev's political relationship with Lazar Kaganovich in 1947, when Stalin temporarily "released" the former as the head of the Communist Party in Ukraine, is excellent. The author's comparison of collectivization in eastern Ukraine in the 1930s with processes in western Ukraine, the Baltic republics, western Belorussia, and East Central Europe in the 1940s is superb. According to Marples, collectivization in the 1940s repeated the pattern of the previous decade and illustrated the "bankruptcy of ideas within the Soviet leadership" (p. 161).

Marples devotes less attention to the foundations of Stalinism in Ukraine, World War II in Ukraine, and Ukrainian collaboration during this conflict. His discussion of these complex subjects is, as he admits, "preliminary" and controversial. He concludes that "there are some Ukrainian war criminals" and that "the majority of Ukrainians did not participate in atrocities against Jews, but a minority did so on [an] individual basis" (p. 80).

This book is the first major treatment of collectivization in western Ukraine in English. The author's interpretation of its implementation is sophisticated and well balanced, especially his connection between collectivization and the source of support for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

But Stalinism and its introduction in western Ukraine comprised more than collectivization. Marples mentions, but does not examine thoroughly, the deportations of Ukrainians, the influx of Russians and eastern Ukrainians into this region, the suppression of the Ukrainian Catholic church in 1946, and postwar Russification, which galvanized violent Ukrainian resistance to the reimposition of the Soviet order after the war. This resistance in turn provoked harsh Soviet countermeasures against the local population.

In addition to engaging in mass repressions, the Stalinist system also attempted to coopt its new citizens by replacing the old Polish, Romanian, and Czechoslovak elites with Ukrainian elites, by industrializing this predominantly agricultural region, and by

tolerating a very limited sphere for Ukrainians within the pseudofederalist Soviet system. Had Marples investigated these repressive and cooptive factors and their interplay in greater detail, he would have strengthened his explanation why western Ukraine led the struggle for Ukrainian independence during the Gorbachev era.

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A. M. NEKRICH. *Forsake Fear: Memoirs of an Historian*. Translated by DONALD LINEBURGH. Boston: Unwin Hyman. 1991. Pp. 293.

This memoir by A. M. Nekrich is an English translation of the Russian original published in 1979, *Otreshis' ot strakha: Vospominaniia istorika*. The bulk was written in Moscow, but the book itself was published in London after Nekrich's emigration in 1976 to the United States. The English version is almost identical to the original except for an additional interesting account of his friendship with Donald Maclean, one of the famous Cambridge spies who fled to the Soviet Union. This is an absorbing book by a well-known historian and will be of great interest to anyone interested in Soviet historiography from the 1940s to the 1970s.

In 1945, Nekrich returned to the Soviet Union from World War II and entered the graduate program in modern British history at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences. From then until 1976, when he emigrated to the United States, Nekrich was intimately involved in the Soviet historical profession. This first-hand account, as one might expect, provides a great deal of interesting insight into both Soviet society and Soviet historiography. There are insider accounts of, for example, the famous E. N. Burdzhakov affair and, of course, Nekrich's own ordeal caused by his book *1941, 22 iunia* (1965). Here one encounters both brave and cowardly historians and understands how political screws were loosened and tightened in the 1950s and 1960s. Many prominent historians, whom Nekrich encountered in his thirty-year career in the Soviet Union, are described in detail. One is likely to find one's own Soviet colleagues and friends mentioned or discussed in this book. There are some little-known yet interesting accounts of academic dignitaries such as A. M. Deborin (whom Joseph Stalin once branded a "Menshevik idealist"), I. M. Maiskii (who became Nekrich's mentor), and I. I. Mints (often regarded in the West as one of the official propaganda historians of the Brezhnev era). Nekrich's story of Mints, however, reveals a more complex picture of this Academician who had previously fallen victim to Stalin's attack on "cosmopolitanism." Here one also reads that among those who refused to criticize Mints at the

institute was A. Ia. Gurevich, now a well-known medievalist.

In this volume one gets a clear sense of how Nekrich came to stand up to the historical, and eventually political, establishments in the 1950s and 1960s. Although there is very little in this memoir about Nekrich's earlier life, there are several interesting stories that help to account for the articulation of critical minds in the Soviet Union. Perhaps like many of his contemporaries, Nekrich, born in 1920, became a convinced communist. At the age of twelve or fourteen, he "was preparing to become a professional revolutionary in order to carry out the world revolution" (p. 131). Yet like many of his comrades, he was exposed during and after the war to foreign countries, cultures, and literatures that previously had been inaccessible to him. And already in the late 1940s, under Stalin, Nekrich and other educated people were schooled in "the tradition of 'anonymous letters' and of the Russian free press." Of all organizations, according to Nekrich, *Tass*, the Soviet official press agency, helped to keep this tradition alive in Soviet Russia by issuing "special press releases intended only for a narrow circle of official readers. These releases contained translations of articles and books with blatant anti-Soviet content." These and similar materials reached people like Nekrich and other intellectuals "through mysterious means" (p. 120). This was the pre-*samizdat* era. Shortly after Stalin's death there began to circulate memoirs written by survivors of Stalin's labor camps. Nekrich tells us that he was one of the first to read in manuscripts V. Shalamov's *Kolymskie rasskazy* and E. Ginzburg's *Krutoi marshrut*. These stories had "a devastating effect" on him.

Like other memoirs, this is a subjective account of the Soviet historical community. One may disagree with Nekrich's former and current ideologies and historical interpretations. Yet here one reads the history of a man who forsook fear and fought. Having reread the book in the English translation, I can confirm my earlier impression that, all in all, this is an arresting book.

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#### NEAR EAST

ROBERT L. WILKEN. *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 355. \$35.00.

Robert L. Wilken's lucidly and attractively written study, superbly documented from both familiar and little-known primary sources, treats its theme against the background of ancient and Byzantine-era Jewish sources. The result is not only a fine historical study but also the implicit placing of the issue of ownership of "the holy land" in a broader and very different

historical perspective from that of modern Zionist assumptions, thus shedding new light on the historical background of the Israel-Palestinian conflict.

Historians of Christianity have largely overlooked the extent and impact of the post-Constantinian building of Christian shrines throughout the holy land, as well as the significance of the large monastic establishments there. Historians have almost completely ignored the profound effect of the Persian takeover of Palestine in the pre-Islamic period, including the temporary advantage it provided for Jewish residents. The central theme of Wilken's book is the importance of the land and its sacred sites for the Christian faith. This conviction is epitomized by the declaration of Jerome that "the whole mystery of our faith is *native* to this country and this city." It was in the time of Constantine that the identification of the holy places began: the tomb and place of Jesus' resurrection, the cave where Jesus was born, the site of the ascension on the Mount of Olives, the garden of Gethsemane. These sacred places gave tangible identity and confirmation to events reported in the New Testament such as the baptism of Jesus, the woman at the well, and the empty tomb (p. 110).

Wilken quotes with approval Jonathan Z. Smith's observation that the rise of liturgies based on these holy sites "reflects the movement of an insecure Christianity from an essentially private mode of worship to an overwhelmingly public and civic one of parade and procession." Jerusalem became the "city of the Christian God" (p. 114). It was the mother of churches, and therefore the center of authority, insight, and understanding of true Christian faith. The sixth-century Madeba mosaic map of the holy land shows the rapid population growth and the identification of sacred sites in Palestine, from the border of Egypt to present-day Jordan. The brief Persian takeover of the area in the early seventh century, with its challenge to the post-Constantinian Christian domination of the land, led the Jews to revive apocalyptic hopes of a heavenly temple that would descend on Jerusalem, as attested in the Book of Zerubbabel (pp. 206–09). The subsequent Islamic invasion developed into an effective symbiotic relationship with the Christians, who encouraged the Muslims to build a mosque on the site of the temple (p. 236), and who were encouraged by the Muslim leaders to build even grander churches at sacred sites (p. 250). Two centuries later, the Christians began to adopt Arabic as a basic language for worship and scholarship. The Christian holy places were regarded as witnesses to Christ and to the divine energy that was operative in these settings (pp. 252–53). Christians who lived there provided continuity with the past of the faith and "bear witness that this is the holy land." It is not merely the stones and earth, but above all the communities resident in the land that provide the Christian witness concerning the basic events that occurred there (p. 254).

A theme that runs through this book is the contrast

between the expectations in some Jewish and Christian documents of a heavenly Jerusalem and the hope of a rebuilt earthly city. In both Jewish and early Christian writings, this hope of renewal was understood in a variety of ways, ranging from the faithful being taken up to heaven to the heavenly city coming down to earth. In his discussion of this topic, Wilken might have taken into account more fully the importance of the Platonic contrast between the temporal and the ideal, which is evident in the Letter to the Hebrews (p. 53) and in the thought world of Origen (chap. 4), in contrast to the apocalyptic world view of earthly renewal. But this is a minor criticism of a fascinating study that is important for understanding both Christian history and current sociopolitical issues, and that sheds new light on the historical antecedents of the Israel-Palestinian conflict.

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NUR MASALHA. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought 1882–1948*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies. 1992. Pp. iii, 235. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$11.95.

The idea that the Arab population of Palestine, and later Israel, would somehow disappear, leaving the country populated only by Jews, has been an enduring hope for an important component of the Zionist movement and for many of the country's Jews, and it still lives today. Nur Masalha traces this idea in his useful review of Zionist writings—mostly of the leadership but also of some of the fringe—and of various proposals put forward to implement it. He claims that "the Zionist concept of 'transfer' . . . has occupied a central position in the strategic thinking of the leadership of the Zionist movement and the Yishuv" (p. 1). This is true, but incomplete, for the history of the idea of "transfer" in Zionist thought and political life can be seen as a continuing tension between the desire to have Palestine/Israel rid of Arabs and the practical inability to bring about this goal.

That desire was never universal; neither was the evaluation that it was impossible to achieve. Opposition among Jews to efforts to remove Arabs from Palestine/Israel was based on both moral and political grounds: such a policy was wrong, because Palestine was a home to two peoples; nor were the Jews strong enough to implement it in the face of anticipated international opposition. Proponents of expulsion or transfer denied the Arab claim to the land and argued that in the last resort the international community would accept whatever "facts" were created on the ground. Most of the leadership of the Zionist movement would have been pleased to awake, and find the country emptied of Arabs, but they also realized that there was no chance of this happening.

This was true, until, of course, the 1948 war. Masalha claims that the general support transfer

plans received, "particularly [by] those leaders who were to play decisive roles in 1948 . . . highlight the ideological intent that made the Palestinian refugee exodus in 1948 possible" (p. 165). I think this is correct, although Masalha's emphasis on "transfer plans" is misplaced. Those schemes were themselves the fruit of the more fundamental desire to create a Jewish, not a binational, state in Palestine. The weight of the argument within the *Yishuv* was always overwhelmingly in favor of increasing the number of Jews relative to the number of Arabs, either by raising the former or reducing the latter. War created the opportunity to approach the realization of what had hitherto been only an unlikely hope.

Masalha's main disagreement with recent historians of the 1948–49 Arab flight and expulsion lies in his belief that the expulsion was the result of a conscious, overall policy: "While it is true that military history is full of scorched earth tactics and expulsions to clear the theater of war, it is difficult—in light of the systematic nature of the 'clearing out' operations and the sheer magnitude of the exodus (not to mention the careful efforts to prevent the return of the refugees)—not to see a policy at work" (p. 180). Preventing the refugees' return was clearly the result of conscious policy. Masalha, however, has no more evidence than anyone else that the expulsions were centrally planned and encouraged. The general attitude toward Arabs that developed over the years among Jews in the *Yishuv* encouraged and facilitated the expulsion of Arab villagers during the war, and I do not think any additional explanation is required.

Masalha closes by noting that transfer is "a permissible if not entirely respectable subject of debate" in Israel today, and he rightly argues that it would be dangerous to dismiss it as "the wild ravings of right-wing extremists . . . [since] . . . the concept of transfer lies at the very heart of mainstream Zionism" (pp. 209–10). But it is important to remember that opposition to transfer lies there as well.

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HENRY NEAR. *The Kibbutz Movement: A History*. Volume 1, *Origins and Growth, 1909–1939*. (The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 431.

The kibbutz in Palestine and in Israel has been a continuing experiment in collective economic, political, cultural, and social life for over three-quarters of a century. Small in population size but of disproportionate influence in the formation of the Jewish community of Palestine, the kibbutz remains a fascinating movement for historical analysis. Henry Near's volume, the first of two, examines the historical roots of the kibbutz movement and its develop-

ment from the turn of the twentieth century through the beginning of World War II.

Focusing on the origins of the kibbutz movement during the first two decades of the twentieth century, Near outlines its economic and ideological bases, its expansion and consolidation, the development of the pioneering youth movements as a basis of recruitment, and its organizational structure. The political controversies, economic fluctuations, and the diversities of kibbutz developments are carefully documented, along with its demographic growth, geographic expansion, and ideological and organizational conflicts, in the changing political and economic contexts of Palestine. Each theme is followed over time in this comprehensive history of the kibbutz movement as places, persons, and events surrounding its origins and growth are constructed in detail.

The primary documents that Near uses are those internal to the kibbutz movement, the diaries and reports of the leaders, and contemporary organizational records and journals. There is every reason to accept the precision of the details that the author presents, particularly for those who do not have access to Hebrew sources and histories.

The origins and growth of the kibbutz movement are presented and evaluated primarily from the point of view of the kibbutz members themselves. Missing from this historical account is an analysis of the European intellectual sources of kibbutz ideologies and how other residents of Palestine viewed the kibbutz movement: the Arabs, the orthodox Jews of the old *Yishuv*, and the colonial British. The financial dependency of the kibbutz on the Palestinian Jewish community and on Zionist funds is examined and the reliance on Arab labor and markets is noted, but neither topic is systematically assessed. The implications of these dependencies for developments within the kibbutz, for ideological variations, and for kibbutz institutions are not analyzed. The fascinating kibbutz responses to issues of generational renewal are examined in the context of recruitment through youth movements and Jewish immigrants to Palestine. The importance of those strategies for family structural changes in the kibbutz and for the extension of family networks is not adequately investigated. More surprising is Near's failure to assess changes in gender roles among kibbutz members, as family life and work allocation directly challenged an ideology emphasizing gender equality. Too little attention is paid to the historical literature on family and gender roles in general or in the Jewish community of Palestine and the kibbutz.

Near reflects on some analytic issues in the concluding chapter and correctly identifies the kibbutz movement as an expression of the values of labor Zionism. He is on shakier grounds when he connects the kibbutz to "Jewish" social traditions, the spirit of the small town (*Shtetl*) of Eastern Europe, or biblical Judaism. Surely the kibbutz movement constructed its ideological views selectively but drew them most

directly from the currents of European, not Jewish, thought. Its "successes" and failures cannot be understood without greater attention to the powerful financial and institutional supports the kibbutz movement derived from the Jewish community in Palestine and elsewhere.

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SHLOMO ARONSON. *The Politics and Strategy of Nuclear Weapons in the Middle East: Opacity, Theory, and Reality, 1960–1991; An Israeli Perspective*. Assisted by ODED BROSH. (SUNY Series in Israeli Studies.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 398.

Israel was the sixth nation to develop nuclear weapons, sometime in the 1960s, and the first to refrain from declaring that fact while nevertheless intimating it, adopting what Shlomo Aronson calls a strategy of "opacity." Why did Israel go that way? What elements of preference or compulsion determined its course? How did opacity serve its security over nearly three decades of relentless hostility with its neighbors? Would a declared nuclear strategy have served it better? Can Israel, or should it, switch strategies in the post-Cold War era? Can it, or should it, maintain a nuclear option in a context of peace? Addressing these questions requires an examination of applicable strategic theory and a close analysis of relevant historical developments in the interacting domestic, regional, and big-power arenas.

Reading this book with something like this agenda in mind, one could extract from it many nuggets of information and insight, but one would also feel the extent to which the book as a whole misses the mark. Aronson addresses those inevitable questions, but he does so in a stream-of-consciousness discourse that often goes astray, rather than through systematic analysis leading to firm conclusions.

Aronson claims to have started with only one preconceived assumption—the terrible importance of nuclear weapons—and otherwise to have followed an "empirical-historical and inductive" approach (p. x). But that one assumption leads him to look for the "nuclear factor" in everything that happened and did not happen, and to blame others for its absence when he could not find it. This distorts the "empirical-historical" inquiry, at times to the point of making a sham of it. For example, Aronson picks every thread to support the view that the nuclear factor was central to all but the first of the wars between Israel and its neighbors: it was behind Israel's attack of Egypt in 1956, Nasser's courting of war in 1967, Sadat's and Assad's attacks and campaign strategies in 1973, and even Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon and its handling of the intifada. While doing so, however, he produces no coherent patterns for the entirety of those events and ignores masses of inconsistent and contradictory data.



In the domestic sphere, Aronson looks for a nuclear issue in all the Israeli elections. When he does not find it, he attributes the absence to the dumbness of the Israeli electorate and the cowardice of the politicians, ignoring the probable critical point that it may be due to a sensible near-consensus on a nuclear strategy of last resort. It is interesting to note that this strategy has recently been endorsed by an American blue-ribbon committee chaired by McGeorge Bundy, one of the keenest opponents of Israel's nuclear endeavor in the 1960s and after (see McGeorge Bundy, William J. Crowe, Jr., and Sidney Drell, "Reducing Nuclear Danger," *Foreign Affairs* [Spring 1993], 145).

Symptomatic of the misdirected effort, Aronson concluded the first edition of this volume with some forty "raw" (pp. 225–30) questions that he is supposed to have answered or at least clarified. And he ends the expanded version of the book with a rhetorical statement that assumes, rather than convincingly demonstrates, that Israel's nuclear arsenal was the "source of her very survival" (p. 296).

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JUAN R. I. COLE. *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's 'Urabi Movement*. (Princeton Studies on the Near East.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 341.

The wave of social and political unrest that occurred in Egypt between 1879 and 1882 has entered Egyptian historical memory as the "'Urabi Revolution." In this book, based on both the new archival material at his disposal and the new perspectives on mass movements developed by scholars in recent years, Juan R. I. Cole questions existing accounts of the revolt that view it as either a descent into anarchy or a case of elite manipulation of the mob. Briefly stated, his view is that it was a deeply rooted social movement, that its origins lay in the profound economic and social changes that Egypt had experienced since roughly 1850, and that its central actors (and thus the primary object of his analysis) were three social groups: "the propertied peasants, the urban guilds, and the intelligentsia" (p. 22).

Rather than a chronological narrative, Cole's individual chapters in effect form mini-essays that analyze different aspects of mid-nineteenth-century Egyptian society and politics. The first third of the work is devoted to the context of the revolution, examining the "dual elite" (the Ottoman-Egyptian upper class and European businessmen) against which the movement of protest developed, the socioeconomic changes of the period 1850–80 that radically changed the nature of Egypt's economy and society, and the role of changing state policies in the 1860s and 1870s

in contributing to political discontent. The middle chapters are perhaps the most original in the work, dealing with the "long revolution" (much accelerated in the Egyptian case) of the growth of literacy and the development of the print media, the emergence of new political societies articulating an "ideology of dissent," the political outlook of the urban working class as expressed in guild petitions, and the role of the crowd as manifested in tensions and clashes between native Egyptian workers and a new European working class spawned by economic growth and immigration. The final chapters return to politics, discussing the press and censorship in the 1870s and early 1880s, the participation of peasants, workers, and the intelligentsia in the protests and violence of 1881–82, and finally the role of conjecture (largely meaning specific policy decisions) in producing indigenous revolution and foreign occupation in 1882.

Cole draws on a wide variety of literary as well as archival material to analyze previously unexplored areas of Egyptian social and political history. His specific contribution in this respect lies in the two areas of Egyptian guilds, where guild petitions to the authorities form the basis of an imaginative reconstruction of the political values of Egyptian urban workers, and in a fuller understanding of the dynamics of the 'Urabi movement itself, where police records allow for a more complete analysis of the social composition of the supporters of the movement than that available in earlier works. Based on both literary and archival evidence, Cole's case for the importance of guilds and the intelligentsia in the 'Urabi movement is persuasive. The data on peasants, however, is thinner and does not always bear out the argument of their centrality in the movement.

Cole nevertheless offers more than new data. The analysis in each chapter simultaneously uses recent theoretical literature to illuminate the Egyptian case and the Egyptian experience to test recent theory. The theoretical net is remarkably wide: Theda Skocpol, Charles Tilly, and Jack Goldstone on revolution; Benedict Anderson and Miroslav Hroch on national identity; George Rudé, Eric Hobsbawm, and William Sewall on social protest and the crowd; Raymond Williams, Jack Goody, and Robert Darnton on literacy; even James Gleick on chaos theory. These are but a few of those whose perspectives are applied to nineteenth-century Egypt. The discussion of such theories and their relevance to Egypt is never dogmatic and is refreshingly free of the preconceived notions that sometimes confound "country history." Although the data on Egypt are not always sufficient to develop a conclusive argument, the results are continuously stimulating, about Egypt as well as about recent social theory.

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DAVID H. FINNIE. *Shifting Lines in the Sand: Kuwait's Elusive Frontier with Iraq*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 221. \$29.95.

When Iraq invaded and annexed Kuwait in 1990, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein advanced a historical justification as part of the rationale for his actions. The Iraqi government claimed that the state of Kuwait had not had a legitimate independent existence and that it properly belonged to Iraq. In addition, Iraq disputed the exact location of the undelimited border with Kuwait. Kuwaitis, however, argued in 1990 that from the founding of their principality in the middle of the eighteenth century the family of Al Sabah had enjoyed autonomy within the Ottoman empire, followed in 1899 by protection from Great Britain, and then complete independence after 1961. The Kuwaiti government pointed to several occasions when Iraq had agreed both on the location of the joint frontier and on the legitimacy and independence of the state of Kuwait.

The complex evidence used to support these arguments is the focus of David H. Finnie's thorough and rewarding diplomatic study. After a somewhat cursory review of the history of Kuwait's relationship with the Ottomans, Finnie uses the bulk of the book to trace in considerable detail British-Kuwaiti ties from 1899 to 1961. He explores all the agreements and understandings between the two parties and also carefully examines British-Iraqi interactions as they affected Kuwait. The chief value of this book resides in the judicious and careful treatment of this time period. Coverage of the 1961 to 1991 era is more compressed, although the author provides a useful summary of the status of Kuwait, issues relating to its borders, and Iraqi-Kuwaiti relations during that time. Finnie concludes by asserting that Iraq's historical claims to possess Kuwait or to readjust its border were both inaccurate and seriously flawed, except with regard to Iraq's strategic need for greater access to the waters of the Persian Gulf.

Although Richard Schofield's *Kuwait and Iraq: Historical Claims and Territorial Disputes* (1991) has been carefully utilized in the writing of this work, Finnie has written a broader and somewhat more satisfying book. For details of primarily geographical concern, Schofield should still be consulted, but Finnie's book has superseded it in most other regards.

Finnie concentrates overwhelmingly on diplomatic history as based on British primary sources, and he succeeds admirably in presenting the story of Kuwait's border and status from that point of view. A full and informed account of these issues, however, should also take into account a wider range of sources and viewpoints. Although there is no bibliography, extensive footnotes show the material used to write the book. Apparently no sources written in the Ottoman Turkish, Persian, and Arabic languages were consulted, and there were no interviews with contemporary Iraqi or Kuwaiti officials. To convey the rela-

tionship between Kuwait and Iraq cultural, linguistic, religious, economic, and social aspects of their historical interactions should also be discussed. This is the best work now available on the subject, but there is still considerable room for historians to reexamine this topic in the future.

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ELENA FRANGAKIS-SYRETT. *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century (1700-1820)*. (Bibliotheca Asiae Minoris Historica, number 2.) Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies. 1992. Pp. xvi, 375.

Information about the Ottoman port city of Izmir (Smyrna) has increased spectacularly over the past few decades, an advance to which Elena Frangakis-Syrett's study contributes mightily. Her interest is the reemergence of the city in the eighteenth century as the premier entrepôt of the Levant. In presenting her thesis, she argues that a redirected silk trade and European attentions rather than indigenous transformations propelled Izmir's revival. She also unexpectedly argues that the Ottoman government encouraged Izmir's growth (pp. 26, 32), although the pivotal question—why the Sublime Porte, a champion of neither mercantilism nor free trade, should promote a port to rival Istanbul—remains unaddressed.

Frangakis-Syrett divides her work into eight chapters. The first four comprise a survey of the Ottoman empire, a description of Izmir, a perusal of environmental and social conditions in the town, and a discussion of its merchant communities. She deftly assembles the various strands that fashioned the socioeconomic life of Izmir. Her appraisals of English, French, Dutch, and Ottoman communities of merchants are detailed and sound; her discussions of plague, earthquake, fire, rioting, war, and piracy clearly depict these threats to Izmir's populace. The last four chapters and appendices are less vivid. Although this section communicates in dozens of tables and graphs the bulk of the author's considerable research and presents a rich record of the minutiae of imports and exports, it disproportionately highlights French trade, is rather repetitive, and lacks summaries or conclusions to ease the reader's journey through often confusing detail.

Frangakis-Syrett ably informs us of the ebb and flow of commerce in Izmir, of the strengths and weaknesses of European nations there, and of three of its four important ethno-religious groupings: Greek, Armenian, and Jewish. She has little to say about Muslims in Izmir's economy or society, however, even though published work on other Ottoman cities has fully demonstrated important Muslim roles in both local economies and international commerce. This gap derives from a lack of records.

Whereas various sources contribute much to particular aspects of Ottoman history, local court records

have proven the most useful in exploring Muslim society and economic endeavors. Unfortunately, it is just this source that is lacking for Izmir, and Frangakis-Syrett is left either to extrapolate from other Ottoman cities the social and economic life of this most dominant sector or severely limit her discussion of the Muslim community. Her decision to do the latter, although judicious, leaves a conspicuous hole in her narrative.

A more serious flaw is Frangakis-Syrett's characterization of Izmir almost as a state. Although it is true that local conditions and authorities (particularly the fascinating Karaosmanoglu family) lent the city much autonomy, it remained part of a vast empire. In her first chapter, the author acknowledges this bond, but later she analyzes Izmir's commerce with the states of Western Europe as if it were itself a state, and in sentences such as "At no time . . . did Smyrna grant a monopoly in its trade with the West to a single European power" (p. 155), she not only tends to animate the town but also to slight its inextricable link with its own state and society. Nor does she adequately discuss Izmir's economic and social symbiosis with the villages, valleys, and waters of its hinterland, which constituted the life blood of this city, as it must of any metropolis.

Overall, this is a thoughtful and beautifully produced book, replete with illustrations and a lovely fold-out map. Perhaps the volume's greatest strength is that it displays how much work still must be done on eighteenth-century Izmir, and one hopes that other scholars will follow, refine, challenge, and occasionally reroute the trail that Frangakis-Syrett has blazed.

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#### AFRICA

JAMES QUIRIN. *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: A History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*. (The Ethnohistory Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 336. \$36.95.

James Quirin makes thorough use of written sources and oral traditions in tracing the historical development of the Jews of northwestern Ethiopia (Beta Israel/Falasha) from their origins to the early twentieth century. Quirin places the Beta Israel within the broader context of the Amhara Orthodox Christians, the Muslims, and the Qemant. Between 80,000 and 250,000 strong in the mid-nineteenth century, the Beta Israel seems to have had broad equivalences with practices of the wider Jewish world, except they did not know Hebrew or the Talmud.

Quirin contests the theories of other historians as to the origins of Beta Israel. The "lost tribe" theory suggests that the Beta Israel were the direct ethnic and religious descendants of original Jewish immigrants to Ethiopia. Such a view assumes that Judaism

was engendered by a fairly substantial number of immigrants rather than simply by a handful of "missionaries." The "convert" theory assumes that Judaism was brought in prior to, and separately from, Christianity. But there was no massive migration, and if a few Jews settled in Ethiopia they quickly lost any separate ethnic identity during the process of intermarriage with the local population. The Beta Israel are seen as direct descendants of the early converts. The "rebel" theory highlights the significance of Christian influences on the development of a Christian origin of the Beta Israel. This perspective argues that the similarities and parallelisms in Beta Israel and Christian beliefs could be explained as the result of common origins, not acculturation.

Quirin's findings indicate that these points of view do not provide the total picture of Falasha identity. Instead he maintains that the Beta Israel were formed from a combination of influences, including the coalescence of some *ayhud* ("Jewish groups") after their conquest by the Christian state, and by renegade monks from Christianity who brought with them the main elements of Falasha literature and liturgy from the *Ge'ez* (Christian Ethiopic sources), as well as the institution of monasticism. Notwithstanding these serious influences from Ethiopian Christianity, the Beta Israel, since the fifteenth century, defined their history, culture, and social institutions in ways to maintain their separation and integrity from Christian Orthodoxy as the Falasha/Beta Israel. They were part of the Christian-dominated society but nonetheless held themselves consistently apart from it.

The evolution of the Beta Israel under the Gondar dynasty (1632–1755) is another major component of Quirin's analysis. He notes, for instance, that in pre-Gondarine times the Beta Israel worked as tenant farmers and artisans. After 1632 and well into the eighteenth century, the Amharic and Tigrinya-speaking Beta Israel became an integral part of Gondar's thriving urban center. An emerging elite among them received grants of land, for they were regarded as the leading masons and carpenters who had built Gondar's churches and palaces.

Quirin traces the evolution of Gondar's decline as extensively as he surveys its rise. For Beta Israel, the period 1755 until the 1880s was burdensome, and although they were often singled out as scapegoats for Gondar's social and economic ills, they were not the only group to suffer. Like the Christians, they were victimized by famines and the Islamic Sudanese Mahdist invasions. It was also a time when the Beta Israel were harassed by foreign Protestant missionaries who stepped up their conversion campaigns among them. Yet Western European Jewry established vital links with the Beta Israel from the beginning of the twentieth century, a development that challenged the conversions and slowed down their momentum.

Another noteworthy contribution of the book is the discussion of the similarities between the Beta Israel

and the Ethiopian Christians. For example, both religions based themselves on a set of written texts, essentially the *Ge'ez*, and had the same type of religious practitioners, referred to by the same terminology, such as prophets, monks, and priests. Both also believed in the coming of the Messiah and followed the same Old Testament food restrictions. In both cases women were expected to be virgins before marriage, while adultery, especially by women, was punished.

The main shortcoming of Quirin's otherwise highly informative and original study is his repetitious style. This problem is already evident in the first chapter and permeates the rest of the book. See, for instance, his description of the Beta Israel's professional trades and the constant reminder of their ability to remain apart from Christian society despite the influence of Christianity on them (esp. pp. 11–27, 72, 105, 110, and 202).

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BELINDA BOZZOLI. *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900–1983*. Assisted by MMANTHO NKOTSOE. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann or James Currey, London. 1991. Pp. xi, 292. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

IRIS BERGER. *Threads of Solidarity: Women in South African Industry, 1900–1980*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press or James Currey, London. 1992. Pp. xi, 368. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Both of these books are about women in South Africa and both cover roughly the same time period. Historiographically, however, they differ substantially. Belinda Bozzoli is asking questions about links between life history (consciousness, life strategies) and social change. Iris Berger, although she covers the historical span of laboring women in South Africa, focuses on women in the South African labor movement and the extent to which women's participation is mediated by family and community concerns and gender relations. Although both books are organized chronologically, time is understood quite differently in each of them.

In her ambitious study, Berger undertakes an overview of women's place in South African labor history. She organizes the book chronologically using a fairly standard periodization for South African industrial development. She includes accounts of white, black, coloured, and Indian women in four general regions, the Witwatersrand, the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape, and Natal, in four time periods. Her central argument, which distinguishes various types of work situations and different class and community contexts for women's industrial or-

ganization, thus takes into account a wide range of variables. The result is a complex, if somewhat uneven, book.

Berger is widely read on women in South African labor history. She has worked thoroughly through the secondary literature (including numerous unpublished papers and dissertations) and private collections. Her first chapter provides a useful overview of comparative and theoretical debates about women in industrial organization and points toward her own theoretical point of view, but the argument sometimes gets lost in the detail of the chapters that follow. A strong narrative line is needed to hold together the multiplicity of variables she invokes. In the chapters on the checkered careers of the Garment Workers Union (GWU) and the Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU), which make up the core of the book, the narrative skillfully supports Berger's general argument, that women are more likely to respond "to organizing efforts that address their problems at home and in the community as well as at work" (p. 13). Critics of contemporary "social movement unionism" in South Africa would do well to ponder these historical lessons.

The GWU is particularly interesting because its members in the 1930s and early 1940s were largely Afrikaans-speaking single white women from working-class backgrounds. They were assaulted in the 1940s by nationalist appeals promulgated by an aspirant middle class determined to wean working-class Afrikaans-speakers from class-conscious organization. Nonetheless, when its members were young and unmarried and the work situation lent itself to sociability, the GWU was able to nurture a powerful sense of class commitment and community both on the job and in the recreational life of its members. Later, to oversimplify a complicated story, as the women aged and married it was more difficult to withstand cultural pressures from institutions such as the Dutch Reformed churches. A vibrant class consciousness was transformed into trade-union consciousness as job fragmentation stratified the work force and the union came to rely on bureaucratic methods to attain its ends.

In the 1950s, the center of progressive union organization for women shifted to the coloured and African women of the FCWU in the Cape, where the work of the union pulled its members into grass-roots organizing on a range of community, family, and women's issues. Once again, union women refused to make sharp distinctions between workplace and community issues. Indeed, this remains an important aspect of women's participation in the contemporary independent union movement where, as Berger notes, gender issues are very much on the agenda.

Bozzoli's study is an oral history based on the recollections of a cohort of twenty-two black African women from one country district fairly close to the Witwatersrand. Her work is arranged along the women's life courses rather than by any conventional



chronology. Thus, historical events are mediated through narratives of rural childhood, adolescent rebellion, youthful migration, courting, marriage, matronhood, and old age. The geographical setting for the life stories moves from Phokeng farm and village life, to waged domestic labor in the white suburbs, to township domestic life, and back again to old-age pensions in Phokeng. The narrowness of Bozzoli's focus enables unrivaled depth of insight, although she is well aware that generalization from her tiny sample of informants' retrospective accounts of their life experiences is necessarily somewhat tenuous.

Bozzoli's life histories give us a profound sense of how "work" was conceived and how it was integrated into the wider personal and family strategies of African women. She writes of migrant women's sense "that they were coming to the city for their own reasons, and raiding it for the resources they needed for their own dreams to be fulfilled" (p. 97). They aspired to establish their own households and set themselves up as wives, mothers, and, eventually, matriarchs. Although most of these women came from relatively well-off peasant backgrounds, realization of their purposes required ingenuity and integrity in situations where resources were severely limited by economic inequality and state power.

Although the books are very different in scope and focus, they inform one another in most interesting ways about women's participation (or lack of participation) in collective action. Bozzoli's book is a subtle and detailed analysis, much of it in the women's own words, of how (at different stages in the life course) women created meanings and structures to build their own lives on the terrain presented to them. "Consciousness," says Bozzoli, "is formed historically, within a nexus of structures, experiences, relationships, and events, all of which are seized upon by the self-aware woman seeking to pursue her own life strategy" (p. 239). Berger demonstrates that the labor unions most successful in appealing to women consciously provided material and ideological resources to aid such life strategies. Organizations cannot meet their goals without members' commitments of time and energy. These books illuminate the sources of social commitment for South African working women. Both studies contribute substantially to our understanding of women's lives and struggles in South African social history.

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#### ASIA

AKIRA IRIYE. *China and Japan in the Global Setting*. (Edwin O. Reischauer Lectures, 1989.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 156. \$22.50.

This slender volume comprises the Edwin O. Reischauer lectures, designed annually to address

themes that intersect China and Japan, of Akira Iriye, one of the most prolific scholars working in this general area. Iriye divides the century beginning in the 1880s into three periods and identifies an overriding theme for each: 1880s through the end of World War I and "power"; 1920s and 1930s and "culture"; post-World War II and "economics." He does not argue for single determining causes in any of these periods, just arrangements of priorities.

One of his principal concerns, and something that runs through much of his work in both English and Japanese, is to demonstrate the impact of international trends on the changing nature of Sino-Japanese relations. A distinct and integral world of its own, the Sino-Japanese connection is shown also to be part of the larger world. If there is one verity about twentieth-century East Asian history, it is that after the first Sino-Japanese War (and perhaps somewhat earlier), East Asian history became international history.

A second corollary theme of this volume is to show that relations based on culture and relations based on power or military might are not always in lockstep. Indeed, they are often thoroughly out of sync. One even finds major personalities in the history of Sino-Japanese relations playing ostensibly contradictory roles at different times. This far more nuanced realization—something Iriye has worked hard to bring to the fore—should lay to rest the historiography of Sino-Japanese relations that assigns historical function solely on the basis of whether one was friend or foe of China.

Although most readers will probably have no trouble linking the theme of power with Sino-Japanese relations in the pre-World War I era and that of economics to the post-World War II period, one does not often think of or teach the history of Sino-Japanese relations in the 1920s and 1930s as a primarily cultural phenomenon. Many may find that pill hardest to swallow, but not I. The more serious research that appears, the more we see Iriye's views in this regard borne out. Some critics may complain that there were important power relations behind putative cultural interactions, especially from the Japanese side, in these years, or that at least national interests underlay "cultural" projects and overtures. This is like arguing that two plus two equals four; it is so obvious as to be meaningless. When power politics overtake cultural interactions, the cultural quality of the latter ceases to exist, and Iriye is clearly aware of this eventuality. Only those looking for a clear path of Japanese conspiracy and Chinese victimization (both of which surely existed, but not in the clear and simple ways we have been lead to believe) should find this approach unacceptable.

There are many fascinating tidbits throughout this book, such as the material on Sino-Japanese educational and intellectual interactions before the first Sino-Japanese War (pp. 28–31); the linking of Taishō democracy and the May Fourth Movement as part of

an even larger global phenomenon toward "democratization" (pp. 46–47); and the passages on the ideals of the Kyōwakai (p. 74). One exaggeration is worth noting as well. The large number of Chinese students to Japan in the decade prior to China's 1911 Revolution is said to have "never again reach[ed] this peak" (pp. 33–34), but it was certainly surpassed in the 1980s. It is interesting to see, via the footnotes, how Iriye studied Chinese historical research. There is only one reference to a work of Western Sinology, and it is a highly dubious one at that. Having Japanese as a native language made his work that much easier and, indeed, better.

Iriye clearly believes that despite nearly five decades since 1945 in which economics has played the predominant role in Sino-Japanese relations, the future belongs to culture, and not just in East Asia but globally (p. 131). Let us hope that he's right.

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PAULA HARRELL. *Sowing the Seeds of Change: Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895–1905*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. 289. \$39.50.

This is a solidly researched and well-written monograph that provides a detailed and thoughtful analysis of the Chinese students in Japan between 1895 and 1905. Yet Paula Harrell's claims reach too far. In revising her doctoral dissertation from 1970, she incorporates considerable materials, especially Japanese-language writings, that have appeared since then. She stresses the Sino-Japanese experience during these years and the important influence of Japanese institutions, teachers, and the general Japanese setting on the Chinese students there. This work fits well with the recent book by Douglas R. Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912: The Xincheng Revolution and Japan* (1993). Harrell also provides an intelligent concluding discussion comparing the events of ninety years ago with those of post-1979, especially post-1989, and their respective impact on overseas students.

Harrell's aim is to show how the students' "experience in Japan transformed their outlook on the world, how it politicized them" (p. 7), and to analyze how "these overseas students, themselves a product of a changing society, greatly accelerated the pace of change" (p. 5). This is fine, yet her hypothesis, that the experience in Japan resulted in a fatal (for the Qing state) alienation of these thousands of students, and that they became "implacably" (p. 181) opposed to the Qing, is not really proved, mainly because she does not follow events beyond 1905.

The first two chapters include an excellent description of the origins of the study in Japan program, including its mutual attractions for the two countries, and the key role of study tours for Chinese officials,

an important aspect of the phenomenon not stressed by most previous writers on this period. Chapter 3 provides a nice profile of the Chinese students who went to Japan, including both statistics and a cogent discussion of the qualitative aspects of their life there, for example their isolation in Japanese society and superficial contacts with individual Japanese. These chapters, in my opinion, have the most new material for scholars of the late Qing.

Chapters 4 through 8, the heart of the book, provide detailed descriptions of progressively more radical, or at least more politicized, activities of the Chinese students between 1900 and 1905. Major incidents that Harrell analyzes include (among others) the Seijo School registration flap in 1902, the student anti-Russia campaign in 1903 over Russian recalcitrance in Manchuria, and the protest over the Japanese government's new school regulations promulgated in late 1905. The essentials of these incidents among the students, including corresponding events in Shanghai, are well known and were competently laid out by Mary Backus Rankin, Harold Schiffman, and others in major works more than twenty years ago. In fact, in concluding that the result of the events of 1900–05 was to radicalize the students and thoroughly discredit the Qing regime, Harrell does not address the claims of scholars (Rankin, Schiffman, Harold Gasster, and myself) that this student alienation, to the extent that it existed, did not result in much effective political action.

Indeed, when one looks in detail at the post-1905 period, as Harrell does not do, one sees (in my opinion) a definite temporary upsurge in credibility and effectiveness on the part of the Qing state, which diluted the "revolutionary" or "alienated" stance of many of the returned students from Japan. The main reasons for the fall of the Qing lay not in the politicization of students in Japan before 1905, but in events in China in the last two or three years before the revolution of 1911. Harrell, here having stuck to the hypothesis of her dissertation, therefore is wrong on her broadest claim. Yet her book is still worthwhile and can be read with profit, both for the detail and for the contribution of the first few chapters.

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HOYT CLEVELAND TILLMAN. *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 328. \$38.00.

This book is a contribution to the field of Chinese intellectual history. Hoyt Cleveland Tillman offers his study as an "exploration of the *Tao-hsüeh* as a fellowship," and he defines *Tao-hsüeh* as "True Way Learning" (p. 2). I should note here that his use of the term *Tao-hsüeh* is somewhat novel in that many others prefer another, more English, term, neo-Confucianism.

Tillman does not follow the scope of *Tao-hsüeh* as this is given in the *Sung Dynastic History*. It is just as well, for that text, for obvious ideological reasons, refuses the designation even to Chu Hsi's contemporary and rival, Lu Chiu-yüan. But Tillman acknowledges the importance given to the "ethical-spiritual development" of those scholars of the Southern Sung period to whom he grants the designation. His strength is in delineating the intellectual exchanges between scholars of the same generation, as well as across generations, through the four periods he has chosen to study, starting from Chang Chiu-ch'eng and Hu Hung (1127–62), to Chu Hsi, Chang Shih, and Lü Tsu-ch'ien (1163–81), to Chu Hsi, Ch'en Liang, and Lu Chiu-yüan (1182–1202), and then on to Chu's own disciples (1303–79). The centerpiece is obviously Chu Hsi, in dialogue with his partners. Until his death (1200), Chu was considered a heretic. But the teaching he represented was declared state orthodoxy in 1241, as Chu's image, together with those of four of his predecessors, were enshrined in the Confucian temple (p. 253).

The difference in the choice of terms (*Tao-hsüeh* versus neo-Confucianism) has been the subject of some controversy, which Tillman refers to in the introduction. I wish merely to say that the controversy among Western scholars is indicative, among other things, of the difficulties of translation. In this case, this controversy has its parallel in the Chinese scholarly world as well, since the term *hsin-jü-hsüeh* ("neo-Confucianism") is not always liked, although for different reasons. Fortunately, Tillman has not permitted the use of terms to obscure the bigger picture of an important scholarly fellowship in this work of intellectual history, in which we see how various persons promoted "Confucianism as a way of life"—to use the words of Yü Ying-shih, who wrote the foreword (p. x). Repeating Yü, I am also relieved that fewer scholars today subscribe to the once dominant—even if crude—notion that Confucianism functioned throughout history only as a political ideology supporting absolute state authority. Instead, Confucianism was, and is, a rich and diverse tradition, with its many contributions to culture, its inherent limitations, as well as its not-always-successful struggles with political authority. This book goes a long way in showing some of these facets.

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CHUN-SHU CHANG and SHELLEY HSUEH-LUN CHANG.  
*Crisis and Transformation in Seventeenth-Century China: Society, Culture, and Modernity in Li Yü's World*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1992. Pp. x, 452. \$55.00.

Li Yü (1611–80) was one of the liveliest minds and most original writers in seventeenth-century China. Although partially suppressed in the eighteenth cen-

tury, his essays, stories, plays, and (perhaps) novels are now much appreciated. Chun-shu Chang and Shelley Hsueh-lun Chang's approach to Li Yü's corpus is both to see "through him" to glimpse China in his times and also to sketch their understanding of aspects of Ming-Ch'ing history that seem to them "in some way" relevant to Li Yü's literary efforts. They switch back and forth from presenting him as a realistic mirror (their image) of a changing social and political milieu and importing their interpretation of such changes based on other sources back onto Li Yü.

The authors discuss Li Yü's texts and the historical context in a prologue, five chapters, and an epilogue that are conventional in conception. First they review the literature on Li Yü and then give a five-part biography. They consider his theories on literature, particularly drama, in light of his need to make a living as a writer-publisher and dramatist-producer. They identify some prominent themes in his plays and stories (chaps. 3 and 4) but declare they are unconcerned with literary qualities. They extract ideas from his essays that they feel "reflect" the times, most problematically in what they claim is the "scientific revolution" of late Ming China. Finally, they describe the repression of Li Yü's independent, humanistic, and hedonistic (my word) spirit under the eighteenth-century emperors' will to maintain order.

Trying to produce what they ambitiously call "Comprehensive History," the authors refer at least briefly to the main institutions and trends in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. These aspects are not necessarily directly related to Li Yü's life or his writings because the Changs are depicting "crisis and transformation" in general rather than analyzing Li Yü. For example, they ascribe to him the conflated concepts of loyalism (to one's dynasty) and patriotism and then also acknowledge that he apparently "harbored no strong anti-Manchu feelings" (p. 324). This suggests to them that Li Yü simply put "the happiness of the individual . . . above the dynasty" (p. 327), which leaves their readers to puzzle over Li Yü's thinking about the single most disruptive event his generation experienced, the accession of the Manchu dynasty to power.

When they report on the ideas in Li Yü's writings, the Changs take the interpretive position that he was among the "best observers" (p. 267), that his are "realistic" descriptions, and that he was part of the new current of "empiricism." Although they concede his "love of novelty," their interpretation seems to diminish the importance of Li Yü's imagination, wit, irony, and satire that make his readers laugh and want to read more. (Patrick Hanan, in the title of his book published in 1988, captured this quality with his phrase, "the invention of Li Yü.") An example of the Changs' taking Li Yü too literally is their inference based on his naming two fictional characters General Turtle (who pulls in his head in times of war) and General Shrimp (who has no backbone); the Changs exclaim (p. 203), "with military men described as

turtles and shrimps defending the country, how could the Ming empire survive its perils!" The logic seems to be that because it was Li Yü who made such (retrospective) criticisms, we can surely glimpse the reality behind the words.

There is a wealth of interesting and reliable material on Li Yü scattered through this book. Occasionally the authors stumble, as when they mistakenly assert that "paper money . . . had been the currency up to the latter half of the sixteenth century" (p. 151), and when they misleadingly translate *yi chia yen* as "Saying of One School." (Hanan conveyed the idea most neatly as Li Yü's "Independent Words.") But the main problem is that this book does not succeed in presenting a synthetic account of seventeenth-century history because of the authors' desire to cast Li Yü in the role of an unmediated historical witness. Instead the Changs unintentionally show us a Li Yü averting his and his readers' eyes from unpalatable contemporary politics.

WILLARD J. PETERSON  
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JOHN ROBERT SHEPHERD. *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600–1800*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 596. \$65.00.

Comprehensive, detailed, and carefully researched are fitting adjectives for John Robert Shepherd's landmark study of the administration and political economy of the Taiwan frontier. In distilling for Western audiences much of the information in the series *T'ai-wan wen hsten ts'ung k'an*, Shepherd's major objective is to discuss the hitherto neglected role of the plains aborigines in the transformation of Taiwan from a little-known aboriginal habitat to an outpost of China's agrarian civilization. Shepherd also documents the processes of conflict and accommodation by which Chinese governments, Han settlers, and plains aborigines achieved a *modus vivendi* during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During this time, the island was often a pawn in power struggles that involved the Dutch (from 1624), the Chengs (from 1661), and the Ch'ing (from 1683).

Part 1 deals with the earliest phases of Chinese penetration of Taiwan and begins with a discussion of how the extension of rule over the west coast and the organization of merchant monopolies over the deer trade set the stage for the Cheng system of tax farming and the village tax quotas of the early Ch'ing dynasty.

Recovery of the island in 1684 gave rise to debates within the court over whether or not to retain it. The unintended consequences of the government's "anti-colonist" quarantine policy are discussed in part 2. Continued economic recuperation along the mainland's southeast coast prompted Chinese farmers, throughout the remainder of the K'ang-hsi era, to pour illegally into Taiwan, where they converted deer

fields to farmland and became embroiled in disputes with the plains aborigines. These disputes and a series of local rebellions brought an end to the quarantine and caused Ch'ing officials to reverse course by adopting more active "pro-colonization" policies during the Yung-cheng period. Shepherd next points out that the fiscal imbalance between revenues generated and expenses incurred by the Ch'ing civil and military presence on the island boded ill for aboriginal livelihood and led to administrative interest in generating tax revenue from newly reclaimed land. The result was the adoption of a multitiered land tenure system that consisted of "large rents" that were paid to the aborigines by those who wanted to reclaim their land and "small rents" whose rights of permanent tenancy accrued to the individuals whose labor and capital actually opened the land to cultivation. (This system was akin to that of subsoil and topsoil rights recognized elsewhere.)

Part 3 discusses the Ch'ing allocation of these land rights as a means of mediating between Han settlers and plains aborigines. These processes were well-determined by 1760, after which strife between plains aborigines and Han settlers gave way to headhunting raids from the highlands and communal discord within the Han communities themselves.

In showing that the island was a strategic periphery that often commanded government attention and challenged its ability to finance the control of distant populations, Shepherd has convincingly disproved both the popular "displacement scenario," which holds that Taiwan's native inhabitants were pushed to the mountains, and the idea that the island itself was a "neglected frontier." Shepherd also demonstrates that fiscal considerations weighed heavily in the determination of Ch'ing policy and that concerns with control costs and revenue generation were central factors in the frontier policy of the late-imperial state. Overall, Ch'ing frontier policy, according to Shepherd, was a product of each frontier's strategic significance, control costs, and revenue potential.

This fresh approach to anthropologically inspired history will serve as a classic not only in its own right but also as a model for others interested in frontier or minority studies. Do not expect, however, that the book will be an easy read.

DIAN MURRAY  
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JENNIFER W. CUSHMAN. *Family and State: The Formation of a Sino-Thai Tin-Mining Dynasty, 1797–1932*. Edited by CRAIG J. REYNOLDS. (South-East Asian Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xxviii, 172. \$39.95.

Jennifer W. Cushman's book opens a new generation of monographs on the overseas Chinese of Southeast Asia. Earlier studies, such as those by Victor Purcell, G. William Skinner, Mary F. Somers Heidhues, and



others, examined the Chinese as a group, tracing their migration, assimilation, and general economic success in Southeast Asia. Studies of specific Chinese families are long overdue. Cushman was exceptionally fortunate in obtaining the cooperation of the Khaw family, which made this book possible.

Cushman is especially interested in analyzing the strategies of the Khaw family leaders as they responded to the changing political and economic conditions in northern Malaya and southern Thailand during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The founder of the dynasty, Khaw Soo Cheang, a Hokkien born in China in 1797, arrived in Penang in the 1820s. Gaining experience in trade, he moved to southern Thailand, where he entered into an alliance with an important Thai family, the Na Nakhons. With their support he was able to obtain the sole right to collect taxes on the tin production of the west coast. He settled in Ranong, became its governor in 1854, and, through honest administration and regular transmission of tin revenues, earned the trust of the Thai government in Bangkok. As a result of carefully arranged marriage and political alliances, Soo Cheang and his sons became increasingly important in the political and economic life of the peninsula. Three of the sons also served as provincial governors, two of whom were later appointed superintendents of Monthon (a multiprovince unit set up to oversee the reform of local administration).

Meanwhile, the commercial branch of the family, centered in Penang where they had the advantage of British law, expanded its trading interests to shipping and tin mining. In association with the Miles family of Australia, the Khaw family began the modernization of the tin mines with the introduction of the bucket dredge at Phuket, gaining a temporary monopoly over much of the regional tin industry.

The Khaw family maintained its dual political and economic position until World War I. Then, faced with growing commercial competition from British firms and new concerns about the nature of national authority from the Thai, the Khaw family lost many of its official positions and business enterprises.

The strategies of the Khaw—marriage, political, and commercial alliances with Thai, Penang Chinese, and Australians; skilled and honest management; and flexibility in responding to local political and economic needs—served them well. It is hoped that studies of other Sino-Southeast Asian families will follow and will contribute as much to our knowledge of the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as Cushman's has.

CONSTANCE M. WILSON  
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HELEN R. CHAUNCEY. *Schoolhouse Politicians: Locality and State during the Chinese Republic*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 300. \$38.00.

Helen R. Chauncey's book is a meticulous study of educational circles at the subcounty level in the central part of the eastern Chinese province of Jiangsu. Reconstructing the world of such local elites yields a complex picture of local society, one of more than just conservative landlords and local bullies, and adds depth to our understanding of the changing relationship between local society and the state in the three decades from the fall of the Qing to the establishment of the People's Republic of China. It should be stated at the outset that drawing a picture of subcounty society over such an extended period is no easy task. The historical record is partial and obscure. The absence of personal memoirs means that local actors must speak to the historian through the stilted and distorted medium of such records as local petitions and the inspection reports of unsympathetic provincial educators. Nevertheless, Chauncey produces a rich study that contributes much to a growing literature on local elites in Republican China.

These local elites, Chauncey argues, were not a distinct socioeconomic class but rather a "distinct social group" (p. 17), drawing their sense of identity from the Western-style schools at which they taught. What makes such elites of interest is that they existed in the interstices of Jiangsu society. As Western educators in rural areas, they were often at odds with local landlords who continued to employ private tutors. Poorly educated themselves, they were disdained by the provincial educational elite, drawn largely from the wealthier and more sophisticated areas south of the Yangzi. Rejected equally by provincial elites and conservative landlords, such educators ultimately became available to Communist organizers who sought allies in the complex tapestry of local society.

Although Chauncey's portrait of local society adds much to our understanding of this period, not all of her arguments are convincing. In particular, she argues that the "schoolhouse politicians" she studies formed a "symbiotic relationship" with the state and that the ensuing dialogue between the two constituted a form of "state building" that "conditioned the parameters of the state's presence in local society" (p. 8). Did such local elites really "condition" the state's control over local society? From Chauncey's own account it seems that such local elites emerged as contenders for social and political influence in local society in the early years of the republic, when the state was weak. In the face of the stronger and more penetrating political power of the Guomindang, they retreated from direct conflict, channeling their energies into protests. The result was standoff and crisis, not conditioning and state-building. The Communists were better able to enlist this frustrated local elite in their cause, but Chauncey's study shows that as the war against Japan ended and particularly as victory over the Guomindang appeared imminent, such local elites had little impact on Communist policies. Chauncey's study indeed reveals a more

complex and vital local society, but it also suggests a local elite that had few resources to shape the higher level political power that it confronted.

JOSEPH FEWSMITH  
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STEPHEN S. LARGE. *Emperor Hirohito and Shōwa Japan: A Political Biography*. (Nissan Institute/Routledge Japanese Studies.) New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. xii, 249. \$29.95.

Stephen S. Large synthesizes academic scholarship and newly available primary sources in this meticulously even-handed assessment of Hirohito's role as the Shōwa emperor of Japan from 1926 to 1989. Large's centrist interpretations will fully satisfy neither defenders nor critics of Hirohito, but no student of twentieth-century history can afford to ignore his achievement.

Large focuses on influence, not power, in Hirohito's self-conscious function as a constitutional monarch. His capacity to affect decisions was enhanced by the fragmentation of authority among contending elites in Japan's distinctly nontotalitarian state down to 1945. Having stretched his constitutional powers to uphold prime ministerial responsibility in the murder of Chang Tso-lin in 1928, the emperor was chary of simultaneously reining in the military, "a missed opportunity of considerable significance" (p. 40). Thus, "the military simply ignored him" when Hirohito tried to oppose Japanese aggression in Manchuria after 1931 (p. 49). Large also notes that the emperor showed indecisiveness and political self-restraint in this crisis.

Large credits the army's control faction, not Hirohito, with smashing the young officers' revolt of February 26, 1936; he finds that the emperor was too cautious to bring the military to heel after this episode, making it all the more difficult to do so when war broke out with China in July 1937. Large sees Hirohito as a nationalist whose pacifism was less strong than his commitment to the viability of government at home and empire abroad. Preoccupied with detail, he lacked the political finesse to take independent initiative: "other than in a ceremonial sense as legitimizer, he had been peripheral to the Japanese decision for war" (p. 114) against the United States. Large argues that the emperor believed he had to support the decision to go to war because he was a constitutional monarch, not an absolute ruler; nevertheless, he "shared in the collective responsibility for it" (p. 131) and was seen by critics as a war criminal. Even *in extremis*, Hirohito spoke for peace in August 1945 only when consulted by the prime minister.

General Douglas MacArthur, head of the post-surrender occupying forces, quashed efforts to try the emperor for war crimes (a guilty verdict seemed likely) and utilized him to sanction democratic re-

forms as a truly constitutional monarch. Hirohito responded with élan and personal conviction, helping to legitimize democracy, pacifism, and economic growth for the last four decades of his life. At the same time, he was encouraged by neonationalists to rehabilitate the Yasukuni Shrine, where the war dead were honored, to support constitutional revision, and to abet Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro's efforts to strengthen the throne. Overseas, he apologized adequately for Japan's part in World War II only to the United States. At his death in January 1989, many Japanese evidently "agreed that war responsibility could be attributed to the Emperor" (p. 202).

Large rejects conspiracy theories and believes Hirohito personally opposed the aggression he ultimately legitimated. His synthesis generally supports the findings of Robert J. C. Butow, James B. Crowley, David A. Titus, and Charles D. Sheldon. Although Large sees Hirohito as "the unwilling symbol, not the maker, of chaos and catastrophe" (p. 216), he also suggests that the emperor might "have subordinated his constitutional principles to expediency, on the chance that a dramatic refusal to sanction the war might have caused those who favored the war to think twice" (p. 216). Readers who reject Large's sophisticated portrait will be challenged to produce a subtler, more finely nuanced account of their own.

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SURANJAN DAS. *Communal Riots in Bengal, 1905-1947*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 311. \$17.95.

Recent events in South Asia have led to renewed questions about the relations of Hindus and Muslims. Therefore it is our good fortune to receive this valuable book on communal riots in twentieth-century Bengal by Suranjan Das. Long in the making, this work traces the course of communal riots from the Mymensingh outbreaks of 1906-07, to the Calcutta, Pabna, and Dacca riots of 1918-26, to renewed riots in urban and rural East Bengal, 1927-31, to the Dacca riots of 1941, and, finally, to the Great Calcutta Killing and Noakhali riots of 1946.

Based on extensive archival work in India, Great Britain, and Bangladesh, Das comes to his task with useful questions about the long-term and short-run causes of the riots, the groups mobilized, the degree of spontaneity and kind of leadership of the groups involved, and the relationship of local, sometimes spontaneous outbursts to the more organized elite politics of the region.

The general hypothesis Das puts forward is that rioting in the early period was more class-based but became more communal as the century progressed. He distinguishes religious (private belief and practice) from communal and means by the latter term

vertical groups based on religious identity but mobilized for worldly goals and advantages. He also demonstrates the closer involvement of later rioters and their organizers with the important political parties, particularly the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha. It would have been useful to learn more about the structure of these organizations in Bengal in addition to having the anecdotal evidence of their connection to the riots from the 1920s to the 1940s.

It is to Das's credit that, unlike many other commentators on the riots in pre-independence India, he is not a "communal determinist." That is, he also sees Hindu-Muslim (and Sikh) cooperative efforts and political alliances as well as conflicts throughout the period and does not draw easy connections leading from the early twentieth-century riots to the partition of 1947.

Even with all the positive contributions of this volume, I must offer a few caveats. Das sometimes relies heavily and uncritically on sources whose bias should be questioned or at least made explicit, if not in the text, then certainly in the notes. For example, he uses G. D. Khosla's *Stern Reckoning* (1952) to support some serious accusations against the Muslim League and its Chief Minister H. S. Suhrawardy during the 1947 riots, while never explaining that Khosla was a Hindu judge with a strong bias against the league that he blamed entirely for the genesis of all the 1947 riots.

As the biographer of Sarat Bose (*Brothers against the Raj* [1990]), I must object to the misleading characterization of Bose's actions during the 1946 riots, when he was a leading figure in trying to halt the disorder. Das implies that Bose in a short-sighted or even cowardly way fled from Calcutta to Delhi on August 20 (p. 186). Quite incorrectly, he says that Bose refused to participate in peace processions, whereas in fact he marched in four of them and led the attempt to get the ineffectual British governor, Sir Frederick Burrows, to call for the army to quell the riots. Eventually the army was brought in and helped quiet Calcutta.

Even with these small reservations and my wonderment that he does not refer to Richard Lambert's unpublished but widely known dissertation ("Hindu-Muslim Riots" [University of Pennsylvania, 1951]), I found this a clearly written, well-organized, and important study of Hindu-Muslim conflict in modern Bengal.

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#### UNITED STATES

ELI FABER. *A Time for Planting: The First Migration, 1654–1820*. (The Jewish People in America, number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 188.

HASIA R. DINER. *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820–1880*. (The Jewish People in Amer-

ica, number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 313.

GERALD SORIN. *A Time for Building: The Third Migration, 1880–1920*. (The Jewish People in America, number 3.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 306.

HENRY FEINGOLD. *A Time for Searching: Entering the Mainstream, 1920–1945*. (The Jewish People in America, number 4.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 338.

EDWARD S. SHAPIRO. *A Time for Healing: American Jewry since World War II*. (The Jewish People in America, number 5.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 313. \$145.00 the set.

*The Jewish People* is a five-volume history of America's Jews from the colonial beginnings to the 1980s, a synthesis of American Judaica produced over the past few decades. Although the specialist will be greeted with few surprises, the work, produced under the editorial direction of Henry Feingold, constitutes a helpful key to the understanding of American Jewish history for the general reader and even the graduate student. The five volumes are divided into the usual historical segments charted by historians of immigration, a field for which this work will also constitute an important contribution. Yet in a more profound respect, *The Jewish People* represents an attempt by five talented scholars, each of whom has laid claim to a specific chronological division of the American Jewish experience, to offer readers their individual perspectives of America's Jewish past.

The first three volumes contain an unmistakable celebratory tone, a striking note of optimism about the direction of American Jewish history. Eli Faber, for example, writes with conviction and pride about the cultural and political impact that colonial and revolutionary America had on the diminutive Jewish community. By the end of the era, the reader is informed, American Jews found themselves in the most tolerant society of the Western world, a place in which they were the first of their group in modern times to experience the meaning of citizenship. Nowhere else during the revolutionary era, Faber informs us, did Jews experience the results of acculturation more profoundly than in the new American republic. Most significantly, according to Faber, the engagement of Jews and gentiles refashioned but did not undermine the Jewish commitment to their faith and community.

Hasia R. Diner is not so taken, at least in respect to Jews, with the achievements of the colonial and revolutionary years. Jews were too few in number, and too closely tied to the European world, to produce anything in the way of a distinctive culture. That task, Diner asserts convincingly, was reserved for those who arrived at America's shores between 1820 and 1880.

Diner's assessment of those six decades is provoca-

tive; indeed, it is one of the highlights of the series. She challenges the Germanic character ordinarily attributed by American Jewish historians to this era. In her effort to comprehend the true nature of the "German" migration of the mid-nineteenth century, she probes its social and cultural character in both Europe and America. She rejects the contrast that historians have glibly drawn between the affluent, sophisticated, and religiously liberal German newcomers of the mid-nineteenth century and the penniless, illiterate, and religiously orthodox Eastern European arrivals later in the century. The juxtaposition, she argues, is simplistic, if not inaccurate. German Jews, Diner insists, did not represent the mid-nineteenth-century Jewish migration in its entirety. They arrived in the United States together with thousands of Polish, Galician, Russian, and Lithuanian Jews, all of whom were erroneously lumped by later historians under the designation of "German." Diner insists that scholars have exaggerated the differences between this migration and the later "Russian" migration. Her argument will undoubtedly encourage debate, and perhaps even alter the direction of American-Jewish historiography.

Diner is also less taken, as other historians have been, with the fabulous success stories of the "German" Jews of the nineteenth century. Rather, she focuses more sharply on the experiences of the less-advertised thousands of peddlers and petty merchants who were, in her estimate, the real molders of the American-Jewish community. Their Judaism, she argues, was not patterned slavishly on the religious forms of the Protestant majority. Nor did these immigrants make dangerous compromises with modernity or create Jewish forms devoid of spiritual meaning, in contrast, as it has been alleged, to the more genuine Judaism of the Russian and Polish Jews who came later. On the contrary, the so-called "German Jews" of the mid-nineteenth century molded a Judaism based on their limited knowledge of the sacred texts, but one that still suited their pragmatic needs. Most importantly, writes Diner, despite their unorthodoxy, these mid-nineteenth-century newcomers did not abandon their loyalty to the Jewish people.

Gerald Sorin continues to develop this theme of optimism and creative innovation as he explores the various ramifications of the third and largest Jewish immigrant wave from Eastern Europe. Sorin believes that in contrast to the experiences of other immigrant groups, the Old World experience had better prepared Jews to hitch their religious traditions to modern secularism. The successful synthesis enabled Jews to adjust rapidly to the liberal ideals of their adopted home.

Sorin notes that Jews acculturated quickly; they welcomed the opportunity to be reshaped by their new environment, one which they in turn also refashioned. Here they produced a unique Jewish culture that moved a considerable distance from the one that

they had left behind, but it was one that suited their new existence. Like their brethren who had preceded them, the Jews of Russia and Poland changed, but they did not abandon their Judaism. In the United States, Sorin observes, they learned to express their Jewish ideals inside as well as outside of the synagogue in new secular modes, through their trade unions, philanthropic societies, educational institutions, and the Zionist movement.

The surge of ethnic pride and confidence that mark the first three volumes comes to an abrupt end in Feingold's provocative fourth volume, which deals with America's Jews in the years 1920-45. Feingold's writing is clear and intense as he relates the events of this tragic time. He deals with issues that a sensitive historian finds painful to view with detachment: immigration restriction (legislation that Feingold perceptively notes relegated those Jews denied admission to an eventual sentence of death); the anti-Semitic ravings of Henry Ford and the Ku Klux Klan; news of German brutality toward its Jews, followed by revelations of the Final Solution.

Undergirding the narrative is a disturbing question, one which Feingold repeatedly poses: why did not American Jews try harder and do more to prevent the horrible annihilation of their six million brethren? He concludes that despite, indeed because of, their material and professional progress, American Jews rendered themselves incapable of closing ranks in the face of a catastrophic emergency. He postulates insightfully that the trend toward the successful professionalization of America's Jews, a trend initiated during the 1920s, shifted Jewish priorities and loyalties away from communal requirements. As Jews became absorbed in their individual worlds, they became increasingly incapable of acting collectively in the face of the Nazi Holocaust.

Feingold is also disappointed by the institutional divisions that characterized American-Jewish life during the interwar years. The condition weakened Jewish ability to respond collectively to an emergency. Feingold is correct in his assertion that American Jewry has been unable to reconcile itself to the great losses that it sustained during these years, a tragedy that until this day continues to haunt its collective memory. But his suggestion that American Jews have also been riddled with "guilt" because of their paralysis in the face of disaster is probably an exaggeration. By his own admission, even Jewish unity would have failed to persuade President Franklin D. Roosevelt to launch a war to save the Jews of Europe. This acknowledgement makes it all the more surprising for Feingold to impose on the American Zionist leadership the major burden of responsibility for the Jewish failure to persuade the Roosevelt administration to rescue the Jews from the German gas chambers.

Edward S. Shapiro's captivating concluding volume examines the American-Jewish experience since World War II. As in the case of Feingold's book,



underlying Shapiro's narrative is a query. He wonders whether American Jews have the capacity to fill the religious and cultural void bequeathed to them by the decimated Jews of Europe. He admits that in 1945 no one but the American-Jewish community was left to assume that awesome responsibility, and all the signs suggested that America's Jews would be up to the task. Anti-Semitism, Shapiro observes (a term that he tends erroneously to equate with discrimination), was rapidly dissipating. Mounting affluence coupled with professional and intellectual achievements provided Jews with confidence to undertake the new responsibility of charting the future of world Judaism.

Yet Shapiro, unlike a number of other contemporary Jewish historians and sociologists, is not impressed with these signs; nor does he display enthusiasm for the future of American Judaism. Indeed, Shapiro argues cogently that economic success and social acceptance have removed American Jews from the sacred roots of their tradition. Shapiro is not at all convinced that, faced by the magnetic forces of acculturation and assimilation, American Jews will long continue to identify themselves with the Jewish community. He is disillusioned with the style of Judaism that most American Jews practice. He considers religiously and culturally vapid a Judaism reduced to such rituals as financial support for the state of Israel, remembrance of the Holocaust, and a rare visit to the local synagogue. Coupling this with a low Jewish birthrate and a high incidence of intermarriage, the future of American Judaism appears to him even bleaker. This volume is a jeremiad that will probably leave some readers perplexed, even resentful; others will find this as well as the other volumes in the series most illuminating.

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University of Wisconsin,  
Superior

ROGER FINKE and RODNEY STARK. *The Churching of America, 1776–1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 328. \$22.95.

This book expands on articles published by Roger Finke and Rodney Stark in the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (1986, 1989), the *American Sociological Review* (1988), and *Sociological Analysis* (1988), which documented a startling rise in church membership among American whites from about 20 percent of adults on the eve of the American Revolution to about 60 percent between 1950 and 1990 despite the advance of secularization in modern America. The book also contains a second thesis: that the "winners" in this surprising rise in church membership have nearly always been despised "sectarians," such as Methodists in the nineteenth century and fundamentalists and Mormons in the twentieth century, while the "losers" have been "mainstream" denominations,

such as Episcopalians and Congregationalists before the Civil War and Methodists, Catholics, and Presbyterians in the late twentieth century.

Finke and Stark sustain the argument about church membership, if not about "winning" and "losing," with persuasive evidence drawn from a remarkable variety of long-ignored sources, including careful counts of colonial congregations, nineteenth-century denominational statistics, and special U.S. religious censuses conducted between 1850 and 1936. Nor is the argument about church membership insignificant or silly. Put simply, it challenges the many interpretive schemes that hinge American moral, ethical, and social development on the constant influence of organized religion, particularly Protestant evangelicalism. If so few people belonged to or attended churches before 1930, must we not find new sources to explain public and private morality in American history or rethink myths, either about our ancestors' near universal Christian adherence or about religious declension in modern times?

Unfortunately, the authors make a poor case for this argument. Their crude dichotomizing contrasts sharply with sophisticated studies of church membership, religion, and society in nineteenth and twentieth-century Britain by Callum Brown, Jeffrey Cox, Hugh McLeod, James Obelkevich, and Albion Urquhart, as well as with Kevin Christiano's fine book, *Religious Diversity and Social Change: American Cities, 1890–1906* (1987), all of which, despite vagaries, link complex statistical analysis to supple sociological theorizing. In contrast, Finke and Stark seldom move beyond numbers to statistics, neglect problems of scale (modest numerical gains too often translate into mammoth percentage advances), and only occasionally provide the detailed analysis that might have detected subtle regional, occupational, class, and gender patterns in church membership among both "winning" and "losing" Christian groups.

Instead, the authors exhaust the space afforded by book publication with a narrative intended to "place the history of American religion within a dynamic, interpretive model . . . not to describe the history of American religion, but to explain it" (p. 21). Unfortunately, they succeed at neither. Most of the study is consumed by an unsophisticated, confusing, and thoroughly derivative "history" that lurches from one well-known revival to another (while still skipping some), reprints long narratives drawn from familiar sources, and seldom even explains why some revival groups succeeded while others obviously failed. As it heads into the twentieth century, the narrative uncritically touts sectarian/fundamentalist "democracy" and sneers at mainstream "elites," whether in the National Council of Churches or among liberal and moderate Southern Baptist seminaries who take money from conservative congregations.

Finally, the reductionism that finds only "winners" and "losers" among American churches culminates in pretentious pronouncements about the implications

of American sectarian success: "Humans want their religion to be sufficiently potent, vivid, and compelling so that it can offer them rewards of great magnitude. People seek a religion that is capable of miracles and that imparts order and sanity to the human condition" (p. 275). Historical variation, change through time, sophisticated if conditional explanation, much less an appreciation for the complexity of American Christianity or American religion generally are largely lost in this account. Lacking this discernment, readers might better return to the authors' original articles, which at least uncovered interesting church membership trends without the benefit of a dubious "history" and shallow philosophizing.

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ANDREW BILLINGSLEY. *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Enduring Legacy of African-American Families*. Foreword by PAULA GIDDINGS. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1992. Pp. 444. \$27.50.

Andrew Billingsley, a sociologist, has been writing about the state of the African-American family for a number of decades. In this volume, he gathers a pastiche of materials—history, biography, autobiography, sociology, and statistics—to explore the past, present, and the future of the African-American family.

At its heart, this is an inspirational work. Billingsley amasses proof that even in the face of racism and concomitant poverty in the United States, the majority of African Americans have demonstrated their many capacities and sustained the traditional family form that, he argues, has often been key to personal and group stability and achievement.

His message is directed to African Americans despairing after more than a decade of recriminatory, retrogressive pronouncements and policies at the federal level and beyond. It also responds to resurgent neo-culture of poverty theorists who sell their perspective to policy makers eager to justify the retrenchment of social programs on the grounds that black people are endemically mired in disorganized social forms and that public money will not help. Finally, the book addresses those who claim that racism and structural obstacles are so pervasive that African-American families and communities are doomed.

Billingsley exhorts all of these groups to pay attention to the manifold evidence of African-American survival and accomplishment, and to consider how much more this group could accomplish if its members were "surrounded by a social environment which propelled them forward" (p. 316). In short, Billingsley carves a middle ground out of the polarized contemporary discussion of race and public policy and argues for the dual responsibility of the individ-

ual and the state to the cause of African-American advancement or racial equality.

Billingsley covers a lot of territory in this volume addressed more to the general than the academic reader. One of his key strategies is to demonstrate the falsity of popular assumptions regarding African-American life. For example, he shows statistically and anecdotally that the black family today is not synonymous with teenage unwed mothers and their households; that there are not substantial socioeconomic differences between American-born and Caribbean-born blacks in the United States; that African Americans are generous philanthropists and volunteers, not principally recipients of charity. Billingsley effectively raises and overturns biases that have so often been used to marginalize this population.

The author, however, seems somewhat unresolved about his position regarding certain fundamental institutions of society. For example, he celebrates the arena of opportunity that the military has provided young black citizens, despite the fact that he recognizes that only an institution inherently associated with violence and death has created such opportunities, and despite the fact that if other institutions of society were similarly open, African-American youth would not have to look disproportionately to the military. Similarly, Billingsley's model institution, the traditional family, is celebrated as a necessary condition for successful African-American life. Yet on the one hand, his data show how compromised its existence has become (for whites as well as blacks), and on the other hand, some of his anecdotal evidence shows that unwed mothers, for example, can succeed on their own.

Finally, Billingsley seems not to have sorted out his attitudes toward the gender dimension of African-American life. At one point he claims that African-American men face more difficult life circumstances than African-American women. But Billingsley demonstrates that women have difficulties, too—from salary differentials to feelings of self-worth, from the wages of single parenthood to the stories of individual accomplishment that, in the main, have been selected to celebrate the achievements of African-American men. In fact, Billingsley demonstrates that gender problems and general inequities are pervasive and occur both inside and outside of the traditional family form.

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JOSEPH J. PERSKY. *The Burden of Dependency: Colonial Themes in Southern Economic Thought*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 183. \$28.50.

In this volume, Joseph J. Persky offers a brief but suggestive analysis of the recurring "colonial economy" theme in popular southern thought. Sketching

an overview of the evolving colonial economy argument from the late colonial era until the end of World War II, Persky is convincing on his two major points: that across two centuries a diverse array of southern thinkers shared a belief that the South suffered from a debilitating economic dependence on other parts of the world, and that although these thinkers found common ground in identifying dependency as a source of the region's persistent economic woes, they could not agree on either the causes of regional dependency or the proper remedy for it.

Despite his emphasis on the ubiquity of the colonial economy complaint, Persky rightly emphasizes the remarkable heterogeneity of southern thought throughout the long period under study. According to Persky, the South's internal debate, although it went through a variety of incarnations, was usually between champions of an agrarian South, specialized in staple crops and committed to free trade, on the one hand, and proponents of a diversified South, strengthened by commerce and industry and supportive of neo-mercantilist government policies (including protectionism), on the other. Persky traces the agrarian strain of southern thought from the young Thomas Jefferson, through John Taylor of Caroline and the mature John C. Calhoun, to the southern populists of the late nineteenth century, and finally down to the Nashville-based Agrarians of the 1930s. Broadly cast, agrarian thought saw the South's comparative advantage in agriculture as the key to wealth accumulation in the region and viewed protectionism and other federal policies favoring financial and manufacturing interests as the chief sources of regional dependency. The intellectual genealogy of the diversification argument charts from the Virginia Federalists of the 1790s through avowed southern nationalists, such as J. D. B. DeBow, of the antebellum era and the conservative Redeemers of the postbellum decades, to Rupert Vance's Chapel Hill school of regional sociologists of the 1930s. These advocates of balanced regional development saw indigenous commerce and industry as the keys to sustained economic growth and viewed the South's dependence on outside capital and imported consumer goods as identifying marks of its colonial status.

Overall, Persky provides a stimulating introduction to the American South-as-colonial-economy hypothesis, and his attempt to place the argument within the larger framework of the dependency theory now often used to explain the relationship of Latin American economies to those of more developed nations is laudable if not entirely persuasive. But Persky's study also has its limitations. First, it attempts to examine the idea of the South as a colonial economy apart from any systematic analysis of the southern economy. Thus, Persky can conclude that many different southerners found the colonial economy argument a useful polemic, but he cannot evaluate its validity as an explanation of the South's enduring economic

problems. Second, Persky, like many of the thinkers he studies, largely ignores the possibility that the South's long-term failure to generate self-sustaining economic growth or an independent entrepreneurial tradition resulted not from the "imperial" manipulation of self-serving elites, whether within or without the region, but from the reluctance of the region's electorate to finance the requisite program of human capital development and the indifference of much of the region's population to the skill acquisition needed to nurture indigenous growth.

LACY K. FORD, JR.

*University of South Carolina*

TIMOTHY J. GILFOYLE. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1992. Pp. 462. \$24.95.

Timothy J. Gilfoyle has placed the history of commercialized sex at the center of urban geography, the market economy, and political culture. Building on two decades of scholarship on prostitution, urban social life, and working-class culture, Gilfoyle has written an ambitious and riveting descriptive history of the ways in which commercialized sex became central to New York City's political economy and social relations.

Between 1790 and 1920, Gilfoyle convincingly argues, "sacred sexuality" became secularized as market relations transformed sexual relations. After 1820, a subculture grew around the practice of prostitution, creating an underground economy that made some New Yorkers, particularly those who owned real estate used for commercialized sex, fabulous fortunes. Alongside prostitution grew another subculture of "sporting men" who defied women's growing demands for a single standard of sexuality and middle-class respectability. Resisting women's growing control over domestic life and moral reform, growing numbers of men were drawn to prostitution for the leisure and recreational sex that marriage supposedly forbade.

During the nineteenth century, prostitution gradually moved from the fringe to the core of urban social life. Mapping the changing geography of prostitution, Gilfoyle has produced the first historical cartography of urban commercialized sex. Using an impressive array of sources, he takes the reader through the changing topography of community-based prostitution. Through meticulous research, he demonstrates how brothels, cabarets, concert saloons, theaters, and masked balls all institutionalized promiscuous sexuality. The twin subcultures of prostitution and sporting men—depicted by reformers as an alternative culture—in fact buttressed and linked everything from ward politics to real estate values. Commercialized sex, in effect, became an integral part of leisure, neighborhood life, urban politics, and economics.

After the Progressive Era's criminalization of pros-

titution, sex became "resacralized," that is, marriage became associated with romance and companionship. Although prostitution was forced underground, and certainly never disappeared, men increasingly found sexual companionship within marriage or with women of their own class.

Gilfoyle highlights aspects of commercialized sex that were unique to New York City. In Gotham, female-controlled prostitution was challenged much earlier than in most of the United States. By the mid-nineteenth century, many madams had lost control of their trade to upwardly mobile real estate entrepreneurs. The rise of a class of pimps—who both exploited and protected prostitutes—also appeared earlier than in most of the nation.

Gilfoyle also examines, however tentatively, the ways in which Americans began discussing and imagining prostitution. In some of his most exciting passages, he explores the rise of literary genres that alternatively idealized or demonized prostitutes. Although he carefully reconstructs the growing controversy swirling around prostitution, Gilfoyle fails to grasp the gendered nature of that discourse. As a result, he squanders a spectacular opportunity to disentangle the seemingly inconsistent views reformers held about the social evil. Mostly women (and some men), for example, embraced the decidedly female perspective that viewed prostitutes as the innocent victims of men. At the same time, more men (and some women) viewed prostitutes as threats to men's health and morality, as well as to the body politic itself.

Also missing are the views and voices of prostitutes themselves. Although Gilfoyle creates a credible portrait of the role prostitution played in New York, he is less apt at recovering the attitudes of the women who worked in the expanding sex industry. The absence of lesbians, whose role in prostitution is ubiquitous, is also surprising. His brief discussion of race relations in brothels and on the street does not capture the impact of black migration and white political efforts to confine prostitution to ghettos.

Despite these missed opportunities, Gilfoyle has produced a remarkable work of scholarship. This book is an extraordinary contribution, beautifully written, whose breadth and depth will undoubtedly make it the definitive work on prostitution in America's most carnal of cities.

RUTH ROSEN  
*University of California,  
Davis*

MARGARET HINDLE HAZEN and ROBERT M. HAZEN.  
*Keepers of the Flame: The Role of Fire in American Culture, 1775–1925*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 281. \$29.95.

Nineteenth-century Americans encountered fire at every turn. As Margaret Hindle Hazen and Robert M. Hazen convey through a wealth of pictures and

anecdotes, as well as through clear and evocative descriptions of a broad array of mundane activities, the ubiquitous open flame with its attendant risks and irritations gave life in America before about 1925 a fundamentally different character. Their account emphasizes Americans' progressive technological and social insulation from fire over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Hazens signal the breadth of their story in two early chapters. "Good Servant" surveys fire's many constructive uses, ranging from household food preservation and medical techniques to industrial production, public spectacles, children's games, and advertising symbolism, to cite but a few of their many topics. "Bad Master" not only offers a graphic sense of a "combustible America" (p. 70) but also reminds the modern reader of what life with the often romanticized open flame actually entailed: the more or less constant irritation of smoke, the never-ending necessity of cleaning sooty surfaces, the continuous risk of burns, especially to housewives and young children. And because starting and maintaining fires required skill and regular attention, universal reliance on the open flame inevitably entailed the common experience of bone-chilling cold when the fire went out.

Subsequent chapters address particular themes. One reviews various attempts to fight fire's dangers, most visibly through fire-fighting equipment and organizations, but, equally important, through insurance, prevention, and rebuilding. Here, as elsewhere, the Hazens merit commendation for going beyond a broad-brush national survey emphasizing urban developments. They also make the slow and incomplete extension of fire-fighting techniques to small-town, rural, and frontier America part of their story. Another chapter presents a greatly enhanced sense of earlier American housework by detailing all those labors that involved fire. One comes to appreciate the claim of the female steam-engine operator at the Centennial Exhibition "that it was less tiring to run her six-horsepower Baxter engine than it was to cook over a kitchen stove" (p. 154).

Two concluding chapters treat the development of scientific understandings of fire and the various recreational and artistic attempts at "Perpetuating the Flame" as it grew less commonplace. Although broadening the story of America's relationship with fire in a manner that enhances the book as a whole, neither chapter is entirely successful. The chapter on science involves a considerable digression to discuss contemporary European science, but it remains unclear how relevant these theories were to the principal American topics of this chapter: the body of technical knowledge on which commercial fire users customarily relied and the various types of formal and informal education about fire. Similarly, the topic of the flame's cultural celebration as its daily visibility dimmed is a huge and relatively unexplored one. Not surprisingly, the Hazens have found it easier to document and assess this theme in literature and the



visual arts than in the general culture, where they fall back on such dubious assertions as "the emotional attachment to flickering flames was particularly strong among people of English descent" (pp. 217–18).

These are, however, understandable and distinctly minor lapses considering the magnitude of the task the authors set themselves. What they have accomplished is far more impressive. This is one of those rare books that gives us a sense that the past really was different without romanticizing or becoming antiquarian. It musters an array of engaging anecdotes without allowing the arresting tale to distort the larger story. Best of all, its breadth of coverage permits it to make connections that should pose new questions for scholars while simultaneously engaging the interest of undergraduate and lay readers.

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JAMES AXTELL. *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 376. \$39.95.

Readers of James Axtell's *The European and the Indian* (1981) and *After Columbus* (1988) can be forgiven a bit of déjà vu on encountering the present book. Each of the three volumes is a compilation of essays (some reprinted, some previously unpublished) introduced by brief personal accounts of how they came to be written; each combines discussions of historical methodology with thematic chapters on European-Indian interactions in colonial North America; and each struggles with the moral responsibilities of historians to their material and their readers. But familiarity does not necessarily breed contempt.

The new collection begins with an engaging essay on "History as Imagination," revised from an article first published in *The Historian* (1987). College and university instructors seeking to awaken stubborn undergraduates from the dream "that history is . . . only a collection of hard facts" (p. 19) will find no better alarm clock than this. Three chapters grouped under the heading of "Views from the Shore" apply historical imagination to archaeological evidence, native oral traditions, and explorers' accounts in an effort to sketch some ways in which Indians incorporated Europeans into their conceptual universes. However flawed the effort must be at this chronological and cultural distance, Axtell maintains that "if we hope to plumb the long-term significance of the cultural encounters set in motion by the Columbian advent in 1492 . . . we must try to imagine the imaginations that Europeans and Indians had of each other" (pp. 29–30).

Perhaps the volume's most important interpretive contribution is "The First Consumer Revolution," which connects the experiences of native peoples to a cultural process discussed in many recent economic

and social histories of European communities throughout the transatlantic world. "The Indians of the Eastern Woodlands," Axtell persuasively argues, "experienced a consumer revolution every bit as revolutionary as that experienced by their European suppliers" (p. 129). And, if Euro-American colonials made their eighteenth-century political revolution in part a moral crusade "to rid themselves of foreign debt and debilitating 'luxury'" resulting from the commercial revolution, so too did the Great Lakes Indian participants in the diverse events traditionally called Pontiac's Rebellion embrace a purifying religious vision of learning "to live without any trade or connections with the white people, clothing and supporting themselves as their forefathers did" (p. 150).

If "the First Consumer Revolution" helps break new historiographical ground, then essays on "Agents of Change: The Jesuits in the Post-Columbian World," "The Columbian Mosaic in Colonial America," and "Moral Reflections on the Columbian Legacy" reprise themes familiar to readers of Axtell's previous work. Like most of this collection, these chapters will be most valuable for a broad audience—from undergraduates to professional historians to a wider public—encountering the author's work for the first time.

Three chapters, however, cut across that grain and reprint or lightly revise articles primarily aimed at specialists in colonial or Native American history, who are likely to have read the pieces previously in the prominent academic journals in which they first appeared. "Humor in Ethnohistory" (first published in *Ethnohistory* [1990]) warns those specialists not to take themselves too seriously; "Europeans, Indians, and the Age of Discovery in American History Textbooks" (*AHR* [1987]) lambastes them for failing to incorporate recent scholarship in survey works; and "Beyond 1992" (*William and Mary Quarterly* [1992]) closes the volume with a comprehensive review of recent historiography on the Columbian encounter.

The contrast between that fifty-page historiographical essay—which is as cogent as any in its species but still heavy going for all but the most determined graduate student—and the wonderfully accessible discussion of methodology that opens the book accentuates the patched-together feel of a compilation of pieces originally intended to stand alone rather than together. So, too, do other failings common to the genre but too often in evidence in the volume: arguments are repeated, examples recycled, and quotations cloned (thrice, for example, early seventeenth-century New England Algonquians make "many a sowre face" when an Englishman offers them a taste of mustard [pp. 65, 88, 178]). Such weaknesses make this a collection of excellent essays that deserves wide readership but something less than the excellent collection of essays for which that readership might have hoped.

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DAVID J. WEBER. *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. (Yale Western Americana Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 579. \$35.00.

With the publication of this book by David J. Weber, there should not be another survey of United States history that overlooks the Spanish frontier. Weber's well-written and engaging story of the settlement by Hispanics of the lands from Florida and Louisiana to Texas, New Mexico, and California leaves no doubt of the sociocultural imprint made by Spain on the United States.

The story begins with the first encounters of two vastly different cultures and the expansion of empire shortly after Spain's arrival to the North American shores. An excellent chapter entitled "Conquistadores of the Spirit" traces the development of the role of religion as a means of incorporating the native peoples into Hispanic society. But neither the dominance over the land nor the conquest of the soul went smoothly, and Spaniards faced resistance and rebellion from the Indians.

In the political contest with France and England over control of North America, Spain fared adequately, given its relatively modest investment in the area. It did not compete as well, however, in the commercial rivalry. Thus, Spanish territories were subject to intrusions by individuals and state-sponsored parties more closely linked than Spain to world trade networks, bringing about Spain's eventual loss of Florida and, for a time, of Louisiana. Nevertheless, Spain held on to a vast territory from Texas to California, although even there foreign traders lured the Hispanic residents and Indians into stronger and more prosperous economies. On another front, independent Indians (the more numerous groups of natives not incorporated into Hispanic society) worked out their own destiny, limiting Spain's expansion and hold of the area.

Society on the edge of empire is described under the rubric of "Frontiers and Frontier Peoples Transformed." Indians recruited into the missions or attracted into the towns adapted to a capitalist environment and to European traditions while, on their part, Spaniards, mixed-bloods, and Hispanicized natives blended racially and culturally. In the end, neither a wholly Spanish nor a wholly Indian culture prevailed. Additionally, by the nineteenth century, both Hispanics and Indians were changed by the encroaching American economy; all, as Weber makes clear in this excellent chapter, altered the environment permanently.

The author's treatment of his subject is balanced. It takes neither a triumphalist tone nor a condemnatory one. It is a narrative, but not one so detailed as to exclude a grasp of the overview or to omit interpretation. The introduction and conclusion consider historiographical issues. On these, Weber carefully walks a middle ground, confessing that, "Lacking omniscience and possessing only a partial record of

the past, we humans reconstruct time and place in highly imperfect ways . . . The Spanish legacy in North America, then, is not only what we have imagined it to be, but what we will continue to make it" (pp. 359–60).

To some extent, Weber unavoidably fashions the Spanish legacy according to his own past. He is a second-generation student of Herbert Eugene Bolton and has inherited Bolton's interest in geopolitical and institutional issues. But Weber has a much broader perspective. He transcends Bolton, John F. Bannon, and other traditional Borderlands historians and incorporates the new trends in social, economic, and cultural history of both Latin America and the United States. Still, some scholars will fault Weber for concentrating too much on imperial issues and for not focusing more on the frontier communities from which Mexican-American society emerged. This is important because the nature of the field calls for a usable past.

Nevertheless, the scope of the book, the careful treatment of controversial issues, and the elegant prose should allow this book to withstand the test of time for decades to come. It will become a model for work in the Borderlands field; hopefully it will also draw the attention of U.S. historians.

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ALLAN KULIKOFF. *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1992. Pp. xiv, 341. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$17.50.

This stimulating book by Allan Kulikoff offers a useful synthesis of recent historiography on socioeconomic change and migration patterns in rural America, from colonial times to the Civil War. Despite occasional thickets of Marxist jargon, the argument is subtle and convincing.

Kulikoff covers the rise and demise of the yeoman classes (consisting of both men and women) from the colonial period through the American Revolution, and up to the Civil War and beyond, devoting a separate chapter to the "languages" of class in rural America. Another chapter presents the case for viewing the War for Independence as a bourgeois revolution, an interpretation that fits comfortably with Gordon Wood's recent monumental work (*The Radicalism of the American Revolution* [1992]) contending much the same thing, albeit from a Whig, rather than Marxist, perspective. Both men argue that the revolution politically enabled many things to happen that could not have happened under British imperial control. Whereas Wood regarded the Constitution as a retrogressive braking effort on the part of the same doomed class of "gentlemen" who had led the patriot cause, Kulikoff maintains that the Constitution as well as the revolution accelerated the transition from mercantile to industrial capitalism. Compared to

Wood, Kulikoff's narrower focus provides a clearer, better organized, and more coherent discussion, one less beset by ambiguities than Wood's. Moreover, he provides a truly brilliant analysis of the social basis of rural patriotism and of the shaping effects of the revolutionary experience on the yeomen class, or rather yeoman classes, for Kulikoff insists there were at least two, those engaged in commercial agriculture and those involved in subsistence-plus, non-market-directed farming. He concludes that for most of the period between the revolution and the Civil War, the yeomen had to struggle to retain their rights to the fruits of their labor, but they generally succeeded in preventing legal changes that would have undercut their control over family labor. Yet Kulikoff also points out that commercial agriculture and early industrialization offered farm wives and children possible escape from patriarchal control. One is not sure whom to root for here: the independent yeoman pressed hard by capitalism's advance or his dependent wife and children whom the market, like the Serpent in Eden, tempted and seduced.

The final two chapters deal with the economic and demographic forces fueling the massive internal migration of free and enslaved peoples, from the early seventeenth century to the Civil War. Kulikoff examines the social and demographic make-up of the British migration of the colonial period, arguing that many immigrants were seeking to escape the process of proletarianization in England and hoped to reinvent for themselves a "small producer society" in land-abundant America. Because the vast majority of them became farmers, they ended up creating societies "profoundly different from capitalist Britain" (p. 195). Echoing Eric Hobsbawm, Kulikoff believes that founders of new settlements invented new traditions that, once set, changed only slowly thereafter. Thus, pioneers created enduring, cohesive cultures that were often both capitalist-resistant and highly adaptive. These were the cultures carried away and transplanted by family groups of descendants emigrating to found new settlements.

Following David Fischer, Kulikoff paints strong contrasts between New England and southern culture areas, employing the rich collection of local studies available from which to project the movement of New Englanders, and New England culture, westward. Kulikoff treads murky historiographical waters here, yet most readers will benefit from the exercise.

In chapter 8, Kulikoff moves into what is for him more familiar territory, the political economy of the expanding South and the forced migrations of the slaves. He offers an exceptionally fine discussion of the recent literature, in which his own contributions and intuitions have played a considerable role. One need not accept his insistence on the "non-capitalist" nature of the South to make good use of this section.

In a far too brief epilogue, Kulikoff sums up his argument. Capitalism began in the countryside, and it created conflict among yeomen, between those willing

to exchange their independence for a better material life and those who fiercely defended that independence. Their struggles have periodically shaken American political life, even into recent times.

Native Americans play no other role than victim in this story, and this is a serious oversight. Otherwise, this is a thoughtful, balanced, intelligent book. Buy it.

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KENNETH A. LOCKRIDGE. *On the Sources of Patriarchal Rage: The Commonplace Books of William Byrd and Thomas Jefferson and the Gendering of Power in the Eighteenth Century*. (History of Emotions Series.) New York: New York University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 133. \$35.00.

Kenneth A. Lockridge examines the commonplace books of William Byrd and Thomas Jefferson, men he aptly describes as "the two great mythmakers of the Virginia gentry" (p. 90). What he discovers in both cases is striking evidence of an unmistakably misogynistic world view. Byrd portrayed women as lustful, aggressive, and emasculating, describing gender relations as a constant, life-and-death struggle in which women—because they alone could confer immortality on men—clearly had the upper hand. Jefferson's stance was more ambivalent. Moreover, his overt attacks on women occurred only between 1756 and 1764, in the years just before he reached his majority. But he, too, characterized women as seductive and power-hungry, responsible for disorder and ultimately for death. Both men exhibited an almost pathological sense of fear and rage, as they imagined a woman-dominated nightmare world of chaos and confusion. They saw patriarchy as the only antidote to chaos. Simply put, "men must dominate or die" (p. 82).

Lockridge admits that the rage characterizing Byrd and Jefferson was rare. He is studying specific men within a specific historical context. And he makes a strong case for his reading of Byrd and Jefferson, offering plausible reasons for their views. Nevertheless, his analysis goes beyond this particular study to explore the anxieties that all male members of the colonial elite experienced in the mid-eighteenth century. Byrd and Jefferson, like all colonial leaders, were marginal men who imitated but never duplicated the social structure of the mother country. Although they had exalted expectations of their role as leaders and patriarchs, they were in fact vulnerable to challenges from above and below. They were not secure in their own colonies or even, as it turns out, in their own homes. Other historians have analyzed the paranoia of American leaders at mid-century in terms of a fear of corruption, or as an anxiety over slavery, religious radicalism, or indebtedness to English merchants. Lockridge has added gender anxiety to the

mix, pointing out that, despite their apparent power, these men were consumed by self-doubt and a sense of their own fragility. If Lockridge is right, it was women, not the lustful masculine "power" described by the commonwealth men, who, in Byrd's case especially, supplied the metaphor for what many colonists viewed as the "social and political corruption of early eighteenth-century England" (p. 31).

A word is needed about style. Lockridge's use of the personal pronoun is jarring, even intrusive at first, but in the end it works; indeed, it is essential. It serves to remind us that this is not an omniscient author pretending to tell us the truth. This is a scholar trying to make sense of the truths he has discovered, truths that he himself finds more than a little disturbing. The book is a careful exploration of tantalizing possibilities, and Lockridge has kindly invited the reader to join him in that exploration. It is an invitation well worth accepting.

SHEILA L. SKEMP  
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PAMELA REGIS. *Describing Early America: Bartram, Jefferson, Crèvecoeur, and the Rhetoric of Natural History*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 189. \$30.00.

Pamela Regis examines three eighteenth-century classics, William Bartram's *Travels*, Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, and J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer*. These texts, although widely studied since their first day in print, still reward students of American culture and ideas. They make a nice trio, too, for these men knew each other and exchanged information. Crèvecoeur consulted with Bartram's botanist father and later patronized the family's nursery business; Jefferson, a sometime neighbor of Bartram's Kingessing garden, consulted with William and was in correspondence with Crèvecoeur. A common thread throughout these interactions was the large and loosely defined science of natural history, and a common ground was Bartram's gardens.

Despite the challenge of a nicely chosen topic, this short book of essays does not demonstrate sufficient mastery of these works and gets off to a bad start. In the prologue, Regis needlessly asserts that these really are works of science and not merely works of belles-lettres. They are, of course, both, but Regis's promise to focus on natural history is not inappropriate. Unfortunately this promise is not kept. The first chapter on "Natural History in Context" is marred by errors. Faulty statements, such as the claim that "most American naturalists worked in the field rather than in botanical gardens" (p. 13) compromise good literary information. The opening illustration is reproduced backwards.

Bartram's book of *Travels* is a tough volume to discuss in a short chapter. Bartram divided his ac-

count of a 2,400-mile trip throughout the Southeast into four parts, and each part has a different purpose. Regis correctly emphasizes Bartram's romantic style in the book's first two parts, but her insistence that "Bartram was trained in the Linnaean system" (p. 54) is overstated. Bartram was familiar with the Linnaean system, but his frequent use of now obscure Greek and Latin cognates should not be confused with a mastery of binomial nomenclature. What, then, does Bartram's rhetoric mean?

The bibliography of this book explains serious lacunae in Regis's discussion of the scientific context of Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Readers of this chapter will not know that there is a huge body of literature on Jefferson's understanding of science. Much of that literature could be far more useful to Regis than the one authority she does cite (p. 80). She is correct, however, in identifying "the department of man, both blacks and American Indians," as well as whites, as a central problem in Jefferson's science (p. 95). By what method did he resolve this problem of "the Other"?

Regis points out the "conflict between narration and description" that recurs in Bartram, Jefferson, and Crèvecoeur (p. 33). She might well have explored this conflict in light of her thesis that the rhetoric and method of natural history provided structure for the representation of a new nation. Given this analysis, here is an interesting suggestion. Were the rhetoric and method of natural history good tools for this job?

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OREN LYONS et al. *Exiled in the Land of the Free: Democracy, Indian Nations, and the U.S. Constitution*. Foreword by PETER MATTHIESSEN. Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Clear Light. 1992. Pp. xiii, 414. \$24.95.

This book examines two distinct but related historical themes. Several of the eight authors document ways in which Native American (particularly Iroquois) political practices helped shape the political ideology and institutions of the United States. Roughly two-thirds of the book describes ways in which that evolving constitutional system has treated Native peoples.

Discerning students of Native American studies during the past two decades may have seen segments of this work in other forums, many of them with specialized audiences. Vine Deloria, Jr., has written extensively in many academic journals on the ways in which members of non-Native society, from Supreme Court justices to anthropologists, have sought to legally reconcile the legacy of conquest. Robert Venebles earlier made his case for Native constitutional influence in the *Northeast Indian Quarterly* (now *Akwé: kon Journal*); Donald A. Grinde, Jr.'s "Iroquois Polit-



ical Theory and the Roots of American Democracy" is condensed from his book-length study, *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy* (1991).

As Native people whose reservations lie within the United States struggle to define modes of sovereignty and self-determination, they continue to run up against restraints of the U.S. legal system, which still defines Native peoples as wards of the state, under Chief Justice John Marshall's ruling that reservations comprise "domestic dependent nations." Deloria, Curtis Berkey, Howard Berman, and Laurence Hauptman capably encapsulate the history of Indian-white legal relations from roughly 1600 to the present. Because Native nations never have been explicitly included or excluded from the American body politic, Deloria finds that as a result of Chief Justice Marshall's famous and enduring ruling in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), "American Indians have been forced to live within a political/legal no-man's land from which there seems to be no possibility of extrication" (p. 282).

Why would Native peoples, who have been so ill-treated by the U.S. political and legal system, lay claim to having helped shape it? This book makes a convincing case that regardless of the system's historical consequences, the documentary record indicates that traditional Native confederacies, especially the Iroquois, had a role in defining the ideology as well as the military course of the American Revolution. A half-century before Lewis Henry Morgan described the Iroquois' "fifty families" as he founded American anthropology, John Adams was describing that system for delegates to the Constitutional Convention in his *Defence of the Constitutions*. During the spring of 1776, Iroquois delegates lodged on the second floor of the Pennsylvania state house (later Independence Hall), after having been invited to witness the debates over the Declaration of Independence. This book builds its case for such connections brick by documentary brick.

The extent of that influence, and how it meshes with European precedents, is the focus of a rather hot and often testy debate in several academic fields. The published histories now emerging (of which this is one of the most complete) verify the Iroquois oral history, which has preserved the idea of "influence" since the mid-eighteenth century, when the Iroquois held the diplomatic and military balance of power between English and French colonies in North America. Diplomacy with Native peoples became a channel by which to communicate political ideas of federal union and liberty that Benjamin Franklin, among other founders, used extensively during the formative years of the United States, combining Native American examples with those which their European heritage afforded them.

This book is highly recommended as a well-documented, often lucidly argued Native American point of view on legal, political, and historical issues that

will broaden existing knowledge regarding the origins of American political ideas and institutions. The book also stands as a rigorous critique of the quality of justice meted out by those institutions.

BRUCE E. JOHANSEN  
University of Nebraska,  
Omaha

JOHN A. ANDREW III. *From Revivals to Removal: Jeremiah Evarts, the Cherokee Nation, and the Search for the Soul of America*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1992. Pp. x, 434. \$45.00.

How does a nation change its basic moral, social, and religious values, and at what price? What does it mean for an ethical individual to oppose the flood tide of history, and lose? John A. Andrew III poses these large questions in the life of a Yale graduate, lawyer, Christian lobbyist, advocate for women, mission official, and early foe of slavery, Jeremiah Evarts (1781–1831).

Andrew argues that Evarts inherited a New England Puritan world view and social morality that saw America as a Christian commonwealth. For Evarts, national honor and sacrifice for the general welfare ranked above individual self-aggrandizement. Such ethics made him at once a political conservative and a social radical in an era when "a commercial spirit unrestrained by moral boundaries had seized the soul of America" (p. 205). Evarts opposed liquor, promoted Sabbath laws, favored church-state cooperation, denounced partisan politics, and, as "William Penn," defended the rights of Georgia's Cherokee Indians. In such controversies, he believed that "there are no difficulties but moral ones" (p. 119). In each instance Evarts lost, even when his predictions proved correct, because the ideas were obsolete in an "atomistic society based on greed and ambition" (p. 71).

The book takes Perry Miller's New England mind into the nineteenth century and, following Miller, places heavy emphasis on theory and ideas. For a more gritty approach to the same issues, see William Gerald McLoughlin's *Champions of the Cherokees* (1990), a biography of Evan Jones and John Jones. Andrew has supplied extensive notes and a superb bibliography. He excels at posing social contradictions and missionary dilemmas. The addition of maps on Evarts's travel and on Indian removal would have helped the reader; his constant belaboring of the "soul of America" thesis grows tiresome. Jargon about fulfilling paradigms, paradigmatic processes, cognitive dissonance, declensions, and proto-Victorian synthesis could be dropped with no loss.

Today the popular radio host Rush Limbaugh insists that Americans are just now abandoning the nation's Christian heritage and losing the religious faith of the Founding Fathers. Limbaugh needs a history lesson. Jeremiah Evarts would tell him that

the loss began about 1800 and reached its nadir in 1830 with forced removal of the Cherokee nation and the government's deliberate destruction of Christian missions.

ROBERT H. KELLER  
Fairhaven College

JOHN MACK FARAGHER. *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer*. New York: Henry Holt. 1992. Pp. xviii, 429. \$27.50.

This handsome work is the first Daniel Boone biography published in over fifty years, but it is much more than that. While writing the definitive biography of Boone, John Mack Faragher has also written one of the most important histories of the trans-Appalachian West to appear in decades. In this book we meet a historic and folkloric Boone whose "embodiment of American possibility remains his most powerful cultural legacy" (p. 341).

Boone's life forms a microcosm of European-American exploration, settlement, and development of the early Mississippi Valley frontier. Born in 1734 and raised in a large Quaker family in the Schuylkill Valley of Pennsylvania, Boone resettled in North Carolina in 1751 and began a decades-long career as a hunter, trapper, and land speculator. After participating briefly in the French and Indian War he married Rebecca Bryan, and they began a family that would eventually number seven children. Boone first ventured into the Kentucky country in 1767 while on a hunting and scouting expedition; eight years later he led the party that blazed the Wilderness Road, bringing initial white settlement into bluegrass country. He fought in the American Revolution, was captured and adopted by Shawnee Indians, and then escaped and drove the Shawnee from Boonesborough. Later accused of treason, he was acquitted and vindicated by a court martial that declared him a war hero. Thereafter, he speculated heavily in Kentucky lands, eventually losing all of his holdings and migrating, one last time, to Missouri, where he died in 1820 surrounded by his kin, an aged hunter of eighty-five years. Both during and after his life, a thick mist of oral tradition, legend, and popular culture evolved around Boone, making him a preeminent American folk hero to this day.

Faragher tells this compelling story in a lively narrative based on a thorough working of all available printed and archival sources, including the valuable Draper Collection. He has obviously traversed Boone country well, as the book conveys vivid geographical and environmental images of the trans-Appalachian West. Readers also view the rich cultural tapestry of early frontier society; religion, kinship, marriage, childbirth and child-rearing, sustenance, diet, politics and law, trade and speculation, warfare and diplomacy, and chattel slavery are all woven into this fabric. Of particular importance is the multiethnicity

of the West, and Faragher adeptly paints Boone and his contemporaries as cultural intermediaries between white America and the Indians: frontierspeople adapting to, as well as supplanting, indigenous life style.

This is a book that treats folklore and popular culture seriously. Faragher relates and interprets all of the important Boone folkways, from tall tales to relics and Booneiana. For instance, he interprets "Boone's Surprise" (the story, perhaps true, that Boone returned from a two-year hunt to find his wife with a new baby fathered by his brother Neddy) as evincing the hardships of frontier marriage and Boone's mystique as a cool, slow-to-anger, and forgiving man. Faragher enhances considerably our understanding of the wild/tame (frontier/civilization) motif presented by Henry Nash Smith and others in his analysis of works that include the popular histories by John Filson and Timothy Flint, the paintings by George Caleb Bingham, and the *Leatherstocking* novels by James Fenimore Cooper. Ultimately, it is the paradox of wild and tame that drives this powerful narrative. Boone was, after all, a hunter and a real estate developer, a family man and absentee husband, a European-American and an adopted Shawnee. He was also a warrior who showed his Quaker upbringing by confessing that, although folktales made him out to be a ferocious slaughterer of indigenous people, "I never killed but three . . . I am very sorry to say that I ever killed any, for they have always been kinder to me than the whites" (pp. 39, 300).

This book ranks alongside the works of Thomas Perkins Abernethy, Marquis James, R. Carlyle Buley, and Thomas D. Clark. Faragher utilizes some of the theses and techniques of the "new" western history, but he does so in judicious and engaging narrative prose. The result is a Daniel Boone we can believe; not a hero or a villain, but an American, one of "the common men and women of the American frontier" (p. 362).

MICHAEL ALLEN  
University of Washington,  
Tacoma

VIVIEN GREEN FRYD. *Art and Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-1860*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 273. \$45.00.

Vivien Green Fryd argues that art installed in the United States Capitol between 1815 and 1860 promoted and justified contemporary imperial expansion, including its subjugation of Native Americans. The author states at the outset that the program she finds in the art is discernible only in hindsight. Although there was no systematic planning of the Capitol decoration, she claims that the "accidents" of proposals, commissions, and choice over the forty-five years of art work form "a remarkably coherent

program" (p. 1) that "must have been both consciously and unconsciously intended to suggest particular implications in which race relations function as a chief mechanism for justifying white Euro-American domination over Native Americans" (p. 3).

Her study is the first narrative and analysis of this substantial setting for public art, and one learns a great deal from it. The works that she analyzes were installed in the Capitol in two waves: first, the reconstruction of the Capitol after it was destroyed in the War of 1812, and second, the extension of the Capitol from 1850 to 1860. In her first section, on the sandstone reliefs installed in the Rotunda during the 1820s, she argues her major themes. The most prominent are the Enlightenment hope that Native Americans could be assimilated, represented in Pocahontas's preservation of the life of Captain John Smith (a narrative that also embodied Virginia's claim to paternity of an important national ideal); the conviction that the Indians needed to be segregated and dominated, represented by the landing of the Pilgrims (an event that also symbolized New England's claim to national ancestry); and the assertion that subjugation and even eradication of the indigenous peoples was necessary, advanced by the depiction of Daniel Boone's armed triumph over two Native Americans (which also served, of course, as a western claim to importance). Fryd notes that most viewers preferred the relief about Boone—formulated during federal plans for Indian removal—because the "savage nature" of the Indians was explicit, whereas in the other reliefs, the Indians were treated in a somewhat classical (and thus approving) manner. Fryd reveals here the assumptions that underlie her book: "Americans frequently criticized the other three Rotunda reliefs for their composition and inaccurate details . . . Here aesthetic responses replace ideology under the subterfuge of connoisseurship, cloaking racial criticisms with an aesthetic veneer" (p. 35).

Her discussion of the Rotunda paintings of the 1840s and 1850s reinforces her thesis. John Chapman's *Baptism of Pocahontas* (1840) claims that the "civilization and conversion" (p. 47) of the Native American and by extension of the entire nation is the specific legacy of the Virginia tradition; Robert Weir's *Embarkation of the Pilgrims at Delft Haven, Holland* (1843) promotes New England as the site of the nation's birth with such obvious symbolism as a rainbow, but it also includes a generous sprinkling of emblems of military might; John Vanderlyn's *Landing of Columbus* (1847) shows Columbus claiming the world for the Spanish crown, with Indians crouching in submission; and William Powell's *Discovery of the Mississippi by DeSoto* (1853) exalts DeSoto as an emblem of the "Old World's superiority in arms, religion, dress, and demeanor" that led to the opening of the empire (p. 59).

In succeeding chapters Fryd analyzes the contribution of major sculptural works to this ideological discourse. She discusses Horatio Greenough's *George*

*Washington* (1832–41) as an explicit celebration of westward expansion under God's providence; Luigi Persico's sculpture *The Discovery of America* (1837–1844) and Greenough's *Rescue* (1837–1853), installed on the south and north sides of the main staircase on the east façade (but removed in 1958 and now in storage), as denigrations of the Indian; Thomas Crawford's pediment for the Senate side of the Capitol extension, *The Progress of Civilization*, as a carefully balanced "history of the struggle between civilized man and the savage, between the cultivated and the wild nature" (p. 112) that contrasted the energetic frontiersman, merchant, and mechanic to the (deservedly) vanishing Native American. She looks closely at Randolph Roger's bronze doors to the Rotunda, which tell the story of Columbus in eight panels, and at Constantino Brumidi's Rotunda frieze, which presents a narrative of North and South American "discoveries," its emphasis on Latin America promoting the southern agenda for spreading American democracy into the Caribbean (p. 154).

In a last section entitled "Ethnographic Exclusions," Fryd points to the lack of success of artists George Catlin, Seth Eastman, and John Mix Stanley in interesting Congress in their own representations of the Native American—neither the noble nor the ignoble savage, but the ethnographic human being. She analyzes in this section the virtual absence of images of blacks in all the Capitol decorations, tying the phenomenon to the desire of politicians to suppress any reference to slavery. Thus, even figures representing freedom, such as Crawford's *Statue of Freedom* on top of the Capitol dome, lacked the liberty cap, a symbol of manumission.

The book is amply illustrated with excellent photographs. Also welcome are the extensive notes, many of them from detailed archival research, and generous bibliography.

ELIZABETH JOHNS  
University of Pennsylvania

JAMES C. COBB. *The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 391. \$27.50.

James C. Cobb writes of the Mississippi Delta, about sixteen counties on the eastern side of the river between Memphis and Vicksburg. He traces the sub-region's history from slaveholding in the 1820s to sharecropping and tenancy after the Civil War and eventually to the emptied world of modern agribusiness, with most of his attention being paid to the later years. The overall pattern that Cobb describes offers few surprises, drawing as he does on recent scholarship about the South's political economy by scholars such as Gavin Wright and Neil McMillen. Cobb's is a traditional narrative, little influenced by the more radical and experimental forms of social history, but

concentrating instead on the fate of the planter class, with sympathetic attention to those whom they attempted to govern, cheat, and brutalize. Only at the end, in chapters that deal with the blues and the modern fiction written by Delta authors, is the line of this narrative varied. Of these parts, the first is the more successful and deeply felt; it reinforces a welcome trend, evident in Edward Ayers's *The Promise of the New South* (1992), toward expanding the canon of southern culture. The latter section is less good, more episodic, partly because the crop of writers to whom Cobb refers us is not overwhelming, his subregion not being the home of anyone of the stature of William Faulkner or Eudora Welty.

Cobb is at pains to stress for how long the Delta was a frontier region, past the Civil War and even into the early twentieth century, when large areas remained wild. Broadly, although he wavers a bit, he accepts the view that the subregion's elites were pragmatic pursuers of the main chance who used slaves when it suited them, sharecroppers when conditions changed, tractors when there was more money in it, and who abandoned *laissez faire* for abundant federal government subsidies even as they defied Washington's mandates on civil rights. As distinctive is his emphasis on the Delta's role as a staging post, as a place not only of outmigration in this century—the image familiar from blues lyrics of those bound for Chicago—but also of in-migration from other parts of the lower South for those attracted by the Delta's employment opportunities, however meager. For this role, he deems the integration of the Delta's railroads into the national network during the 1880s to have been crucial.

The portrait Cobb paints of a resilient, resourceful, and open elite of cruel racists is cumulatively impressive. One is left with a depressing sense of the tenacity with which the Delta has been ordered. The bleak beginning and almost the end of this story was summed up in 1963 by a white Mississippian, whom Cobb quotes: "We killed two-month-old Indian babies to take this country. And now they want us to give it away to the niggers" (p. 237).

MICHAEL O'BRIEN  
Miami University  
Oxford, Ohio

ROGER D. ABRAHAMS. *Singing the Master: The Emergence of African American Culture in the Plantation South*. New York: Pantheon. 1992. Pp. xxvi, 341. \$25.00.

Corn shucking was a ubiquitous antebellum fall harvest celebration on large estates of the South. Traditionally, mostly male slaves from various plantations gathered at the host estate to shuck immense amounts of corn. The slaves performed extensive labor, often lasting into the night. But the work pressure was mitigated by expectations of a bountiful feast sponsored by the master and mixed with boisterous con-

viviality following the corn shucking. Singing, dancing, drinking, and satirical jests added celebratory elements to this, the most popular of plantation holidays.

Noted folklorist Roger D. Abrahams examines the black and white cultural interplay of corn shucking that he believes historians have largely ignored. Abrahams chronicles the corn-shucking custom as a manifestation of cultural convergence in the South and suggests a continued legacy beyond slavery and the plantation. He argues that southern corn-shucking practices were rooted in aspects of English celebrations: the climax of annual agricultural operations; the massive display of the stacked crop; the singing, joking, and speechmaking; and the tremendous supply of food prepared and consumed. In contrast, he views the "style, spirit, and social and aesthetic organization" (p. 83) as African. Although English folklore is filled with similar customs, Abrahams contends that encouraging labor performance through creative and collective music is stylistically African. Thus, the two heritages merged on the plantations.

The author emphasizes the role of certain blacks skilled as improvisors, entertainers, and mimics. Such men served as captains of the two corn-shucking teams. The slaves seized this occasion to praise and to parody their master; which the planter accepted good-naturedly. This verbal license, which Abrahams maintains came from sub-Saharan Africa, was an exercise in "singing the master."

Abrahams characterizes corn shucking as a dramatic representation of slaves and masters accommodating each other's needs, thus interpreting the event as an extension of paternalism. Quoting historians Philip Morgan and Eugene Genovese, Abrahams agrees that a "warm, mellow paternalism" and a bondage that was "benign and protective" shaped life under slavery. The author's dependency on such conservative historiography limits his vision in analyzing black festivals. Although he asserts that a subversive attitude toward authority was part of the interplay, this point is not developed from the slave's perspective. Moreover, most of Abrahams's sources, as rich as they are, come from slaveholders and white travelers, which results in a one-dimensional insight. Because Abrahams is reluctant to read behind or between the lines, or to question self-serving motives of white accounts, no genuine counter-hegemonic implications emerge from the meaning of the corn-shucking celebrations.

According to Abrahams, black artistic liberties evident in corn-husking seasons were related directly to the rise of minstrelsy and modern vaudeville. Blackface, like more modern adaptations and emulations of early black performance style, was not so much a "derogation" of plantation life as it was "an ardent effort to bring to the stage studied imitations of slave styles of singing and dancing and celebrating" (p. 133). This disturbing elevation of minstrelsy to an appreciation of black plantation life ignores its func-



tion as social, psychological, and political racism that historians Robert Toll, Alexander Saxon, and David Roediger have documented. If anything, minstrelsy and planter interpretations of corn-shucking festivities conformed to white stereotypes of African-American behavior.

Abrahams has brought to our attention the importance of corn-shucking celebrations and gathered new, detailed descriptions of this significant cultural tradition. Unfortunately, Abrahams does not develop the promise of his title by offering a convincing model of corn shucking as representing the "emergence of African-American culture."

MARGARET WASHINGTON  
Cornell University

ELIZABETH MOSS. *Domestic Novelists in the Old South: Defenders of Southern Culture*. (Southern Literary Studies.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 249. \$27.50.

This book is an examination of the fiction of Caroline Gilman, Caroline Hentz, Maria McIntosh, Augusta Evans (Wilson), and Mary Virginia Terhune. Elizabeth Moss believes that we can gain an insight into "the elusive mind of the South" (p. 8) when we consider this group of authors both as women and as southerners. Her thesis is that the southern domestic novel represents a separate genre that developed out of the plantation novel, typified by *Swallow Barn* (1832). Although scholars such as Nina Baym and Mary Kelley have considered the fiction of antebellum southern women alongside that of their northern sisters, Moss believes that the northern domestic novel had very different roots and explored distinctly different themes. Whereas the northern domestic novel "grew out of northerners' anxieties toward their rapidly modernizing world" and "sought to reconstruct society along commonly recognized protofeminist lines" (p. 18), the southern domestic novel represented a conservative attempt to defend southern culture.

Those who accept these premises and who are inclined to see antebellum northern and southern cultures—and hence the novelists they produced—are antithetical are likely to find this book persuasive. Moss executes the same delicate balancing act that Elizabeth Fox-Genovese did in *Within the Plantation Household* (1989), using gender as a term of analysis, but subordinating it to region and class. Thus, although female novelists developed a defense of the southern way of life that was different from that offered by men, most particularly in the emphasis they placed on female moral development, they were united with their menfolk in vindicating the planter class. The texts and subtexts of these novels, Moss suggests, were identical: true and lasting happiness could be found only in the organic relationships of the plantation community. National harmony de-

pended on the rejection of northern avarice in favor of the moral universe of the plantation.

Other readers may perceive that this book rests on a tautology. Moss begins with the premise that "the value system of the planter class was, in theory, antithetical to northern ideology" and unsurprisingly discovers that the fiction written by the five novelists whom she considers reflected "a distinctly southern slate of concerns" (p. 19). And those who believe that historians can learn from literary critics will be disappointed that Moss seems to concede to her authors complete control over their texts.

A more open-ended approach might have enabled Moss to analyze more successfully the rich material she has uncovered. Consider the plot of Caroline Hentz's novel *Linda* (1850), whose "overall message" Moss reads as "overwhelmingly conservative" (p. 44): the heroine is an independent young woman who defies the expectations for women of her class; not only does she refuse to learn how to embroider and play the guitar but, in a melodramatic scene, she also saves her slave mammy from the auction block. When her father insists that she marry her cousin, an abusive slave master, Linda runs away and moves in with an Indian family. Once Linda chooses her own mate, a "sturdy artisan" (p. 44), and returns to the plantation, the entire community is regenerated; Linda's father becomes a better master and her cousin a missionary. Surely this novel, which permits the heroine to reconstruct her world on her own terms and which entertains fantasies of cross-racial and cross-class harmony, is more complex than Moss acknowledges.

Likewise, Moss leaves dangling some tantalizing hints about the careers of her authors. Although they scorn northern commerce, they are shrewd manipulators of the literary marketplace. All but one of their novels were originally published in the North and sold well there, and even *Macaria*, Evans's impassioned defense of secession, published in Richmond in 1864, did a brisk trade among Union soldiers. Perhaps northern and southern cultures, even in the heat of battle, were not so antithetical as Moss assumes.

JAN LEWIS  
Rutgers University,  
Newark

DANIEL W. CROFTS. *Old Southampton: Politics and Society in a Virginia County, 1834-1869*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1992. Pp. xvi, 424. \$39.50.

This is a carefully researched and interesting contribution to the literature of antebellum and Civil War-era southern political life. It is a study of electoral politics and political parties in Southampton County, Virginia, during a thirty-five-year period of dramatic political change. Although it offers no surprising

conclusions or startling reconceptualizations, it is a book in the best tradition of local history in the way it adds depth, qualification, and specificity to prevailing larger generalizations.

Daniel W. Crofts did not choose to focus on Southampton County because it was the site of the Nat Turner slave rebellion. In fact, Nat Turner is conspicuously absent from this study. Nor did he select the county because of its influence on the rest of the state or the nation. What primarily drew him to the locality was the existence of an extensive run of poll lists that identified individual voters. Armed with the names of voters and their preferences, along with tax records, the federal manuscript census, and a powerful computer, Crofts was able to correlate voting behavior with such variables as residence, slaveholding, and religious affiliation. The book includes chapters on the lives of local diarists Elliott L. Story and Daniel W. Cobb, the rhythms of agricultural life, the hardships of the Civil War, and the process of emancipation, but the heart of the study rests in the correlation of voters and variables. Moreover, because Southampton County included upper and lower sections that duplicated the demographic features typical of the upper and lower South in general, Crofts also argues that the voting behavior described in his study likely paralleled voting behavior within the region as a whole.

Crofts paints a portrait of intense partisan rivalry that first emerged in the mass parties of the 1830s. Rival parties attracted different segments of the social order and they fought each other on a host of issues. Overall, according to Crofts, Democrats were more wedded to the plantation regime while Whigs sought to move away from the old social order. Moreover, the bitter party rivalry of the antebellum period set the stage for the debate over the issue of secession. Crofts carefully notes that although the vast majority of Southampton whites supported the Confederacy when forced to choose sides in war, the nonslaveholding former Whigs initially rejected secession. It was this same group that became deeply alienated from the Confederacy as the disastrous war progressed. After the war, the old partisan rivalry began to emerge again, quickly to assume a new division almost completely along racial lines.

The greatest strength of this book is in its reiteration of the notion that the white South was not monolithic. Crofts clearly demonstrates that the whites of Old Southampton bitterly opposed each other on a host of issues throughout the antebellum period, as well as during secession and the Civil War. Its main problem is the problem of all studies that rely too heavily on elections and electoral data. To study elections is to study only one form of political activity. Nothing better illustrates this problem than the ease with which Crofts removes Nat Turner from his study. Because Turner never ran for office and never became a subject of party rivalry, he had no role to play in this study of the politics of Old

Southampton. But the white men who collected parts of Turner's dissected body were engaged in a political act at least as important as when they voted on the issue of banks. Similarly, although Crofts ignores it, African Americans must have had a political life before they participated in the electoral politics of Reconstruction. A full study of politics and society in Old Southampton should recognize the importance of a politics that involves voting as well as a politics that does not.

KENNETH S. GREENBERG  
Suffolk University

JAMES D. BILOTTA. *Race and the Rise of the Republican Party, 1848-1865*. (American University Studies, series 9; History, number 123.) New York: Peter Lang. 1992. Pp. xxiii, 524. \$75.95.

Historians have long been aware of the racial views of most antislavery advocates. Numerous studies published during the last thirty years have portrayed the basic racism that led the majority of Free Soilers and Republicans to advocate the containment of slavery as a means of keeping all blacks out of the territories. They believed that by combining containment with colonization they would eventually rid the nation of an unwanted population. The purpose of James D. Bilotta's study is to elaborate on this concept with a thorough development of the racial views of antislavery politicians as well as those of the literary and scientific communities. The result is a study that is both revealing and disconcerting in outlining the extent of nineteenth-century racism. Yet the book also suffers from excessive length and exaggeration and does not always fully consider the extent of counter views.

There can be no question that most antislavery advocates had an intense dislike of African Americans and a belief in their inferiority. As Bilotta shows, whites also feared economic competition should blacks be permitted to settle in large numbers in the territories or northern states. Most therefore consistently attacked miscegenation and championed colonization. Bilotta makes his greatest contribution in detailing the views of naturalists and ethnologists such as Louis Agassiz and Daniel Drake, as well as publicists and editors including Frederick Law Olmsted, B. Gratz Brown, Horace Greeley, and Hinton Rowan Helper. In portraying blacks as inferior, these men championed a polygenic view of creation in which distinct races originated separately. Thus, they rejected the biblical interpretation of a single creation that made the positions of superior and inferior more difficult to argue.

In his description of the racial views of antislavery politicians, however, Bilotta is guilty of unnecessary repetition and excessive cataloguing of what appears to be virtually every racial statement ever made. The author begins with the Free Soil movement and then

traces the arguments of Republicans through the Civil War years. The constant repetition leads Bilotta to introduce his evidence with revealing statements such as, "as the reader must know by this time" (p. 436). This is precisely the problem, and many readers will conclude that the thesis could have been more effectively argued in less than half the space.

Bilotta is sometimes guilty of exaggeration, as when he argues that Henry Clay was an antislavery supporter because he on occasion advocated containment. To suggest that Drake was a founder of the Free Soil Party in Ohio is as misleading as to describe obscure congressmen Julius Rockwell, Chauncey Cleveland, Ephraim Smart, and John Niles as "national politicians" (p. 86) and representative of Free Soil racist thinking. In Bilotta's defense, he does explain the position of the minority, including prominent figures such as Salmon P. Chase, Frederick Douglass, and Joshua Giddings, who opposed the prevailing view. A significant omission, however, is Charles Sumner, whose egalitarian beliefs are largely ignored. Nor does the author leave sufficient room for the changing opinions of Abraham Lincoln. Bilotta instead emphasizes the president's disdain for blacks and desire for colonization, rather than recognizing his evolving support of abolition and the use of black troops for reasons other than racism.

Bilotta is to be praised for his thorough and meticulous research into the essential primary sources and secondary works. Readers seeking to know all there is to know about the racial views of antislavery advocates will be richly rewarded. But they will be overwhelmed by the encyclopedic approach and will need to look elsewhere for a more balanced understanding of the antebellum generation.

FREDERICK J. BLUE  
Youngstown State University

ANNE C. ROSE. *Victorian America and Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 304. \$29.95.

In this volume, Anne C. Rose links the insights of studies of Victorian culture and books that see the Civil War as a historical watershed and presents a picture of the conflict as an important event in the lives of Victorian Americans, who lived it, thought about it, and wrote about it in the terms of their culture. She humanizes the war—making it one event among many in lives filled with joys and sorrows, crises and glories—and reminds us that individuals confronted that war with cultural baggage packed decades before it began. Rose also notes the role the war played in the process of historical change. She argues that the war confirmed for many Victorians their ambivalence toward religion, their embrace of family, and the importance of work but at the same time set in motion forces that would create the social turmoil and cultural uncertainty of the Gilded Age.

Simple titles—religion, work, leisure, family, and politics—announce the subject of each chapter. Rose presents in each case a nuanced summary of Victorian attitudes toward and experiences of the subject, then shows how it figured in the experience of war. Religion, which was individually demanding and also complemented by secular culture before the war, informed the experience of war. The conflict was often articulated in religious terms, inspired religious ardor, and provided an outlet for spiritual yearnings not satisfied in Victorian churches. Nevertheless, the war eased the transition from a religious culture to one based more on politics and civil issues. Similarly, work and family, both considered central to identity formation but at times frustrating in the antebellum years, provided ways of thinking about the Civil War. The war, in turn, permitted Victorians to recognize and value the place of work and family in their lives as they endured the trials of war. Rose agrees with George Fredrickson that the war helped legitimize a turn toward bureaucratic rationalization of politics and government, but she insists as well that it fired Victorians' romantic imagination. Thus, she sees both romantic and bureaucratic impulses in the politics of the Civil War and its aftermath.

As a book about Victorian America, this one necessarily focuses on the middle class. Indeed, Rose draws evidence from the private papers and published works of 175 Americans who were exemplars of Victorianism and who experienced the war. To her credit, she includes among her representatives men and women, southerners, northerners, and westerners as a way of addressing the gender and regional varieties of the Victorian experience.

In short, while one might quarrel with Rose over minor points—some of her examples of the secular complements to religion are not particularly compelling, and her argument for the war reinforcing ideas about leisure seems stretched—such disagreement would not diminish the importance of her work. The ideas set forth in her splendid introduction and elaborated in each chapter must be reckoned with in any future work on either the Civil War or Victorian Culture.

SUSAN CURTIS  
Purdue University

JOHN J. HENNESSY. *Return to Bull Run: The Campaign and Battle of Second Manassas*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1993. Pp. xiv, 607. \$27.50.

No less a noted Civil War historian than James I. Robertson has observed that this book by John J. Hennessy is "the deepest, most comprehensive, and most definitive work . . . by the unchallenged authority" on the battles of Bull Run. Such is the case. This book is everything it is advertised to be. Hennessy, formerly a historian at Manassas National Battlefield, has done an outstanding job on a battle and campaign

that has not received as much attention in the post-World War II era as the Peninsular campaign or Antietam.

This book is written in a style that reminds one of Douglas Southall Freeman. Hennessy's talent is not only sorting out the multiple actions of the contending forces but also telling a good story. His narrative is exciting; one seems to be with the regiments as they struggled on the field of battle.

The work's purpose is to provide a detailed study of the second Manassas campaign, since "no other campaign . . . demonstrates the good and the bad that characterized the first two years of war in Virginia" (p. xii). Treating the campaign as a case study, Hennessy examines the experiences of both armies as the campaign unfolded, and he concludes that the most important result was the emergence of Robert E. Lee as a field commander and his subordinates in well-defined roles: Stonewall Jackson, fast and daring, and James Longstreet, cautious and reactive. "Each would act in his respective capacity again, but in no other campaign would they do so simultaneously" (p. 457). The author observes that Lee would never come closer to destroying a Union army than at Bull Run; indeed, he "may have fought cleverer battles, but this was his greatest campaign" (p. 458). In his conclusions, Hennessy revises the traditional view held of Longstreet and asserts that Longstreet was neither overbearing nor dominating of Lee and observes that the Confederate victory was the result of maneuver and timing aided by Yankee mismanagement (p. 461).

In stark contrast to the well-oiled Confederate war machine, the Union Army of Virginia, Hennessy concludes, "toiled under poor or average leadership at every level of the high command" (p. 463). The efforts by John Pope to exonerate himself by blaming everyone else failed because the responsibility for the defeat belonged to the Union high command: Henry Halleck, George McClellan, and Pope. Cited as reasons for the defeat are Halleck's decision to remove McClellan's army from the Peninsula, and McClellan's ego and obstructionist tactics once ordered to move. The primary architect for the Union disaster, however, was Pope. His failure to use his cavalry properly, failure to evaluate military intelligence, and failure to react for thirty-six hours to Jackson's flank march all contributed to the loss.

Finally, Pope failed by offering to give battle on a battlefield of Jackson's choosing. Perhaps "Pope's most spectacular and inexplicable failure was his persistent pattern of illogical reasoning" (p. 470).

ROBERT G. MANGRUM  
Howard Payne University

DIANE LICHTENSTEIN. *Writing Their Nations: The Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Jewish Women Writers*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 176. \$24.95.

The historiography of American Jewry has concentrated on the late nineteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries, focusing on the mass migration of East European Jews and that migration's social, political, and cultural impact. Among the studies of the Jewish immigrants and their interaction with American society, some attention has recently been paid to women, to their experiences in the family and in the worlds of work and politics, and to their writing and their representation in popular culture. Given the relative paucity of scholarship on the nineteenth-century American Jewish community, and on its development, it is not surprising that there is correspondingly little on the culture of women within that community.

In fact, this is the first book to address systematically the literature produced by nineteenth-century American Jewish women, largely of middle-class, Central European origin, or descended from the Sephardi immigrants of the colonial period. As a professor of English and Women's Studies, Diane Lichtenstein is concerned with what she labels "the tradition" of Jewish women's writing in the nineteenth century, not with their history. Although she offers a sustained treatment of the two most popular female Jewish authors of the period, the poet Emma Lazarus and the novelist Edna Ferber, she pays considerable attention to a variety of little-known figures, primarily poets such as Penina Moise, Rebekah Hyneman, and Adah Isaacs Menken; fiction writers such as Emma Wolf, Adelina Cohnfeldt Lust, and Sara Miller; and non-fiction writers such as Nina Morais (Cohen) and Rebekah Kohut. Given their disparate origins and concerns, it appears that Lichtenstein imposes a group identity with which some of the writers would have felt uncomfortable.

Identifying the central myth within American Jewish women's literature as that of the "Mother in Israel," Lichtenstein illustrates how Jewish women adapted elements of the American ideal of True Womanhood to display the congruence of American and Jewish ideals. Indeed, she persuasively demonstrates that in their work Jewish women writers in nineteenth-century America repeatedly addressed the issue of creating identities that would do justice to the multiple aspects of their loyalties and consciousness as Americans, Jews, and women. She also shows the persistence of the "Mother in Israel" theme among the women writers, even as they accommodated to the changes in women's lives that occurred with the emergence of the "New Woman" at the end of the century.

Because of Lichtenstein's focus on the literature itself, historians will miss a full discussion of the social milieus of the authors whose work is discussed. Analysis of the authors' efforts to bring together the different aspects of their identities would have been enhanced by comparison with contemporary male writing on the subject and by judicious consideration of the voluminous historiographical literature on



Jewish assimilation in the modern period. The use of the term "two nations" to describe the American and Jewish elements of the women's identities, for example, seems anachronistic for nineteenth-century Western Jews who, with few exceptions, resolutely rejected a Jewish nationalist self-definition. Still, Lichtenstein has served the fields of American women's and Jewish history well in recovering the voices of a lost group of Jewish women writers and in interpreting their work within the contexts of their gender and ethnicity.

PAULA E. HYMAN  
Yale University

DONALD J. PISANI. *To Reclaim a Divided West: Water, Law, and Policy, 1848–1902*. (Histories of the American Frontier.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 487. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$19.95.

Donald J. Pisani has followed his acclaimed *From Family Farm to Agribusiness* (1984) with another outstanding study, this time analyzing the kaleidoscopic pattern—or maybe crazy-quilt—of water law and policy in the West between 1848 and 1902. The chapters read episodically, but for good reason: Pisani argues persuasively that he is dealing not with one "West" but with many regions, each with its own uniqueness and peculiarities. What worked in the East for water law—riparian ownership—stumbled badly in the West. Or did it? Its chief rival, the doctrine of prior appropriation, made sense in areas of limited stream flow. States such as California, however, offered a variety of landscapes, and thus fielded an array of special interests committed to whatever water policy suited their particular needs. The mining industry, cattle ranching, and agriculture all made claims on the ownership or use of water.

Looming over all this wrangling was the possibility—some considered it a threat, Pisani labels it a "specter"—of the federal government setting water policy for the entire West. No entrepreneur could afford to underwrite the ambitious schemes launched for irrigated districts, dams, or reclamation; neither could local or state governments, or the territories. When it came to formulating a federal policy for western water, the federal government found conditions varying so widely from one area to another that no consistent pattern could be established. As a result, western water policy emerged only in fragmentary and parochial fashion. Western states and territories attempted to deal with extractive and agricultural economies that rode cycles of boom and bust, as colonization projects, mutual water companies, irrigation districts, and reclamation projects were as often as not stillborn or ultimately financial disasters for the governments and entrepreneurs involved, not to mention the hapless settlers, investors, promoters, and ranchers.

Pisani traces the currents of these murky waters to what was hailed as the triumph of water policy, the Reclamation Act of 1902. That it emerged as much less than its backers had hoped for only validated what should have been obvious all along: that a water policy for the entire West was "problematical given the size, limited tax base, and divisions within the arid states." "Federalism created many Wests," Pisani concludes, "and that legacy persists" (p. 336).

The book is the latest entry in the *Histories of the American Frontier* series, begun almost thirty years ago by Holt, Rinehart and Winston and continued by the University of New Mexico Press. The volume stands as one of the most ambitious in the series, with almost 100 pages of source notes based on extensive archival research and thorough examination of a manuscript and published sources. It also stands as a major contribution to the field of water resource development.

ABRAHAM HOFFMAN  
Los Angeles Valley College

PETER G. BOAG. *Environment and Experience: Settlement Culture in Nineteenth-Century Oregon*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 209. \$35.00.

The field of environmental history has been developing for a number of years, and it gains more maturity and depth with each book published on the subject. In this study, Peter G. Boag examines the relationship between settlers and the environment in the early settlement history of Oregon.

The study focuses on Oregon's Calapooia Valley in particular and Willamette Valley in general. Boag attempts to answer several questions about the relationship between the Euro-American settlers and western landscapes and environment in Oregon. In sum, he says that his study is "an investigation into the origins of, and the changes in, the western American environment, and the changes over time in the relationship between them (and their descendants) and the western landscape in the nineteenth century" (p. xiv).

This work is thoroughly based in primary research. Among other things, Boag used diaries and letters written by the settlers to the Calapooia and those who passed through it. In addition, he consulted published contemporary works, public documents, and newspapers of the area.

Boag challenges the older view of the intellectual relationship with the environment. Instead of viewing the settlers as persons at war with the environment who spent their time trying to "conquer" it, he looks at the multifaceted relationship that existed between settlers and the environment that they encountered.

This work emphasizes that western settlers came across the continent with a variety of cultural beliefs about the environment. Their earlier views of wilderness were challenged in the western regions. When

they came West they attempted to reestablish the culture and society that they knew in the East. Instead they found that they had to cope with the new environment and in the process changed the landscape and, in turn, were changed by it.

Unlike some newer interpretations, Boag does not attack the Euro-American settlers. He recognizes that they made many positive contributions to the West at the same time that they changed nature. But as he points out, they were not the first to do so. The Native Americans who inhabited the valleys before them, the Kalapuya, also changed the environment. In fact, the Euro-American settlement of the Willamette Valley ended the continuing changes that the Kalapuya had been making to the area. In short, the impact of the Euro-Americans on Oregon was multifaceted and complex.

One may not agree with all of Boag's interpretations and conclusions, but few can argue with the value of the work. It is an important contribution to the scholarship of environmental history.

DONALD W. WHISENHUNT  
Western Washington University

BARBARA CLOUD. *The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier*. (Wilbur S. Shepperson Series in History and Humanities.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 255. \$27.95.

In her preface to this book, Barbara Cloud acknowledges, "like it or not . . . business influences journalistic content." By norms of professional journalism, that might be a contentious statement, but it is not likely to raise many eyebrows among historians in general. In the end, however, this work offers little new insight into precisely how the performance of frontier journalism was affected by its conditions of production, and its evidence does not bear out the founding assumption that western newspapers differed substantially from their contemporaries.

Cloud does provide a rich compilation of information about the activities of journalists in eleven western states between 1846 and 1890. The work is divided into topical chapters on circulation, advertising, job printing, technologies of production, labor, transportation, news services, and so forth. She draws on a wide array of secondary works, a number of manuscript collections, and the files of some eighty newspapers, three-quarters from the states of Washington and Nevada. Although each chapter is organized into suitable subtopics, Cloud rarely shifts from retelling the stories of particular newsmen to speculate about the wider significance of her subject. The result is a lively but indiscriminate mélange of memoirists' anecdotes, journalists' self-promotion, and the conclusions of recent academic researchers, jumbled together with little or no analytical perspective.

More problematic, however, is the author's uncritical adoption of categories—such as "the West" and

"frontier"—that have been the subject of much discussion and redefinition. The book's organization by topic rather than chronology or subregion obscures the vast differences that existed within the parameters of "the western frontier": between San Francisco in the 1850s and the 1880s, for example; between the cultures and economies of the West Coast, the Rocky Mountain states, and the Southwest; and between urban and rural communities.

Although Cloud acknowledges the existence of a debate over definitions of "the frontier," she fails to provide a convincing rationale for retaining a largely Turnerian conception of her topic. She seems to fail to recognize that she is perpetuating a distorted view of the frontier in her automatic exclusion of all religious papers (except for the Mormon *Deseret News*), all "foreign language press" (at a time when for many in the West Spanish could hardly be considered a foreign language), and any other "clearly special-interest newspapers." Such distinctions stem from current professional definitions of what constitutes the "mainstream" press, but they are highly anachronistic. Moreover, if the work as a whole can be said to have an organizing narrative, it is the story of the newspaper as "civilizing" force, as agent in the grand struggle "to establish civilization where none had been before" (p. 3). This is undoubtedly the way journalists of the day thought of themselves, and is at the very basis of the "Whig" interpretation of history that continues to dominate much of journalism history, but it is nonetheless dismaying to see this view accepted so uncritically in a work of history in the 1990s.

SALLY GRIFFITH  
Villanova University

CAROLE TURBIN. *Working Women of Collar City: Gender, Class, and Community in Troy, New York, 1864–86*. (The Working Class in American History: Women in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 231. \$39.95.

Women who worked in the collar industry in Troy, New York, in the nineteenth century challenged the then-as-now widely held view that wage-earning women are unorganizable or disinterested in unionism. The Collar Laundry Union, founded in 1864, was the first continuously organized women's trade union in the United States. Engaging in collective action over the next thirty years, it grew from a 500-member organization to the 4,000-member Joan of Arc Assembly of the Knights of Labor in the mid-1880s, then the largest of Troy's thirty-eight Knights of Labor locals and the largest assembly of women Knights in the country. Rather than ask why most nineteenth-century working women remained unorganized, Carole Turbin asks what enabled these women to organize and to form successful and permanent unions, develop an awareness of shared in-

terests, and forge alliances with male workers. The result is a complex and provocative portrait of wage-earning women in late-nineteenth-century America that emphasizes the diversity of working women's experiences and labor activism and significantly advances our understanding of gender and class.

Heavily immigrant in origin, the female labor force of Troy worked primarily in the collar industry either as collar sewers or as collar laundresses. Like female wage earners elsewhere in the period, Troy's Irish collar women were largely young and single. But a significant minority were widows supporting children or parents and siblings. Troy also was more economically diverse than many cities and thus offered Irish women an unusual alternative to domestic service and Irish men an alternative to unskilled day labor. Collar laundresses, moreover, earned more than most working women because the work was skilled; similarly, iron work offered Irish men skilled and steady labor. The Irish community in Troy was tightly knit; the city's labor movement was one of the best organized in the United States. All these circumstances provided Troy's collar women with motives and resources that working women elsewhere lacked.

The collar women of Troy, Turbin contends, were exceptional but not unique. Their activism highlights diversity in nineteenth-century women's labor history and undermines the assumption that men identify primarily with the workplace and women identify with the home. Differences between working-class men and women, she argues, need not be dichotomous. Disaggregating census data, Turbin shows that single or widowed working women lived under a variety of conditions, had different responsibilities, and had varied patterns of labor force participation over the course of their lives. The collar women of Troy, therefore, also cannot be understood in dichotomous terms; they were not simply independent or dependent, temporary or permanent workers, uncommitted or committed workers. This complex rendering of women and their relationship to work makes more explicable the seeming contradiction between working women's and men's simultaneous endorsement of the family wage ideology—with its conservatively gendered intents and purposes—and of the militant unionism of wage-earning women. It also indicates how permeable were the boundaries between home and work for working-class people.

The book is not without flaws. The disaggregation of census data reveals the diversity of women's living arrangements and indicates that interdependence was necessary for women and men to support their families, but Turbin can only speculate about the implications for gender relations within households, as her frequent use of the words "probably" and "likely" suggests. The two parts of the book also remain too distinct and separate. A more integrated organization merging demographic analysis and the narrative of the strikes of 1864, 1869, and 1886 would have enhanced the work. The larger purpose

and significance of Turbin's study, however, outweigh the problems of argument and organization. Effectively challenging conventional wisdom about women's relationship to family and work, the book is an original and important contribution to labor and women's history.

NANCY F. GABIN  
Purdue University

CAROL K. COBURN. *Life at Four Corners: Religion, Gender, and Education in a German-Lutheran Community, 1868–1945*. (Rural America.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1992. Pp. xii, 227. \$29.95.

Block Corners, Kansas, was once a thriving village hub for a large German-Lutheran settlement in Miami County, about seventy miles south-southwest of Kansas City. Carol K. Coburn, descended herself from its settlers, has written an excellent interdisciplinary study of the "transmission of education and culture across four generations" (p. 3) using demographics as well as qualitative sources such as newspaper and oral history accounts, and church and school records. Her theoretical framework is constructed around four "networks of association" that are the primary arenas in which culture was passed from one generation to the next. The networks around which life at Block Corners was organized were the Lutheran church—Missouri Synod congregation, the congregation's parochial school, the family, and the "outside world" of employment, business contacts, and military service. Coburn's study includes something for historians with a variety of interests: ethnicity, education, immigration and assimilation, gender roles, rural life, religion (especially Lutheranism), family life and fertility rates, nativism, and more.

Although Block Corners looked much like other midwestern rural ethnic communities, it was able to resist assimilation until well into the twentieth century. The cohesiveness and tenacity of the immigrant culture at Block Corners was a result, argues Coburn, of three separate and interrelated dynamics. First, Missouri-Synod Lutheranism "tightly bonded ethnicity to religious beliefs" (p. 6). Within such a culture, true religion was inseparable from German language and customs. This message from the pulpit was reinforced in the elementary parochial school, headed by the pastor, which was, until the 1930s, the only source of formal education most Block Corners children received. These German Lutherans were shunned even by other Germans and other Lutherans.

A second source of cohesiveness was a high level of community homogeneity. The largest group of settlers came from the same province in Germany (Hanover), spoke the same distinctive dialect, and attracted a steady stream of new immigrants with many of the same characteristics and goals. A third factor

accounting for Block Corners' ability to remain relatively untouched by mainstream culture was its geographical isolation. The village at Block Corners had its own post office, business district, and telephone service that permitted adequate autonomy. Coburn concludes that Block Corners resembled the Amish enclaves more than it did the assimilated Protestant communities in midwestern towns.

Coburn's inclusion of gender as a major dynamic in cultural transmission is especially helpful. She reminds us that many generalizations about gender roles in nineteenth-century Protestant culture, such as the idea of separate spheres for men and women, are not accurate for rural society. And even in a rigidly patriarchal family and church system, women at Block Corners survived on their own terms by creating networks of support and empowerment. In fact, young women, "hired out" to families in Paola or Kansas City in the 1920s and transformed by exposure to life beyond Block Corners, were one of the most potent forces of assimilation.

This book is a sound and readable description of understudied strands in U.S. history and culture.

BETTY A. DEBERG  
Valparaiso University

JANE MARIE PEDERSON. *Between Memory and Reality: Family and Community in Rural Wisconsin, 1870–1970*. (History of American Thought and Culture.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 314. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$17.95.

This book's title is borrowed from a Norwegian American who saw himself and his generation as mediators between a peasant past and a "land of tomorrow" (p. 32). In many ways, Jane Marie Pederson played an analogous role in writing this book. As one who grew up on a farm, she has "long been troubled by the 'gratuitous insults' aimed at rural folk" (p. 6). She chose therefore to revisit a region in Wisconsin, similar to that in which she was raised, which had been examined nearly thirty-five years ago by Merle Curti and his associates in their study of "frontier democracy." Living in the rural communities of Pigeon and Lincoln in Trempealeau County, the people in her story consist primarily of Norwegian immigrants and their families who overwhelmed an earlier Yankee settlement. Pederson finds a society quite different from that which Curti described.

Pederson's Trempealeau County evokes a rural world that lacked outright conflict and seemed downright bucolic until 1945, a stark contrast with the urban world about it and the changes that would occur after World War II. Her rural communities remained isolated and distinct from the modernizing urban communities around them; they resiliently fostered cultural patterns that were transplanted and adapted to a new environment. The rural communities of Trempealeau were changing, but they were

not becoming like a homogenized mainstream. A brief series of examples illustrates her argument. Because migration itself could be "a profoundly conservative act" (p. 22), the ethnic communities did not necessarily seek "acculturation" (p. 23). Farm families remained tied to the land; cultural forms of language and religion were retained; immigrant groups such as the Norwegians brought "their peasant politics to the American frontier" (p. 54). Economically, the "immigrant pioneers" reoriented themselves to traditional patterns of animal husbandry and cooperative enterprises that maintained control over market forces (p. 78). They retained a "high regard for strength and hard work" (p. 141), which in fact were "traditional" traits since their work was aimed at acquiring land to be passed to the next generation (p. 143). The intergenerational transfer of land was "smooth" due to a family cohesiveness (p. 102). Those who did leave their rural homes "did not necessarily leave because they were dissatisfied" (p. 108). This was a happy world indeed, but one that came to an end around 1940 when machines individualized farm operations and the market's "determining power" became greater than ever.

Pederson should be commended for her sympathetic portrayal of those who stayed behind in the rural ethnic communities of the Middle West. Yet I question various emphases and research techniques. First, by stressing consensus within society—ironically not unlike Curti's world—conflict within communities and families, and between ethnic groups, genders, and classes is muted. Second, although Pederson's actors are predominantly Norwegian in background, she does not use Norwegian-language sources and is forced to rely on those in English. This is perhaps less problematic than attributing American pasts to immigrant group experiences. Because the "social realities" of nineteenth-century Norway corresponded more to seventeenth-century England than those of nineteenth-century America (p. 119), she occasionally compares the minds of the pietistic low church Norwegians with the New England saints. I would suggest that these cultural pasts were more distinctive than she implies. In sum, by downplaying conflict and cultural difference, Pederson tends to homogenize the rural world. We profit from reading about rural folk who in general were somewhat antimarket, socially progressive, and ultimately "good." Yet we also lose a sense of the cultural variance and social conflict that was so much a part of rural middle western society.

JON GJERDE  
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JOHN N. VOGEL. *Great Lakes Lumber on the Great Plains: The Laird, Norton Lumber Company in South Dakota*. Foreword by WAYNE FRANKLIN. (The American Land and Life Series.) Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 195. \$27.95.



"A sea of forest" was the way one nineteenth-century lumberman described the wooded terrain of western Wisconsin. Immigrants to the Great Plains, however, encountered a proverbial "sea of grass." The story of the relationship between the development of these two environmentally diverse frontiers is a magnificent theme. Although John N. Vogel has not realized the full potential of the topic, he deserves credit for drawing attention to the problems and promise of a sadly neglected chapter of regional history.

Vogel attempts to understand the story of Great Lakes region lumber on the Great Plains through a case study of one Wisconsin manufacturer, the Laird, Norton Lumber Company, and its operations in South Dakota between 1878 and 1888. This is a prudent selection, in part because Laird, Norton has one of the best collections of business records of any Wisconsin company, and in part because the company and its competitors have received considerable attention from historians. From this solid base, Vogel explores Laird, Norton's involvement in the Dakota land boom. He details how the company arranged for lumber yards to be established in railroad boom towns, where merchants preferred to locate their yards, and the ups and downs of selling lumber on the plains. In a brief but intriguing concluding chapter titled "Boom, Bust and Buildings," Vogel suggests the way cheap Wisconsin lumber altered the cultural landscape of the Great Plains.

Although Vogel shows some interest in geographical and material culture themes (which warrant more extensive treatment), the core of his study is a business history. He does an excellent job charting the spread of Laird, Norton lumberyards across South Dakota. A series of time-sequence maps are particularly helpful. Unfortunately, his case study is hampered by a surprising inattention to the details of the lumber business. Since the story of the success and failure of lumberyards is the heart of the book, it is strange to find no discussion of the type of products sold via the local yards. Vogel gives the impression that only dimension lumber was sold in the yards, but surely a wider range of building products was needed to turn Wisconsin wood into Great Plains homes. Nor is there any indication of the type of wood sent west. He implies pine, but was there a market for cedar or hemlock, perhaps even hardwoods? Did the demand for shingles, siding, sashes, posts, nails, and plaster change over time? Vogel does a nice job documenting the clamor for lumber during the first years of settlement, but we do not have any sense how manufacturers like Laird, Norton adapted to changes in the market.

This book does not deliver all that it promises, but it does explore an important topic for both environmental and business historians.

THEODORE J. KARAMANSKI  
 *Loyola University of Chicago*

GREGORY J. HIGBY. *In Service to American Pharmacy: The Professional Life of William Procter, Jr.* (History of American Science and Technology Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 269. \$34.95.

The professional career of William Procter, Jr., of Philadelphia determined the direction that the American pharmaceutical profession would take in the century following his death in 1874. Although few of Procter's personal papers have survived, Gregory J. Higby has thoroughly explored Procter's extensive professional writings and written an exemplary and skillfully crafted "professional life."

Procter defined pharmacy as "*the art of preparing Medicines*. It embraces the knowledge and ability that enables an individual to modify those materials of nature, that [possess] remedial powers, in such a manner as to conduce most effectively to their actions as medicine" (p. 200). He learned this lesson as an apprentice and at the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, and it underlay his entire life's work, beginning in his own modest shop in Philadelphia. Not only did he fill doctors' prescriptions there but he also experimented endlessly. Procter's prodigious output of scientific papers focused chiefly on improving methods for analyzing drug plants and for extracting active therapeutic principles from them, but he made no startling discoveries.

Higby begins by outlining the state of American pharmacy when Procter entered it in the 1830s. A chapter on Procter's character is prelude to six chapters on various aspects of his career, which matured so rapidly that he was a leader of his profession within a few years of completing his training. For instance, he helped lead the unending fight to insure drug quality in the freewheeling late nineteenth century. When political cronyism made the Drug Importation Act of 1848 unenforceable, he turned his efforts toward strengthening the standards for purity given in the *U.S. Pharmacopoeia*. Those efforts were not immediately successful, but they did see fruition soon after his death.

Procter skillfully exploited three pulpits while crusading for pure drugs expertly prepared. His editorship of the *American Journal of Pharmacy* for over twenty years was probably the most efficient sounding board for his ideas and his own research, and for promoting the work of others. A founding member of the American Pharmaceutical Association, his membership on many of its committees gave him a chance to persuade his peers, usually successfully, even if he never became entirely sympathetic to large pharmaceutical manufacturers such as his friend E. R. Squibb. Finally, Procter trained two generations of pharmacists during his years as professor of practical pharmacy at the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy; his lectures were considered boring, but he fostered learning by his own example, and by the attention he gave his students.

Higby explains the few technical terms he introduces. The illustrations and three brief appendixes in Procter's words complement the text, the bibliography and notes are impressive, and the index is adequate. This book is highly recommended to students of nineteenth-century America as a clear window on a developing applied science and some of its financial ramifications. It also succeeds as a biography of the man who, nearly single-handedly, gave his profession its goals and standards for many years.

J. WORTH ESTES

*Boston University School of Medicine*

ELIZABETH B. KEENEY. *The Botanizers: Amateur Scientists in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 206. \$34.95.

During the nineteenth century, botany ranked as the most popular recreational science, involving many middle-class white women in organized study clubs and collecting activities. Before the death of Asa Gray in 1888, the common goal of filling out the North American taxonomy united amateur and scientific botanists. Educational programs, journals, and institutions connected thousands of summer excursions into the nation's eastern and midwestern rural hinterland to university herbaria and winter's college lectures. At the end of the century, professionalization of disciplinary botany rapidly split popular botanists from their scientific leaders. Recreational botany did not fade away, however. It remained popular at least until the early years of this century. Elizabeth B. Keeney has carefully researched the cultural phenomenon of recreational botany, paying attention to the role and values of women participants. Although recognizing the importance of changes in disciplinary botany in severing amateurs from professionals (the relative decline of herbarium and rise of the experimental laboratory in the "New Botany," for instance), her well-written book makes an important contribution to understanding the social process of professionalization by emphasizing the different motivations of amateurs and professionals.

Keeney argues that in antebellum America, motivation rather than knowledge and skills primarily distinguished recreational from scientific botanists. Amateurs wanted to collect, identify, and preserve specimens for personal enrichment; the few professionals—John Torrey, Asa Gray—desired to advance scientific knowledge. They mentored amateurs not because of shared motivation, but because they benefited from amateur botanizing. Amateur memberships maintained the networks that channeled collections to scientists. Amateur subscriptions floated journals, such as the *American Journal of Science*, for which scientists, such as Gray, wrote columns. The amateur market made possible publication of floral manuals and textbooks by scientists. Amateur enthu-

siasm increased school enrollments in botany as the secondary school movement grew during the century, thereby increasing the opportunity for disciplinary study and employment for scientifically trained botany teachers. Although scientific institutions began to professionalize from mid-century, increasing independence did not put amateurs off professional botany. Recreational botany evolved a new set of values that drew amateur participants. In the antebellum period, enthusiasts recommended botany as a matter of personal reform; in the postbellum era of diminished reform energies, they claimed botany offered skills for personal advancement. Even as evolution theory gained acceptance among scientists, amateurs continued to profess belief in conventional natural theology. Scientists and amateurs maintained their ties by the empiricism of descriptive floristics and utilitarianism of plant studies that made it possible to set aside theological issues.

When professionals and amateurs split at the end of the nineteenth century, it was less a divorce than a drifting apart. The split only momentarily manifested itself in institutional issues that generated conflict, such as the effort of professional botanists to remove nature study, enjoyed by recreational botanists, from the academic curriculum. Generally, professionals did not need amateur support for their institutions or collecting activity. Amateurs, who had different motivations for botanizing all along, went their separate ways. Recreational botany did not disappear, however, until the early twentieth century. Changes in American society external to science undermined the motivation of amateurs to engage in botany. The rise of organized amateur athletics brought different fields and new rules for middle-class play.

RONALD TOBEY

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JOANNE BROWN. *The Definition of a Profession: The Authority of Metaphor in the History of Intelligence Testing, 1890–1930*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 214. \$29.95.

Whereas there are many accounts that study the history of psychology and in particular mental testing, JoAnne Brown's focus is on how the discipline developed itself as a profession. She has prepared herself well for this task with her dissertation in 1986 and subsequent work. Her clear, orderly, and well-written book discusses how psychologists used metaphors from the established professions of medicine and engineering to develop the importance of intelligence testing from 1908 to 1918. She then traces how these tests were integrated into the American educational system in the next decade.

Brown takes heed of the scholarship that has examined what was necessary for a profession to gain acceptance. She does this within the context of the

Progressive Era in the United States. A significant portion of her concise book is devoted to linguistic theory, which the author clearly believes in. In fact, those wishing to become more familiar with the "linguistic turn in American historiography" (p. 191) should read her introduction, first chapter, and part of her bibliographic essay. She believes there is a "false distinction between *metaphor* and *reality*" (p. 154) and tries to broaden the meaning of language to blur or eliminate the distinction between talk and action.

The heart of the book is Brown's discussion of medical and engineering language. Words like "diagnosis," "disinfect," "efficiency," and "human engineering" were used by psychologists to convince the public that the intelligence tests they were promoting were scientifically determined facts and would benefit education. She shows how the psychologists came to use these languages and how the languages created a buffer to deflect criticism of the tests. The language barrier was so strong that the hidden logical fallacies were difficult to expose. Brown also shows how the two languages complemented each other to aid the rise of the profession. When medical words sounded too effete or impractical, psychologists would employ the words of engineers that played to Americans' sense of practicality. Conversely, when psychologists might sound too crass in talking about children as raw material, they could speak as physicians who sought to cure the ills of society.

Brown's book is, if one accepts her assumptions, convincing in its purpose. There are, however, two debatable points. When one extends the meaning of language so broadly that it includes actions, the action becomes subordinated to language. But the reverse relationship could be established with equal validity. One could also claim that language is a form of action. Speech becomes effective only when accompanied by appropriate acts. Thus, the focus is only on acts, and language by itself is reduced to personal musings. The other point is that by using her focus, readers could easily come to believe that the psychologists in her book believed they were only playing word games. Yet Brown also recognizes that they did believe they were seeking and discovering laws of nature, indeed, the facts of existence. Historians must be concerned that the newly treasured method of studying the past does not distort more from "presentism" than it reveals about that past.

HERBERT C. WINIK  
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CLAUDE S. FISCHER. *America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 424. \$25.00.

Claude S. Fisher has made an impressive contribution to the literature on the social history of telephony, a topic that has also been addressed recently in Carolyn Marvin's *When Old Technologies Were New* (1988),

Michele Martin's *Hello Central? Gender, Technology, and Culture in the Formation of Telephone Systems* (1991), and Lana Rakow's *Gender on the Line: Women, the Telephone, and Community Life* (1992).

Fischer considers the history of the telephone partly in traditional terms, from Alexander Graham Bell's fabled "Mr. Watson, come here, I want you" to the present, with telephone service "effectively universal" in American households (p. 255). But his fundamental concerns lie elsewhere, and his key questions pertain to "how Americans before World War II used the telephone in their personal lives and what may have directly resulted therein" (p. 263). This book, in the author's words, "generally moves from the telephone industry to the user to the social role of the telephone, from the national to the local to the personal level" (p. 31).

Fischer analyzes the techniques for marketing telephone service and (using census data for several Northern California communities) contrasts the diffusion of service in rural and urban areas and working and middle-class homes. He describes ways in which individual subscribers responded to the device, particularly the differences between men and women. This rich body of information is adeptly synthesized in 273 pages of text and more than 100 pages of appendixes and references.

Fischer notes that "for a modest price, one could [eventually] pick up a simple device in one's home, dial or punch a few numbers, and speak almost instantly to people near and far" (p. 256). Many would call (or be tempted to call) this a "revolution." But Fischer thinks not, and his explanation is, to me, the most interesting aspect of his book. "The telephone did not radically alter American ways of life," he writes, "rather, Americans used it to more vigorously pursue their characteristic way of life" (p. 5). This concept, that Americans used technologies to reinforce social values to which they were already committed, echoes an argument advanced by George Daniels in a seminal article in *Technology and Culture* on "The Big Questions in American Technology" (1970), and, indeed, a point made by Daniel Boorstin—with specific reference to the telephone—in *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (1973). And Fischer acknowledges this. What is different about his own work is that he has marshaled so compelling a body of empirical evidence.

Although the literature addressing social influences on technology has been growing rapidly, there is less new scholarship on technology's role in society. Partly this is because evidence is both hard to come by and amenable to conflicting interpretations. More fundamentally, it is due to the burden of a discredited determinism that owes much to the Chicago sociologist William F. Ogburn and his notion of "social lag." A later generation of sociologists, social constructionists, has effectively turned Ogburn on his head, and with respect to analyzing technology there has been a

remarkable convergence between sociology and history. Yet significant distinctions remain: historians are less interested in social structure per se, and they are perhaps more inclined to regard technology, after Raymond Williams, Lewis Mumford, and Leo Marx, "as the embodiment or symptom of a deeper cultural 'logic,' representing or transmitting the cultural ethos that determines history" (p. 8).

But Fischer sees such a soft psychocultural determinism as even more problematic than crude mechanistic determinism. Fully understanding the social implications of a technology, he argues, requires "a perspective that stresses the agency of consumers in adapting new technologies to their own ends" (p. 269)—that is, an analysis of what Ruth Schwartz Cowan has called the "consumption junction." Ultimately, Fischer's methodology blends social constructionism's focus on producers, marketers, and technical experts with what he calls a "use heuristic" (p. 21). This is not necessarily a perspective that will yield the same insights with regard to all technologies; it may well be, Fischer suggests by way of example, that "telephone calling reinforced social patterns and television watching revolutionized them" (p. 270). To find out, more studies on the order of Fischer's are essential, studies combining the techniques of history and sociology, and we will certainly be the richer if they are as successfully executed as this study.

ROBERT C. POST  
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ROSEMARY LÉVY ZUMWALT. *Wealth and Rebellion: Elsie Clews Parsons, Anthropologist and Folklorist*. Foreword by ROGER D. ABRAHAMS. (Publication of the American Folklore Society, New Series.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1992. Pp. xxi, 360. \$47.50.

Elsie Clews Parsons (1875–1941) is often called the foremost woman anthropologist in this country during the early twentieth century. In fact, she was virtually the only woman in anthropology at that time, in the hiatus between the informally trained generation of the 1880s (Alice Fletcher, Mathilda C. Stevenson) and the Ph.D.s of the 1920s (Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Gladys Reichard, Hortense Powdermaker). Parsons had earned a Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1899), but it was in sociology. She moved sideways into anthropology in about 1915, after writing several popular (and controversial) books on marriage, sexuality, the family, and social convention, taking part in the liberal and radical life of Greenwich Village in its heyday, and espousing pacifism and family planning. What Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt never quite acknowledges in this balanced and careful account of Parsons's career is how dazzling her sudden entry into the small field of anthropology must have been. Parsons was physically striking, flirtatious enough to have two of the most eminent men in the field vying for her attention,

wealthy (her father was the robber baron Henry Clews), politically well connected (her husband, Herbert Parsons, was a three-term congressman from New York State), and an established professional in a related field. She immediately began to do fieldwork and also became a patron of her new colleagues, financing their field trips and their publications, and even making sure that they had secretarial help. As a result, what Elsie wanted, Elsie got. Anthropologists were so in awe of her (and indebted to her) that they were unable to criticize her. The reader finishes this book thinking how unfortunate it was that nobody ever called Parsons on her research methods in the Southwest, which marred an otherwise distinguished career, left a lasting trail of hostility toward anthropologists in that region, and had tragic consequences in the lives of many Pueblo peoples.

In many respects hers was a distinguished career and one of astonishing productivity. She was a feminist and social reformer until, disillusioned about the possibilities for social change, she decided to devote herself to science, in particular to the meticulous collecting of data in anthropology and folklore. She published at least ten collections of folklore from the Caribbean, the Cape Verde Islands, the Sea Islands, and the Southwest, supported the work of many other collectors, and financed the American Folklore Society almost single-handedly for more than two decades. She published sixteen books on the Southwest, ranging from *Notes on Zuni* (1917) to *The Social Organization of the Tewa in New Mexico* (1929) to *Pueblo Indian Religion* (1939). Zumwalt calls her "the grande dame of anthropology" of the Southwest because of the way she collaborated with and supported other researchers in addition to carrying on her own work. The problem was that what she was most interested in studying was what the Pueblo peoples were most determined to keep secret, that is, their religious knowledge and ritual. Their resistance fed her determination, which she justified in the name of science. So she was "devious and secretive" (p. 241), offered money bribes, played factions off one against the other, insisted on publishing sensitive material including gossip with names, and then attempted to ward off trouble by making her publisher promise not to make the work available in New Mexico. Many of these tactics were not new in anthropology in the Southwest, but Parsons carried them to new extremes and encouraged others working with her to do the same. Inevitably there was retribution in the pueblos, and people thought to have been her informants were driven out of office, deprived of their land, and physically threatened.

Zumwalt based this book on Parsons's letters and papers, and for the most part she tells Parsons's story from the protagonist's point of view. The book is well organized and appropriately emphasizes Parsons's contributions to the American Folklore Society, which



has sponsored its publication. This will be an invaluable starting point for all future work on Parsons.

JOAN MARK

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ROBERT M. CRUNDEN. *American Salons: Encounters with European Modernism, 1885–1917*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 493. \$35.00.

To write a history of modernism in America is a messy and difficult project. Modernism slides away from easy definitions and its cast of characters is immense. Robert M. Crunden does not allow these problems to deter him in his sprawling, earnest, but ultimately unsatisfying work about American “encounters” with modernism. He attempts to bring some order to the crowded canvas of modernism by organizing his book into four separate sections. The first section views James McNeill Whistler, William James, and Henry James as modernist “precursors” and “role models.” In the second section, Crunden looks at modernism in a city-by-city approach. Rather than focusing on New York, he centers his attention on the “provinces”—Philadelphia, Chicago, New Orleans, Los Angeles, and Baltimore—where meaningful encounters with modernism were afoot around the turn of the century. From the provinces, Crunden takes his readers to London and Paris; there American and European modernists are found hobnobbing most famously at Leo Stein and Gertrude Stein’s salon. In the final section, Crunden returns to the United States to study developing modernist “networks” in the New York salons of Alfred Stieglitz, Mabel Dodge, and Walter Arensberg and Louise Arensberg.

Readers will not find any single definition of modernism in Crunden’s work, although the term is associated with a sense of alienation on the part of various artists, as well as with their willingness to adopt experimental approaches to form and style. Crunden is convinced that modernism was an urban phenomenon best comprehended by delineating the personal and artistic connections between American and European modernists. Yet Crunden remains in need of an overarching conceptual and evaluative approach to both modernism and to the historical question of the avant garde. Although Crunden does include women within the ranks of his modernist cast, he does not grapple with the importance of male modernists’ antagonism to the challenge of artistic women. Although the Jameses, for instance, might be precursors (at least in terms of historical provenance) to a modernist sensibility, there is certainly as much modernism in their work—even according to Crunden’s evaluation—as in the work of others considered later in the book, such as H. L. Mencken, Theodore Dreiser, or Sherwood Anderson. Indeed, for the years before World War I, the concept of an

archetypal American modernist sensibility may be a less-than-useful fiction. More disappointing is Crunden’s willingness to allow chatty anecdotes and the establishment of connections between a wide cast of characters to obscure the artistic importance of the various modernist works he discusses. This gap is only exacerbated by the illustrations that accompany the text: although one finds photographs of some modernists, not a single work of art is reproduced.

Crunden’s book promises “encounters,” and that is precisely what he delivers. He adequately tells the early artistic histories of many American modernists, some already familiar, others less well known. He limits his analysis of American modernism to the arts, a traditional but questionable choice, since modernist currents were flowing powerfully in American science and technology and in the social sciences. But the strengths and weaknesses of American modernism and its American specificity remain unaddressed. One hopes that Crunden in his projected two volumes tracing American modernism into the 1930s will attune himself more to what was distinctive and important about American modernism. If he does, then he will make a major contribution to the study of American modernism.

GEORGE COTKIN

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SUSAN OLZAK. *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 271. \$32.50.

Equipped with a formidable array of quantitative methods, Susan Olzak explores the connection between competition and conflict in race and ethnic relations. Building on the insights of sociology’s human ecology perspective, especially as it received expression in the classic work of Robert E. Park and in the more recent writings of Frederick Barth, the author attempts to construct a parsimonious and rigorous explanation of the causal impact of competition on conflict. Specifically, Olzak’s argument is that increased levels of competition, seen for example in the breakdown of segregated labor markets, yield increased levels of conflictual collective action.

The first three chapters are intended to locate Olzak’s approach vis-à-vis other theoretical orientations and to discuss the conceptual and operational issues associated with the “event analysis” method that is employed in the empirical inquiries. Olzak made a strategic—and I think problematic—decision at the outset when she established the numerical threshold for collective action at two. This is in contrast to most researchers who, as she notes, generally require a minimum of between ten and twenty (for Charles Tilly the number is fifty).

The book’s empirical chapters, five of which have been published previously, comprise a series of sep-

arate but connected studies that look at protests, riots, and related forms of collective action between 1877 and 1914, during the tumultuous era of mass immigration. The topics surveyed include the impact of economic recession and expansion on ethnic and racial collective action, violence against African Americans (including a chapter on lynching and urban race violence), the changing character of job queues, and competition. A study of ethnic newspapers (coauthored with Elizabeth West) again reveals the author's debt to Park.

Parsimonious explanations may have their virtues, but they also entail distinct costs. In this case, a devaluation of cultural explanations is evident, part of a more general lack of appreciation of historical particularity and contingency. For example, Olzak criticizes theories that explain racial and ethnic attacks as a result of poverty and inequality. A rather obvious matter that she fails to address is who is attacking whom? The factors influencing black attacks on whites, which is characteristic of urban riots from the 1960s to the present, may be rather different from the causal factors precipitating white attacks on blacks, which is the kind of riot or other violent attack analyzed by Olzak.

Olzak's findings indicate that blacks were singled out as the victims of hostility, even when it was immigrant workers who produced increased levels of competition. Although this is generally well known, Olzak variously characterizes such findings as provocative, curious, and strange. They can only be conceived in these and related terms if the unique potency of racism and distinctive patterns of racial discourse are not appreciated. Moreover, there is little evidence of an awareness of the ways in which immigrant workers used race as a wedge intended to enhance their prospects for acceptance by the native-born and their opportunities in the job market.

At various points reservations should be raised about the way data are deployed. For example, in the chapter on ethnic newspapers, Olzak is interested in indicating the role of external conflict in stimulating the development of ethnic organizations. She observes that the number of Swedish newspapers declined between 1894 and 1914, whereas no comparable decline occurred for white immigrant and African-American newspapers. This is attributed to the decline in hostile acts directed at Swedes, in contrast to the continued saliency of conflict for the latter two populations. If Olzak had looked at circulation figures, however, rather than the number of newspapers, she would have discovered that the decade beginning in 1910 was the peak period for Swedish-American newspapers. A more complex analysis is called for, one that looks at European immigrant groups separately rather than in the aggregate (no effort is made to even distinguish the old from the new immigrants), factors in differing group literacy rates, and considers differences in group resources.

Olzak should be thanked for urging a reconsideration of the role of competition and conflict in race and ethnic relations, yet her sociological contribution would have been more valuable had it been more adequately grounded in history.

PETER KIVISTO  
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VICTOR GREENE. *A Passion for Polka: Old-Time Ethnic Music in America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 355. \$28.00.

In this book, Victor Greene hopes to explain why local radio stations from rural Pennsylvania to the rust-belt cities of the upper Midwest are dominated on Sunday afternoons by hours of polka festivals and other varieties of "ethnic music." Describing why he decided to study the origins and influence of Eastern European immigrant music that has transcended its original community appeal to reach broader American audiences, Greene comments that the phenomenon of "ethno-cultural music and dance performed outdoors and in taverns, supper clubs, and cafes struck me as somewhat anachronistic in the late twentieth century, long after the end of large-scale European immigration." He attempts to analyze the history and present appeal of the music that has remained popular in some parts of his home town of Minneapolis and elsewhere. He also argues that his subject deserves more attention because "among academic intellectuals polka music has suffered from a bad image. Most serious critics claimed, for example, that it lacked artistic quality, in large part because it had a rather unsophisticated audience" (p. 3). Greene argues persuasively that "ethnic music" is an ideal topic for a historian of popular culture.

In an effort to rescue this music from the obscurity of local histories, Greene promises an analysis of the relationship of immigration to patterns of settlement and the dissemination of culture. Yet he tells us little about the role of music in the religion, social life, and civic activities of immigrant communities. Indeed, the focus here is on Scandinavian, Czech, Slovenian, Finnish, and other lesser-known ethnic musical groups rather than on the social history of the music and the communities from which it sprang. Personalities dominate over politics and culture, and the reader misses the chance to see where music fit in a variety of changing immigrant American communities at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Greene's analysis of the music business and its relationship to the music of immigrant groups is informative. He recognizes that ethnic communities represented a new market for entrepreneurs who eagerly packaged both live entertainment and the new recording technology. He is correct to remind us that the goal of entertainment salesmen was profit rather than the preservation of ethnic cultures, but this news is neither new nor surprising. The well-

documented example of the exploitation of African-American musical artists by the Theater Owners' Booking Agency (TOBA, often referred to as "Tough on black artists," or, more colloquially, "Tough on black asses") and the marketing of so-called "race records" in northern black communities is instructive.

Greene's discussion of ethnic bands and recordings will be helpful to those readers who are looking for facts about particular performers and their music. His analysis is marred, however, by numerous references to the lack of attention to his topic by earlier writers and a defensiveness about the importance of his subject. Sadly, if the reader does not already possess a "passion for polka," this work will do little to inspire one.

BARBARA L. TISCHLER  
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HAL K. ROTHMAN. *On Rims and Ridges: The Los Alamos Area since 1880*. (The Twentieth-Century American West.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 376. \$45.00.

Hal K. Rothman argues that the history of the Pajarito Plateau, the east side of the Jemez Mountains of north-central New Mexico, is a microcosm of the social, cultural, and economic experience of the American West. The region, which contains Bandelier National Monument and Los Alamos, was subjected to limited subsistence-level development by Hispanics, who were overwhelmed by Anglo ranching and lumbering and by the U.S. Forest Service, National Park Service, the wartime development of Los Alamos, and tourism. The region and its Hispanic and Pueblo Indian population became dominated by the society and economy of twentieth-century America.

The focus of the book is the history of Bandelier National Monument and the struggle to provide protection for the remarkable archaeological resources of the plateau. The issue of protection, which spawned repeated proposals for a national park, involved many of the political and cultural leaders of New Mexico and federal agencies such as the departments of Interior and Agriculture, and the issue generated considerable conflict. Rothman provides an excellent analysis of this struggle and of the personalities involved. A central figure was Edgar L. Hewett, a pioneer in southwest archaeology and a founder of the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe Art Museum, School of American Research, and Santa Fe Indian Market. Rothman, who provides us with a less-flattering portrait than did Hewett's biographer Beatrice Chauvenet (1983), finds him to be Machiavellian, deceitful, and selfish. The Agriculture and Interior departments also differed sharply before and after the creation of the national monument in 1916 and its transfer to the National Park Service in 1932.

Rothman attempts with some success to tie this history to that of the surrounding region with his discussions of such issues as New Deal programs and the development of Los Alamos after 1943. Later chapters describe controversies over Cochiti Dam, power lines, and wilderness designations. Unfortunately, there is relatively little attention paid to Hispanics and Indians.

This is a useful study because it examines a wide variety of issues, from economic change to the role of the federal government and to environmental topics, that are important in the history of the American West. It is particularly valuable as a contribution to the history of twentieth-century New Mexico because of the limited bibliography on that topic. One can, however, question the central thesis that the plateau provides a microcosm of western history. Is uniqueness not a more appropriate label? The history of the plateau touches on the lives of Hispanics and several Indian Pueblos in what is perhaps the most unique of all states, New Mexico. It involves land-grant issues, a large national monument with major archaeological resources, the establishment of Los Alamos, and the development of the atomic bomb. How many other regions of the West had such a collection of diverse elements?

Rothman has used a wide selection of sources, but the absence of a bibliography is a major weakness. The University of Nebraska Press earns a black mark for this.

RICHARD N. ELLIS  
Fort Lewis College

ROBERT E. GRESE. *Jens Jensen: Maker of Natural Parks and Gardens*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 304.

When Jens Jensen died in 1951 at the age of ninety-one, the *New York Times* called him "the dean of the world's landscape architects," an epitaph that notes only one of his many accomplishments. Robert E. Grese's graciously written and thoroughly researched analysis of Jensen's work and ideas persuasively argues that he was also a seminal visionary and activist in the movement to establish a conservation ethic in the twentieth century. As artist, teacher, author, ecologist, and environmentalist, Jensen devoted his life to creating and preserving natural landscapes.

Educated at a Danish folk school and agricultural college, Jensen immigrated to the United States from Denmark at age twenty-four. He lived briefly in Florida and Iowa and eventually moved to Chicago, where he was a streetsweeper for the city's park system. During the off season he worked for a Swedish immigrant landscape gardener. In 1888, Jensen designed the "American Garden" in Chicago's Union Park. There he planted native perennials, trees, and shrubs, his first attempt at creating natural parks and

gardens. Jensen was influenced by the "natural style" of landscape architects Frederick Law Olmsted and H. W. S. Cleveland, both of whom designed parks for the city. O. C. Simonds, a Chicago engineer, and Jensen are recognized as leading practitioners of the "prairie style" of landscape architecture, a distinctively American style that created level prairie landscapes through the use of horizontally branching native plants and locally available natural materials such as flat limestone. Even better known are the "prairie school architects"—Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, John Wellborn Root, and Dwight Perkins, among others—who also collaborated with Jensen on projects. His well-known clients included Henry Ford and Edsel Ford, Harold Ickes, and Samuel Insull. His major works were Columbus and Humboldt parks, Garfield Park Conservatory, Edsel Ford Estates, Lincoln Memorial Gardens, Greenfield Village, and Hot Springs National Park. An appendix lists almost six hundred of Jensen's landscape design projects in the categories of private residences and estates; subdivisions; hotels, resorts, and camps; golf courses; parks and preserves; schools and educational facilities; hospitals and institutions; businesses; and government.

This is an impressive body of work, indeed, but Jensen's genius and influence extend well beyond the commissioned projects. An activist committed to the preservation of natural environments, he campaigned to save the dunes, wetlands, forests, and prairies of his adopted Midwest. His efforts, for example, resulted in the establishment of the Cook County Forest Preserve around Chicago and the Indiana Dunes, a state park and national lakeshore. To carry out his mission, he organized the Prairie Club and Friends of Our Native Landscape, both of which are still active. Jensen believed passionately that "makers of natural parks and gardens" created art forms that inspired and educated people about the need for land and natural resource stewardship. In 1935, Jensen established "The Clearing" in Ellison Bay, Wisconsin. Modeled after the folk and agricultural schools of Denmark, he sought to educate the whole person by studying nature, the arts, and humanities in a natural setting. An articulate and prolific scholar, he was comfortable speaking to and writing for academic, professional, and popular audiences. From 1899 to 1939 Jensen published over three dozen articles and books.

Ironically, Jensen succeeded so well at integrating native flora into his landscapes that the creativity of the artist was difficult to discern, a situation exacerbated by the passing years; consequently, 90 percent of his landscapes have been lost. In 1987, the Chicago Park District discovered in a vault hundreds of drawings, including many of Jensen's, which revived an interest in his life and work. Two years later, the laborious process of ecological restoration had begun. Now, over four decades after Jensen's death, the ongoing preservation activities and the publication of

Grese's definitive study, which is based on interviews with those who knew him and analyses of his writings and plans, confirm that the Danish American deserves to stand alongside Liberty Hyde Bailey and Aldo Leopold in the pantheon of the twentieth century's leading champions of a conservation ethic.

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HARVEY LEVENSTEIN. *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 337. \$27.50.

The history of the changing American diet is crucial to our understanding of the structure of people's daily lives, intersecting as it does in complex ways with social, cultural, political, and institutional relations of power. Making sense of this complexity is a difficult yet essential role for the historian. Despite its importance, the history of diet has received relatively little attention. In this book, which is clearly the result of prodigious research, Harvey Levenstein ranges widely in his effort to investigate what and how Americans have eaten in the twentieth century. He recounts developments in nutritional science, commercial and professional interests, and broad social, economic, and political changes. He discusses body images and the vicissitudes of dieting, as well as the homogenizing influence of World War II mobilization and rationing. The rise and spread of processed foods and of fast-food restaurants are outlined, including the increasing availability of "ethnic" foods such as pizza and chow mein. Federal legislative efforts, specifically the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 and the Vitamin Amendment of 1976, are brought into the story, as are the government's concern with hunger (particularly in the late 1960s when Robert Kennedy's involvement made the subject, in Levenstein's words, "a politically sexy issue" [p. 145]), the power of the farm lobby, and the ups and downs of the food stamp program. Interest in organically grown food and the reaction against modern food production methods believed to rob food of its nutritive value are also described. Levenstein documents a significant redefinition of malnutrition. In the beginning of the century, a poor diet was one deficient in important nutritional elements such as protein; by the late twentieth century, it was one that contained too much: too much fat, too much sugar, too much salt.

At the conclusion of the book, however, the reader has little idea of how Levenstein weighs the relative significance of the many factors to which he refers. Furthermore, the unstated subject of the study, the American eater, is seen only rarely and then usually as a passive object of government propaganda, advertising, or food industry critics. Notwithstanding the scope of his research, Levenstein's conclusions frequently are unsubstantiated. For example, he de-



scribes the power of the health food industry in the 1970s to rally their patrons ("Thousands of their patrons, many of them still the proverbial little old ladies in tennis shoes," to quote the author's colorful but injudicious and often historically inaccurate language) to defeat a Food and Drug Administration effort to regulate the vitamin industry (p. 169). Levenstein omits any citation for this claim while also ignoring the many other segments of U.S. society that provided significant resistance to the FDA's attempt. (The agency is once again entering the fray with new proposed regulations for limiting the sale of certain over-the-counter dietary supplements. Many of the arguments voiced in the 1970s are being heard today.) It is frustrating to read that in 1977 the Federal Trade Commission proposed restricting the advertising of sugar-coated cereals, candies, and cookies on children's television but its effort was "rather easily defeated by the food industry lobbies in Congress" (p. 201) and then to search in vain for any scholarly substantiation for the claim. Levenstein may well be correct in his analysis in this and other instances, but the reader, given insufficient evidence, is in no position to judge the validity of his conclusion. Unfortunately, the references that are included are not as useful as they might have been. For example, notes to publications such as the *New York Times*, *Business Week*, and the *Ladies' Home Journal* are listed with journal title and date only.

Although Levenstein examines many critical aspects of the changing American diet, a synthetic social and cultural history of the American diet remains to be written.

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JOHN C. BURNHAM. *Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior, and Swearing in American History*. (The American Social Experience Series, number 28.) New York: New York University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 385. \$35.00.

John C. Burnham argues that so-called "minor vices" or "bad habits" interacted with regional and then large-scale national business enterprises, and, in the process of being commercialized, the rituals of indulging in some simple misdemeanors became transformed and acquired important historical powers. He examines how certain forms of conduct became labeled vices and emerged as matters for social decision and social responsibility. Some behaviors tended to change not just once but twice, such as with drinking. The attitude swings on drinking have been well established, but it is Burnham's thesis that the same factors that went into restoring drinking in the United States were at work to eliminate the onus attached to other "minor" vices.

Burnham is not concerned with determining why

the reformers of American society proved to be weak and ineffective, the traditional approach to reform. He instead examines the strengths of the forces against which the reformers contended. In a sense Burnham presents a scenario of struggle between the respectables, who determined what was deviant, and those who profited from the products designed for those labeled deviant and not respectable. He emphasizes that industrialization transformed the scale of profiteering involved in bad habits, while the mass media energized proponents of the minor vices into a campaign in which the key was the idea that individual, not community, standards should be the basis for judging conduct. The self righteousness of that idea, Burnham holds, obscured the process through which the dominant elements in society finally came to be dedicated to nonrestraint and, in Burnham's words, to the "antisocial."

Burnham devotes the first part of his book to the repeal of prohibition and then uses this campaign as an example for what happened to the other "vices." The media, including the growing power of Hollywood, and ultimately even rock musicians, were the keys, but there was also a change in attitude toward the individual who engaged in the minor vices from a societal pariah to the abuser as victim, a theme that now dominates much of American thinking. Alcoholism became a sickness, something that the individual could not help, and for which treatment was available. This also helped established a treatment industry directed away from examining the "vice" industry to treating the individual.

Advertising over the course of the twentieth century also became a major industry, and the purveyors of some of the vices, such as alcohol and tobacco, were among the major advertisers. The macho life style, respectability, and indulging in the minor vices seemed to come together. Burnham's thesis works best for drinking, smoking, and gambling. The least satisfactory part of the book in explaining changes of conduct to my mind is in the discussion of sexual behavior and swearing. Here the change was not so much in male conduct but in female conduct, and to understand it Burnham needs to pay much more attention to the changing role and perception of women in society as well as the transformation of attitudes about sex: from sex for purposes of procreation to sex as pleasure. For example, he emphasizes the profit motive for the rise of the soft-core pornography industry as exemplified by *Playboy* but ignores women's magazines such as *Cosmopolitan* or the rise of feminine pornography. Similarly, the arrival of swearing into "proper" society cannot be understood without examining the changing role of women in society where the protection of women's "innocence" is no longer the norm.

Burnham is quick to point out that the final account has not been written and the continual changing of public ideas is emphasized in what is currently happening in smoking and in taking drugs. He concludes

that morals within limits can be legislated and that the "proponents of the bad habits" still retain a substantial element of uncertainty about what the future holds despite their base in what he calls the "minor vice-industrial complex." The book is well footnoted and illustrated.

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JUDITH ROSENBERG RAFTERY. *Land of Fair Promise: Politics and Reform in Los Angeles Schools, 1885-1941*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 284. \$37.50.

If one adds the word "Progressive" to "Politics" in the subtitle of this book, then the full title becomes an accurate general description of its content while also revealing the romantic genre in which it has been constructed. Judith Rosenberg Raftery tells the story of how L.A. Progressives—a loose coalition of white, middle-class social settlement workers, civic leaders, and reform-minded school teachers and administrators—created the modern Los Angeles school system. With Bryce Nelson's *Good Schools: The Seattle Public School System, 1901-1930* (1988), we have the first general histories of urban public education in the Far West. That the two histories bear a striking similarity in content, structure, and vision is no surprise because both are written within the conceptual frame laid down in Lawrence Cremin's classic metanarrative, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1956* (1961).

The transformation of L.A. schools was motivated by the exigencies of urbanization, industrialization, and, above all, the immigration into Los Angeles in the post-World War I years of African Americans from the South and, especially, a large influx of people from Mexico. Progressives were galvanized into action by these "new" immigrants, calling on the schools to be the city's primary agency of social amelioration as well as Americanization. The Progressives' concept of a modern public school was modeled on the social settlement house. It was to be a combination of child welfare agency, industrial training/domestic education center, and neighborhood or community social center, and it had to be removed from politics. The Progressives' crusade to create a modern, progressive school system for Los Angeles was always troubled. The fast-growing city's economic problems short-circuited many of the Progressives' schemes for school reform. The Progressives' humanitarian imperative often conflicted with their zeal to Americanize the immigrant, adult as well as child. Racial and ethnic intolerance in the 1920s led to officially designated and approved segregated schools for black and Mexican children. The overriding con-

cern of the L.A. school board for efficiency and scientific management of the schools, in alliance with the practitioners of the new "science" of educational psychology, led to the system-wide introduction in the 1920s of the benighted group intelligence tests. The professionalization of education resulted in a chasm between professionals and the school board, between professionals and volunteer lay persons, and between schools and community. Unwilling to risk losing the gains they had secured, especially in the provision of school social and welfare services, Los Angeles Progressives acquiesced to segregated schools. Some individual Progressive schoolteachers and principals fought against the forward march of the intelligence test movement, but here, too, Progressives ultimately capitulated.

This is a useful, and thought-provoking, book. Two chapters especially deserve merit: the chapter recounting the complex struggle in 1914 over the school superintendency that pitted the school board against the politically powerful and conservative *Los Angeles Times* in a rare alliance with Progressives, which resulted in the replacement of conservative Superintendent John H. Francis by Progressive Albert Shiels; and the chapter recounting how the intelligence test movement came to Los Angeles and ultimately conquered its school system. Throughout, Raftery restores to memory many forgotten or missing women. The 1920s was the era of the woman in L.A. school history: Mary Gibson, Hattie Bancroft, Edith Heim, Ruth Bougham, Flora D. Smith, Bessie Burke (L.A.'s first black woman school principal), and Susan Miller Dorsey, L.A.'s first woman superintendent of schools, among others.

My one major reservation about the study concerns the romantic genre in which it is cast. The L.A. school system was lurching from crisis to crisis at the very time Raftery was writing this book. Yet the book's general narrative rhythm, as prefigured by its title, is celebratory. Its narrative key is altogether too optimistic and complacent, even on the evidence supplied by Raftery herself, although the reader has to emphasize what is marginal in the book to get at it. There has been no radical discontinuity, no Foucauldian epistemological break between 1941 and the present. It is evident that the lasting effects of Progressive politics and reform in L.A. schools have been much more ambiguous, not to say disastrous, than Raftery can let on. The romantic genre constrains Raftery's critical faculties and prevents her from providing the kind of historical context on the current moment in L.A. school history that is sadly lacking and badly needed. Thus, Raftery forces us to consider a point of larger significance: what is or should be the meaning of our written histories for our own times.

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TOM SITTON. *John Randolph Haynes: California Progressive*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 331. \$39.50.

This nicely wrought study, a political biography of the prominent California progressive John Randolph Haynes by Tom Sitton, is a welcome addition to the literature on Progressivism. Long overshadowed by figures such as Hiram Johnson, Haynes has not received the attention he deserves, although he did more than almost anyone to promote progressive reforms in Los Angeles and California. A person of remarkable tenacity, Haynes worked tirelessly for a wide variety of causes, in all of which, he once said, "our aim has been to increase the happiness and well being of mankind" (p. 258).

A physician by profession, Haynes practiced for a time in a slum area of Philadelphia, an experience he never forgot. Moving to Los Angeles in the "boom" year of 1887, he continued his practice and began to build the fortune he spent his life funneling into reform causes. A "social progressive," Haynes soon became a leading figure of the left wing of Progressivism on the Pacific coast. If Progressivism had an organizational dimension, he personified it, founding or joining groups like the Municipal League of Los Angeles, the League of Christian Socialists, the Direct Legislation League, and countless others.

As Sitton points out, Haynes was most successful on the issues of direct legislation (the initiative, referendum, and recall) and public ownership of utilities. Believing direct legislation would return government to the people, he prodded Los Angeles into adopting it in 1902, and California in 1911. That accomplished, he fought for publicly owned water and electricity in his adopted city, helping spawn the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, which still oversees the world's largest municipal water and electrical power system. Restlessly energetic, Haynes also worked for women's suffrage, workers' compensation, railroad and public utility regulation, child labor reform, the eight-hour day for women, a state-wide civil service system, and (rare among Progressives) better treatment for Native Americans.

During World War I, Haynes displayed a militant patriotism in which he urged Los Angeles to dismiss "pro-German" teachers and ban the study of German in the public schools. But the war years, Sitton argues, sharpened rather than killed some of Haynes's reform aims, especially the public ownership of utilities, and he continued as an active reformer into the 1920s and 1930s. Haynes's influence actually grew once Johnson left for Washington; later he became one of the few old Progressives still reform-minded enough to support Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal.

To this day, Haynes's legacy pervades Los Angeles and the state. As a regent of the University of California, he helped locate UCLA in Westwood, guaranteed part of the loan for the university to buy the land, and joined in purchasing John Fiske's

9,000-volume library for the university. Californians, if they wish, can still turn to Haynes's direct legislation; the Los Angeles city charter he helped revise in 1925 remains the city's governing document; the Haynes Foundation, which he formed with his wife Dora in 1926, funds research and work in the social sciences. Sitton details all this in a book both lively and thorough, and which immediately becomes an important work on the life of a significant Progressive.

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NAOMI ROGERS. *Dirt and Disease: Polio before FDR*. (Health and Medicine in American Society.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 258. Cloth \$39.00, paper \$15.00.

In the nineteenth century, polio was a mild, endemic infection of infants, rarely even recognized or recorded. But in the early twentieth century, paralytic polio became epidemic, killing and crippling young children and striking terror into the hearts of parents everywhere. Naomi Rogers deals mainly with the first major polio epidemic of 1916, with some 27,000 cases and 6,000 deaths; she touches on the subsequent history of the disease up to and including the polio vaccine trials of the 1950s.

Rogers's account turns on a curious fact about the epidemiology of polio, that—unlike most of the diseases with which public health officers were familiar—it afflicted the children of the middle and upper classes more often than the children of the poor. In fact, the children of the tenements tended to experience early, mild infections and thus develop immunity, while more privileged children, protected by clean, sanitary environments, were more likely to experience the severe paralytic symptoms recognized as "polio."

The resulting pattern of disease made little sense to public health officials, physicians, and other observers who expected the more usual associations between dirt and disease, poverty and infection. Rogers argues that both popular and professional responses to epidemic polio showed the powerful and continuing appeal, despite the germ theory, of the long-held connection between dirt and disease that enshrined prevalent moral attitudes toward immigrants and the poor, applauding the cleanliness and responsibility of the respectable middle class in contrast to the grime, dissolution, and distress of the urban masses. Polio refused to fit expectations; it seemed counter-intuitive to suppose that children became sicker in cleaner households, and many simply refused to recognize the implications of the epidemiological evidence in front of their eyes.

Some developed new hypotheses to explain the anomalous patterns of infection. Flies were said to carry disease from the slums to the homes of the wealthy; maids and chauffeurs were suspected of

transmitting the dreaded polio germs. Rogers spends relatively little time tracking the efforts of epidemiologists and other public health officials attempting to understand the anomalous patterns of polio; she is clearly more interested in using the disease to highlight social attitudes toward class and ethnicity than she is in tracing the halting steps toward scientific understanding. Despite this emphasis, it seems clear that Wade Hampton Frost and several other observers did grasp some of the fundamental attributes of the disease even while they were unable fully to explain its distribution. Their insights suggest that while some may have simply interpreted polio within the standard framework, others were struggling to generate, from the fragmentary information available, a more adequate understanding of the disease.

Rogers devotes one chapter to the continuing debates among hospital clinicians, private physicians, and laboratory scientists, showing that neither scientists nor clinicians were certain about the best means of diagnosis or therapy. Another interesting chapter examines lay proposals for treating polio, gathered from hundreds of letters written to Simon Flexner, Haven Emerson, and other scientific authorities. Many writers wanted to make money by discovering a "cure," while others simply hoped their ideas might prove scientifically valid. These earnest authors suggested a long list of possible causes of polio, ranging from unwashed fruit or unpasteurized milk, to changes in the weather, radio waves, and capitalism itself; many blamed the smells, bad air, filth, overcrowding, and dangers of the urban environment.

This book ends with a brief epilogue about the later development of the polio vaccines. This is a sketchy account of developments and disputes that have been more adequately addressed elsewhere. The book does make a major contribution to the much less familiar history of "polio before FDR." Although the author commits various minor mistakes and inaccuracies, she displays many virtues, including a strong social and political sensibility, a nice sense of irony, and a lively style.

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NATHAN MILLER. *Theodore Roosevelt: A Life*. New York: William Morrow. 1992. Pp. 624. \$28.00.

This book is, Nathan Miller states, the first comprehensive, single-volume biography of Theodore Roosevelt in three decades. It rests on extensive research in both manuscripts and published sources, and it displays an acquaintance with most of the important secondary literature on its subject. The writing is clear and lively, and the interpretive stance, which is sympathetic but reasonably critical, remains steady throughout. For those reasons, someone interested in Roosevelt can read this book with pleasure.

But two questions need to be asked. First, will scholars or well-versed amateurs learn much from this book that they did not know already? Second, as a corollary to the first, does this biography represent an advance over its predecessors, either the last one-volume biography or differently focused works? The answer to both questions, I think, is no.

Except for some letters between Roosevelt and his first wife and remarks about him by his superior in the navy department, John D. Long, no new or relatively unfamiliar information appears in this volume. Nor does the author offer a novel or more deeply incisive portrayal of Roosevelt. To his credit, Miller usually (although not always) cites the previous interpreters on whom he relies and those with whom he occasionally disagrees, but the stance of appreciative understanding of Roosevelt that he conveys is familiar to anyone who has read such works as David McCullough's *Mornings on Horseback* (1981) and Edmund Morris's *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (1979). This lack of originality might detract less if the book as a whole presented a full and balanced account of Roosevelt's life. Instead, only one-quarter of the volume covers his presidency, and only one-eighth describes his politically potent ex-presidency. Not only does that represent skewed coverage from the perspective of historical significance but it also devotes greatest attention to the same ground that McCullough and Morris have so recently and rewardingly ploughed. For all those reasons, someone interested in Roosevelt's earlier life would do better to stick with those authors' works; someone interested in his presidency would do much better with Lewis L. Gould's *The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt* (1991), and someone who wants a well-balanced, one-volume biography should read William H. Harbaugh's *Power and Responsibility* (1961, rev. ed. 1975). This book does not come close to supplanting Harbaugh's biography. Once more, latest is not necessarily best.

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DAVID W. MCFADDEN. *Alternative Paths: Soviets and Americans, 1917-1920*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 448. \$60.00.

In this competently written book, David W. McFadden has returned to the question of early American contacts with the Soviet government. McFadden's study is not about American or Allied military intervention in Soviet Russia, although he sometimes discusses the policy debate within the U.S. government toward the Bolshevik revolution. McFadden has examined an impressive number of government and personal papers, mostly from American sources, but occasionally from the Public Record Office in London and the recently opened Soviet archives in Moscow.

McFadden's approach is a return to that of the first



historians of early Western-Soviet contacts, focusing on the activities of American Colonel Raymond Robins, French Captain Jacques Sadoul, and British diplomat R. H. B. Lockhart, who sought vainly to avoid a Western-Soviet confrontation. McFadden carries this approach much further, examining not only the ideas and activities of Robins, but also of General William V. Judson, DeWitt Clinton Poole, William H. Buckler, William Bullitt, and the curious Soviet unofficial representative in the United States, Ludwig C. A. K. Martens.

McFadden retells an old story, using new and old sources. He begins by applying the "bureaucratic politics" model: the American government was divided between pragmatists, who wanted to establish constructive political and economic relations, and anti-Bolshevik ideologues, who wanted to overthrow the Soviet state. We learn that Secretary of State Robert Lansing was "virulently anti-Bolshevik" (p. 35) and that Colonel Edward M. House was less so (p. 40). Unofficial American agents tried to influence the debate. McFadden, however, does not explain clearly evolving policies in Washington, so that the activities of low-level agents take place in a fog. He starts out with "bureaucratic politics," but he does not follow through with it.

The subtitle of this book is something of a misnomer. Most of McFadden's attention is on American, not Soviet, attitudes; his treatment of Martens's activities in the United States is an interesting exception. Nevertheless, what almost immediately attracts the reader's attention is the determined, desperate effort of the Soviet commissariat of foreign affairs (the *Narkomindel*) to establish correct and pragmatic relations with the United States. McFadden says that the Soviet government considered the United States worthy of "special, exceptional focus" (p. 9), but he might have added that Soviet diplomacy sought to make every Western power feel as though its relations with Soviet Russia were important and special.

The Soviet approach, as McFadden points out, was to press for trade relations, stressing economic interdependence: the West needed Russian raw materials and Soviet Russia needed Western manufactured goods. Profitable trade relations would lead to correct political relations. But the West took a dim and fearful view of the Bolshevik revolution, blocking the *Narkomindel*'s diplomatic efforts. This pattern of Soviet diplomacy, essentially pragmatic and trade oriented, is characteristic of the entire interwar period not just with the United States but also with all the Western powers.

In his conclusion, McFadden asserts that early unofficial Soviet-American contacts "kept a chaotic situation fluid and open to possibility" (p. 339) and made possible subsequent cooperation during World War II. This assertion is naive. Western or American-Soviet relations between 1917 and 1920 were not "chaotic . . . fluid [or] open to possibility," they were belligerent and nasty. The low-level "pragmatists" on

which McFadden concentrates and the Soviet leaders who sought to avoid hostilities with the West did not influence the anti-Bolshevik ideologues who held the balance of power in Washington, Paris, and London. Only Adolf Hitler's intransigence forced the Soviets and the Western powers together, but as soon as Nazism was crushed, the former hostile relationship resumed in all its virulence.

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THOMAS J. KNOCK. *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 381. \$30.00.

Thomas J. Knock, author of this superbly researched study of Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations, is a tough and ambitious scholar. He does not merely reinterpret Wilson; he challenges virtually every recent historian who has tackled the subject. Knock demands that we see Wilson in a genuinely new framework, and succeeds admirably.

Knock believes that after 1914, Wilson increasingly carried on a "communion of profound significance" (p. viii) with the American Left. At times Knock suggests that people like Jane Addams, Eugene Debs, and Max Eastman shaped Wilson's thinking; at other times, he seems to suggest that they mainly confirmed—and therefore reinforced—his fundamental approach. That approach he calls "progressive internationalism" (p. viii); it included not just a genuine desire for peace (and an end to the balance-of-power system) but also a desire for social justice and social democracy.

In offering this interpretation, Knock thoroughly rejects the view of those who have seen the president as fundamentally a conservative proponent of a capitalistic world order. Indeed, says the author, it was precisely because Wilson so deeply rejected the status quo that he refused to take any conservatives (for instance, Elihu Root, or even the president of the League to Enforce Peace, former president William Howard Taft) to Paris in 1919. This was not a careless decision; according to Knock, it reflected his deepest political convictions.

By the same token, Knock believes that Wilson's final failure became inevitable once he abandoned his natural allies on the Left during the treaty fight. When officials in his own administration, such as A. Mitchell Palmer and Albert S. Burleson, jailed radicals and censored leftist magazines, Wilson lost the respect, and eventually the support, of the country's liberal Left. "Wilson lost sight of the relationship between politics and foreign policy" (p. 187), the author rightly asserts. Knock recognizes that this stemmed in part from Wilson's self-righteousness. But where other historians stress the psychological, religious, or medical roots of this self-righteousness,

Knock, like his mentor Arthur Link, emphasizes Wilson's genuine idealism as well as the crass partisan wrangling of opponents who brought out his stubbornness. Knock includes some apology here, but brilliant apology it is.

A short review cannot do justice to the richness of Knock's scholarship. We learn about the critical role socialists played in reelecting Wilson in 1916; the degree to which Latin American affairs (especially the failed Pan American Pact of 1916) influenced Wilson's thinking about international cooperation; the surprising importance of Tasker Bliss, the sole Republican whom Wilson brought to Paris, in shaping the president's approach to the League of Nations Covenant; the centrality of Taft, rather than Henry Cabot Lodge, in the treaty fight; the way that Wilson sought to avoid a partisan confrontation over the treaty; and the significance of Wilson's generally ignored Liberty Loan Address of September 27, 1918, in helping to shorten the war (perhaps Knock's most dubious interpretation).

Wilson, Knock charges, failed to join the United States to the League in part because he failed to educate the American public about his postwar vision. Knock wisely educates us about that failure as well as that vision. In light of the post-Cold War resurgence of interest in Wilson, Knock's contribution is timely indeed.

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MARION J. MORTON. *Emma Goldman and the American Left: "Nowhere at Home."* (Twayne's Twentieth-Century American Biography Series, number 14.) New York: Twayne of Macmillan. 1992. Pp. xi, 183. Cloth \$26.95, paper \$13.95.

Situating the life and work of Emma Goldman (1869–1940) within the context of the American Left in 155 pages of text is a tall order. Goldman, a major figure in the history of American radicalism and feminism, was among America's most prominent advocates of labor's right to organize, reproductive rights, sexual freedom, freedom of speech, and freedom of the individual. The unifying principle of Goldman's personal life and political work was her commitment to anarchism as a conceptual and political construct for freedom. This book provides an overview of the circles and political movements in which Goldman's anarchism took root, making a valuable contribution to a growing body of literature on Goldman. It provides a good point of entry for students of the history of the Left.

Marian J. Morton argues that Goldman's description of herself as "nowhere at home" in her autobiography, *Living My Life* (1931), was the utterance of a political exile who had forgotten the rich and varied Left in America, within which she had discovered her unique political voice. Morton's book emphasizes, but

is not limited to, Goldman's American experience. Morton describes the transformation in Russia, where Goldman was born in 1869, from tsarism to Bolshevism, paying special attention to the treatment of Jews. After her emigration from Russia to the United States in 1885, Goldman's politics developed from what Morton describes as the intersection of socialist, communist, and anarchist activism in America. She analyzes Goldman's passage from the immigrant Left into women's activism, then reflects on the reasons for the escalation of repression that culminated Goldman's American years with her deportation in 1919 for opposing government policy on war and conscription. Goldman's exile period is described in relation to the political issues she encountered. In Russia from 1920 to 1921, Goldman reconsidered her preconceptions of the revolution, and in Europe and Canada, until her death in 1940, she continued to search for a revolutionary vision essentially eclipsed by Nazism and fascism. Morton records the links Goldman drew between communist domination of the anarchists who collaborated to defeat fascism during the Spanish Civil War and the suppression of the anarchists who had previously fought beside the Bolsheviks during the Russian Revolution. Critical of the silence in the historical record on the subject of anarchism and anarchists, Morton extols Goldman's consistent commitment to the cause of freedom. The book concludes with a tribute to Goldman's American years for her role in a blossoming culture of dissent whose legacy remains integral to American radicalism.

Morton's book is a competent synopsis of Goldman's writings and secondary biographical works published before 1990. It should be noted, and the book should not be faulted on this score, that current scholarship has not yet caught up with new documentary sources available on Goldman; Goldman's papers reveal the tremendous range of views within the anarchist and non-anarchist Left, a continuum that is not reflected in the simplified descriptions of the various movements in this book. A college series, however, is intended to familiarize and synthesize existing works for students rather than provide an occasion for original research for the author. Morton clearly has struggled to find a balance between critical engagement and distance within the parameters her assignment.

The volume on Goldman is a welcome addition to Twayne's Twentieth-Century American Biography series. It is a straightforward and well-written historical chronicle, a good general introduction to the history of the Left, and to Emma Goldman's place within it. The biographical narrative that weaves her analysis together, however, is less engaging, and thus a student's interest might be kindled best by assigning Goldman's more literary autobiography, *Living My Life*, as companion reading. Read together, these books reveal the range and depth of radical commitment in nineteenth and twentieth-century America, and restore to its deserved prominence the often-

neglected role of the anarchist movement in the establishment of the essential right of dissent in the development of American political thought.

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BRUCE E. KAUFMAN. *The Origins and Evolution of the Field of Industrial Relations in the United States*. (Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations, number 25.) Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 286. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$19.95.

This book is a guide to the institutional history and current status of labor relations programs in the United States. Bruce E. Kaufman distinguishes between collective bargaining-centered approaches to labor problems, on the one hand, and human resources and personnel relations strategies on the other. Both approaches grew out of the crises of the Progressive Era, with the former being linked to the Institutional Labor Economics (ILE) associated with John R. Commons, and the latter, generically designated Personnel Management (PM), with industrial psychology.

Through the 1930s, these subfields enjoyed a healthy interactive relationship. ILE scholars and practitioners stressed the conflicted nature of labor relations and looked to a combination of collective bargaining and governmental intervention to balance the inherently greater power of employers. Their PM counterparts, in contrast, posited harmony between workers and employers and sought ways in which to strengthen it. Nonetheless, ILE and PM partisans carried on a lively and invigorating dialogue.

The 1940s brought changes. The reforms of the 1930s and the rise of a powerful labor movement seemingly legitimated the ILE approach and discredited that of PM. For a generation after World War II, the term Industrial Relations (IR) became associated exclusively with the ILE approach. ILE scholars and practitioners dominated the Industrial Relations Research Association, founded in 1947.

So long as unions remained central institutions, this particular definition of IR was plausible. But with the decline of the labor movement, the diminishing role of collective bargaining, and the redirection of government's policies, IR, narrowly defined, has become marginal. Indeed, the rise of neoclassical economics at the expense of institutional perspectives after World War II prefigured the decline of IR. During the past twenty years, the short-sightedness of the once-dominant ILE-IR people in denigrating PM has boomeranged. Kaufman believes that "industrial relations" can only survive as a vibrant field if those interested in labor problems rediscover the catholicism of the pre-World War II period. Traditional IR concerns can regain institutional importance in connection only with the broader definition of labor

relations necessary to deal with today's postindustrial, non-blue collar, and non-union-oriented workplaces.

Based on published materials, Kaufman's book devotes little attention to the broader intellectual and academic currents in which labor relations scholarship has developed. There is little organizational theory here and no apparent familiarity with the work of such historians as Burton Bledstein, Thomas Haskell, Mary O. Furner, Dorothy Ross, Ellen Fitzpatrick, and Leon Fink, who have been probing into the nature of professional communities. Kaufman's informative book is as reflective of the current state of labor relations as was the IR-ILE consensus of nearly fifty years ago.

ROBERT H. ZIEGER  
University of Florida

LEONARD WILCOX. *V. F. Calverton: Radical in the American Grain*. (Critical Perspectives on the Past.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 304. \$44.95.

Born as George Goetz in 1900, V. F. Calverton adapted his pseudonym from the name of the founder of his birthplace—Baltimore—where he earned his living as a teacher and wanted to protect his identity when he first published, in 1923, the radical journal, *Modern Quarterly*, which he edited until his death in 1940. Calverton eventually moved on to New York and during the Depression made his magazine "the chief theoretical journal of the independent Left" (p. 99), with contributions from the likes of John Dewey, Max Eastman, Sidney Hook, and a host of less prominent, now largely forgotten, radical writers. A Marxist all of his adult life, Calverton was seemingly always five years ahead of his time. A fellow traveler of the communists in the middle and late 1920s, he broke with the Stalinists in the middle 1930s when most American leftists supported the Popular Front. Leonard Wilcox ably recounts the ensuing intellectual battles and also Calverton's personal vulnerability, his troubled relations with women, his neurotic death phobia, and his sad demise amid alcohol and drugs. Nevertheless, Wilcox successfully portrays Calverton as an admirable figure, especially for the intellectual integrity that often isolated him from his fellow leftists.

Like a number of recent writers on early twentieth-century American thought, including Casey Blake and James Kloppenberg, Wilcox strains to create a usable past of pragmatic American radicalism. In this book, the line stretches from William James and John Dewey, through Randolph Bourne and Van Wyck Brooks, to Richard Bernstein and Richard Rorty. The connections are real: Calverton had high regard for James and Bourne, corresponded admiringly with Brooks, and published Dewey as well as James Rorty, father of Richard. But the common denominator of this supposed pragmatic tradition is not much more

than a shared emphasis on intellectual honesty and openness. Unmentioned in this volume are Brooks's disdain for Jamesian pragmatism and Bourne's contemptuous rejection of Dewey's instrumentalism because of the philosopher's support of American entry into World War I. What is much needed from the creators of this new usable past is a critical examination of "this pragmatic strain with its notion of 'democracy as a way of life' that unites self and society" (p. 5). James and Dewey should get no credit for any sympathetic "notion" until it is shown that their great friend, fellow pragmatist, and philosophical opponent Charles Sanders Peirce was wrong in his belief that their strain of pragmatism was inimical to community.

James and Dewey undoubtedly inspired much radical thought. The question that needs asking is whether they were a bulwark against radical failure or a cause of it, a question which, like the now fashionable invocation of pragmatism as a native American radicalism, is outside the scope of this otherwise fine book.

JAMES HOOPES  
Babson College

GENE A. SESSIONS. *Prophesying upon the Bones: J. Reuben Clark and the Foreign Debt Crisis, 1933-39*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 149. \$24.95.

Gene A. Sessions's brief (only about one hundred pages of text) and substantively somewhat slim book nevertheless has a valid purpose and a certain interest. It is presented as a study of J. Reuben Clark as president of the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council (FBPC) from 1934 to 1938. Clark had a long career in the State Department and as a diplomat, capped by his service as Dwight Morrow's aide in Mexico during the late 1920s and then as ambassador to Mexico himself under Herbert Hoover. In 1933, Clark quit the world of international affairs to become first counselor of The First Presidency, the three-man, jointly operated agency that guides the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, a role he continued into the postwar era. During the 1930s, however, Clark devoted part of his energies to serving as president of the FBPC, an organization created in 1933 for the purpose of salvaging something for the American holders of the mounting number of foreign government bonds in default.

A weakness of the volume is the amount of unexciting attention it gives to Clark's earlier career and to the development of the default situation during the Depression, relative to the space given to Clark's stewardship of the FBPC. Clark's life has been attended to in lavish fashion already, by Frank W. Fox's volume on his legal and diplomatic career and D. Michael Quinn's book on Clark's many years as a key leader of Mormonism. Neither of these volumes

preempts the subject of Clark's role as head of the FBPC; in fact, they scarcely mention it. Sessions, however, has discovered little to engage our interest. He focuses mostly on Clark's attitudes and motivation. He portrays Clark as a fiscal ultraconservative and likens his rhetoric and ideas to those of an Old Testament prophet. Much of this discussion is conveyed as an extended metaphor likening Clark to Ezekiel, a comparison that soon becomes tiresome and even cloying. Moreover, those chapters that center on Clark and the FBPC dwell largely on the theme of Clark's moral and ideological conservatism. This point, which few readers will be inclined to doubt, is supported by lengthy resort to Clark's speeches lambasting defaulters.

Perhaps the most significant findings are those that detail the relations, which were sometimes quite strained, between the FBPC and the Franklin Roosevelt administration. The author tells his story without benefit of a historiographical framework. Thus, the book makes little contribution to furthering understanding of the broader interpretive issues of New Deal studies. Moreover, when Sessions touches on broader questions, the concepts are sometimes dated or otherwise disconcerting. Few historians of the era, for example, believe that "the NIRA represented a genuine flirtation with national socialism" (p. 117), and many have come to accept that Hoover can no longer be explained as one who held "true to the gospel of laissez-faire" (p. 1). Although the book for the most part is free of minor errors, better editing would have screened out the allusion to "Senator Ben Cohen" (p. 27) and the remarkable statement that "Hitler's hunger for *Liebensraum*" was a cause of World War II (p. 96).

Taken on its own terms as a study of the mind of an American original, however, the book makes a worthwhile contribution and deserves reading.

ROBERT F. HIMMELBERG  
Fordham University

GEORGE FEIFER. *Tennozan: The Battle of Okinawa and the Atomic Bomb*. New York: Ticknor and Fields. 1992. Pp. xvii, 622. \$29.95.

The bulk of this book mirrors the magnitude of the struggle which it describes. The battle of Okinawa that began April 1 and ended July 2, 1945, was, by any measure, the bloodiest American engagement of World War II. The last great battle to be fought in the pre-nuclear age, it killed a quarter million Japanese, Americans, and Okinawans—more than the total number that would perish in the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The fighting devastated Okinawan land, destroyed that island people's cultural heritage, and guaranteed an American military occupation that continues, in modified form, to this day.

George Feifer, a journalist and novelist who has



written nine books dealing with the former Soviet Union, does not attempt to provide a comprehensive account of this apocalyptic event. His first purpose in eight years of work on the book was to produce "sketches of a few elements of the battle and its background" (p. xv) that would suggest what its participants endured. A second aim was to bring Okinawa out from behind shadows cast by the better-known battle of Iwo Jima and the holocausts of Hiroshima and Nagasaki so as to make its historical significance clear.

In pursuing those goals, Feifer follows the movements of representative figures—his (later) neighbor, Marine Dick Whitaker; Japanese Army Captain Kōjo Tadashi; and Ōta Masahide, an Okinawan leader of high school volunteers who fought alongside the Japanese—through the battle. This approach differs dramatically from the "old" military history, as represented by Roy Appleman's massive official account, which rarely mentioned individual combatants. It also departs from the "new" battle history methodology that John Keegan pioneered in *The Face of Battle* nearly twenty years ago. Rather than segmenting and analyzing battle experiences, Feifer follows combatants and civilians through these battles so as to capture their totality. Drawing on oral histories and interviews, Okinawan fiction, and scholarly studies of the Japanese character, he fashions vignettes that bombard the reader with a sense of the filth, horror, and futility of the ninety-day battle that destroyed Okinawa.

These stories embody both the strength and weakness of this book. Numbing in number and variety, they at times obscure the principal characters and the flow of the battle. But Feifer uses them to show why what in retrospect seems meaningless made sense in prospect and progress. Given the imbalance of forces and firepower, the outcome of this fight was predictable. Americans landed in numbers five times greater than those of their foes, who stood naked and vulnerable without naval and air support. Yet Japanese and Okinawans fought to the bitter end not because they were fanatics, but because they believed their sacrifices would serve rational purposes—preservation of a way of life and purchase of time for better defense of Japan's home islands.

Feifer also shows why savagery in this fight made sense to its participants. Displaying a far more nuanced understanding of combat than John Dower does in *War without Mercy* (1986), he rejects the notion that racism lay at the core of behavior. Instead he argues that mutilation of corpses, killing of prisoners and civilians, and nearly incredible feats of survival demonstrated by all three parties to the battle were natural consequences of the rage, fear, and sense of distance from the ethical norms of peacetime society that they all felt. Feifer reaffirms for the masses—and the enemy—what memoir-writers such as William Manchester and E. B. Sledge have explained for the individual American combatant.

Feifer has less success in pursuing his second goal. Although he leaves no doubt as to the scope, intensity, and destructiveness of the fighting, he fails, in my view, to place the battle properly in the stream of Pacific War history. He advances an old idea, the notion that slaughter on Okinawa was prophylactic because it helped legitimize the use of nuclear weapons that in turn prevented the even greater holocaust that an invasion of the Japanese home islands would have produced. That argument, while certainly reflective of Okinawa veterans' views, runs counter to the dominant trends in American scholarship and Japanese national feeling about how the Pacific War ended. In trying to rescue Okinawans from obscurity, Feifer also uncritically embraces their extremely negative views of the twenty-seven-year American military occupation that followed the battle. In so doing, he underplays a much more significant point: the battle and the war that it helped end proved a truly transforming event for Americans, Japanese, and Okinawans.

These points aside, the book makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of what battle is and how it was fought a half-century ago. Revised and reduced by half, and re-released in paperback form in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the war's end, it might even serve a broader international political purpose. If read by those as yet unborn when the battle it describes took place, this study might teach them what the generation that fought it learned the hard way: the terrible cost of failure to resolve peacefully disputes between America and Japan.

ROGER DINGMAN

*University of Southern California*

MARTHA S. PUTNEY. *When The Nation Was in Need: Blacks in the Women's Army Corps during World War II*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow. 1992. Pp. ix, 231. \$35.00.

On May 14, 1942, Congress passed the bill creating the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC). President Franklin Roosevelt signed it the same day. Two months later, 440 women began training at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, site of the First WAAC (Officer) Training Center. Among them were forty hand-picked black women, their number explicitly limited to reflect something just under the proportion of America's black population. That would change radically after 1948, but during World War II African Americans never accounted for more than 6 percent of the WAAC. Indeed, that percentage fell steadily after September 1943, when the Women's Army Corps (WAC) succeeded the WAAC, although the peak number of black women serving, just over 4,000, came in December 1944.

Like the World War II army itself, the WAC was racially segregated. Martha S. Putney argues that segregation sharply restricted the contribution African-American women might have made to the war

effort, as much as or more than the limits sex segregation already imposed. Officers and enlisted women alike were persistently assigned to jobs that reflected racial stereotypes rather than their skills or capacities. The author knows whereof she speaks, having herself served as a WAC officer in World War II.

The text is topically organized, with chapters on training, recruitment, segregation, and field assignments. It concludes with a miscellany of "Notes and Reflections," mainly on the persistent misassignment of both women and officers, and an epilogue on the postwar WAC. As the notes indicate, the research rests chiefly on documents in the National Archives and on contemporary newspapers, supplemented by material from a few other archives and the U.S. Army Center of Military History. Putney has also interviewed or otherwise acquired personal material from several former WACs. Valuable appendixes include tabulations of blacks in the wartime and postwar armies and a list of all identified black commissioned WAC officers from 1942 to 1945. An index largely limited to proper names is somewhat less useful than it might have been, and the profuse illustrations, mostly class pictures and typical photo album shots, add little to the text.

This seems a very old-fashioned book, one that might just as easily have been published in 1952 as 1992. Inflated by separate listings of individual documents and letters, the bibliography notably lacks all but a handful of references to any of the recent literature on black history, women's history, military history, or any of their intersections. Academic, even ponderous in style, full of organizational titles and long lists (as of occupational specialties to which black women were assigned), its tone is nonetheless very much that of a yearbook or regimental history, heavy on anecdotes uncritically recounted (for example, routine letters of commendation presented as serious evaluation of unit performance) but almost completely absent any historical framework. Who can tell how representative any particular story is? Putney offers some simple counting, but neither systematic analysis nor sustained narrative. Within its self-imposed limits, the book seems reliable enough—I would have few qualms about referring to it for specific facts about a person or unit it treats—but it just misses too much.

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J. SAMUEL WALKER. *Containing the Atom: Nuclear Regulation in a Changing Environment, 1963–1971*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 533. \$50.00.

This history of nuclear power regulation in the United States between 1963 and 1971 is the second volume in an ambitious series; the first volume, which

J. Samuel Walker co-authored with George Mazuzan and published in 1984, covered the years 1942–62. This new book is similarly thorough, well organized, and based on an extraordinary command of the primary sources. Besides virtually all of the secondary literature, these sources include the Atomic Energy Commission's (AEC) archival records, the papers of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the Federal Radiation Council, the Public Health Service, presidential papers, the journals of Glen Seaborg (AEC chairman during this period), and the papers of key members of Congress.

Although organized by topic, the volume follows an approximate chronology, starting with a summary of the pre-1962 history and concluding with chapters on nuclear critics and the development of the environmental regulations (National Environmental Policy Act) and litigation (*Calvert Cliffs vs. National Resources Defense Council*) that signaled the beginning of a very difficult era for nuclear power. Along the way, Walker lays out orderly and balanced analyses of early policy problems: reactors located near cities and geologic faults, controversies over uranium mining safety and radiation exposure, and the regulatory developments for accident prevention, reactor safety, and emergency core cooling. Most of these chapters are fascinating stories that could stand as analytical articles. The thermal pollution controversy, the radiation debate, and the disaster debate over federal indemnity are especially interesting topics. Notwithstanding the relatively lucid prose, however, these analyses would have benefited from the judicious use of tabular or graphic data on costs, prices, AEC budgets, research and development, personnel, and other salient quantitative data.

Walker obviously intended this volume to be a definitively detailed, narrative record of the AEC's history, as balanced as possible and with a minimum normative content. In this effort, the author is generally successful, although with the most egregious controversies, the reader does occasionally wish for some judgmental guidance on the issues. And for me, at least, the absence of conceptual or historiographic interpretation is disappointing. With so much detail on regulation, policy formation, interest groups, and on the interplay of science, policy, and economics, this book could have added more than fact to our understanding of history.

In his brief conclusion, Walker acknowledges the structural dilemma caused by the AEC's legislative charter and historical origins: promoting and regulating at the same time. Although viewed day to day and from inside the commission, a sincere and well-intentioned effort was made at unbiased regulation. Perhaps the worst mistake, at least politically, was the commission's persistent unwillingness at the end of the 1960s to accept responsibility for environmental regulation. But by denying this responsibility, the AEC eventually ceded all initiative to other agencies and non-government organizations. Increasingly, af-

ter 1971, the process of nuclear power regulation devolved into defensive reaction and hopeless litigation.

RICHARD H. K. VIETOR  
*Harvard University*

MARGARET CRUIKSHANK. *The Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement*. (Revolutionary Thought/Radical Movements.) New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. xvii, 225. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$14.95.

Margaret Cruikshank's book is addressed, quite explicitly, to undergraduate students who lack not only knowledge but also sympathy for the gay and lesbian liberation movement. A volume in the series "Revolutionary Thought/Radical Movements," it is presumably designed for courses in which students who did not choose to study about the gay and lesbian movement confront it in learning about diverse lives or varieties of protest. This intent explains both the strengths and weaknesses of the book, which are intertwined.

Cruikshank, a major figure in the field of lesbian studies, has brought together a great deal of information about the contemporary U.S. gay/lesbian movement and presented it in an accessible, if sometimes repetitive, fashion. The repetition is a result of the book's organization into chapters on sexuality, politics, ideas, culture and community, and lesbian feminism. These are important components of the movement but, as Cruikshank knows, often are too inextricably linked to be treated separately. So we encounter several times U.S. women ambulance drivers in France during World War I discovering their lesbianism, or the Vatican document of 1986 that seems to condone anti-gay violence. In attempting both to introduce students to some of the scholarly literature and to provide descriptions of diverse gay/lesbian lives and forms of protest, Cruikshank occasionally resorts to providing lists of organizations or gay studies research. On the whole, this is more a descriptive than an analytical work.

One of the effective strategies Cruikshank employs is to make frequent comparisons between the situation of gay/lesbian people and other minority groups such as African Americans and Jews. She equates, for example, anti-gay and anti-Semitic violence, the reclaiming of "queer" and "nigger" as in-group prideful labels, and societal assumptions of the excessive sexuality of African Americans and gay men. Although such comparisons can flatten significant and complex differences, Cruikshank uses them carefully, for the most part, as a way of winning sympathy for the gay/lesbian movement.

I find less effective her persistent use of the analogy of left-handedness. Cruikshank admits in the introduction that the analogy is flawed "because a complex emotional and psychological phenomenon cannot adequately be compared to a physical trait" (p. 17), but

she nevertheless uses it throughout the book to show how pervasive, harmful, and arbitrary discrimination against gay and lesbian people is. This is, of course, a pedagogical strategy, but it obscures how profoundly gay and lesbian sexuality challenges fundamental societal conceptions of gender, as Cruikshank recognizes at other points in her study.

This is not a book that will enlighten scholars of gay and lesbian history, but it is not intended to be. The real test of this book will come in the classroom, where I hope that the students whom Cruikshank envisages find their resistance overcome and take away a familiarity with the history, nature, diversity, dynamism, and future of an important American social movement.

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EMILY BENEDEK. *The Wind Won't Know Me: A History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1992. Pp. 429. \$25.00.

"This Indian thing is easy," Ralph Watkins reported cheerfully to John McCain and Cindy McCain (p. 382). A member of the Navajo and Hopi Relocation Commission, Watkins had earned his assignment the old-fashioned way: he knew the right people. Unfortunately, he did not know much about the Navajos and the Hopis.

Four years after graduating from Harvard, Emily Benedek arrived in northern Arizona to report for *Newsweek* on the Navajo-Hopi land dispute. Now she has published a narrative focusing on two years (1985-86) of this protracted struggle. She labors to explain the evolution of a complicated conflict. Although she proves a far quicker study than Ralph Watkins, her book is not entirely successful.

Benedek is a good journalist. She has an eye for detail and emotion and knows how to try to use the lives of individuals to illustrate a larger story. The author has an intriguing cast of characters at her disposal. Those unrelated to Hawley Atkinson or Watkins will find such sketches alternately amusing and appalling.

But as do many journalists accustomed to writing relatively brief accounts, Benedek runs into difficulty in transforming her notes into a longer study. The Hopis are "an ancient people," she observes (p. 26); we later read once again that the Hopis are "an ancient people" (p. 45). We learn twice that Larry Nez graduated from Princeton. There also are lapses in the rendition of historical details. Montezuma Castle is labeled an Anasazi site. Big Foot and his band are intercepted at Wounded Knee. We read about the Long Walk but are not informed about the thousands of Navajos who evaded Fort Sumner. Such an omission is significant because the Navajos who remained either resided or fled to the western reaches of

Navajo country, including some of the territory later to be contested.

Although Benedek stayed on to learn more about her surroundings, her book too often has the echo of a New Englander in a new land. Navajo and Hopi individuals are called by their first name; non-Indians are not. Navajos are called "descendants of simple people" (p. 63). On a number of occasions, she appears too quick to accept too uncritically some of the self-serving perspectives offered to her. A more thorough grounding in Navajo and Hopi history would have informed her listening.

In addition, her narrow chronological lens often does not allow her to portray this battle as an evolving one. Benedek does not ignore entirely the attorneys for the Navajos, but she has surprisingly little to say about Norman Littell. Because Peter MacDonald was not in office in 1985 and 1986, his role is deemphasized. Yet he served as tribal chairman from 1971 through 1982, and again after 1986, and he maintained a continuing power during Peterson Zah's first administration. MacDonald's long shadow merits more attention than it receives.

This book represents a conscientious attempt to tackle an extremely complex assignment. Nonetheless, a comprehensive and fully informed history of the subject remains to be written.

PETER IVERSON  
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TONI MORRISON, editor. *Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality*. New York: Pantheon. 1992. Pp. xxx, 475. \$14.00.

Toni Morrison's edited work is a collection of eighteen powerful essays on the Clarence Thomas/Anita Hill hearings of October/November 1991. Morrison's purpose in gathering these essays is to explore "what happened" as opposed to "what took place" (p. x) at these hearings. Prominent academicians and intellectuals—black, white, male, and female—contributed essays on some of the fundamental issues that still plague American society: race, sex, gender, and class. The contributors have taken on these issues, in all of their complexities, and have in the end illuminated the discourse concerning some ugly realities in the American social construct.

The collection of essays is shaped in the introductory chapter written by Morrison. Here she demonstrates the need to "evaluate" and "analyze" the hearings, for what was at stake was "history" (p. x). If this is not done, she maintains, the events surrounding the confirmation hearings would be closed, left to the "disappearing act that frequently follows the summing-up process typical of visual and print media" (p. x); and a social reality would be constructed that bears little resemblance to what really happened or what really is.

Comparing Thomas to the character Friday in Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Morrison determines that Thomas lost him—"self." In such submission to white conservatives he allowed himself to be trotted out and used for their convenience. Thomas thus entered into another culture and left his own behind. The culture he entered is an adversarial one that carries a huge debt. The essays that follow Morrison's introduction detail the debt owed, the price paid, and the price to be paid by Thomas, Hill, and perhaps many African Americans. More specifically, Thomas easily became an empty vessel into which was poured all of the historical stereotypes about black males, from the faithful slave to the black beast rapist, whenever it was expedient to do so by social constructors or others. Hill also was constructed, into the historical crazed, jezebel, witch, traitor, oversexed black female. Emma Mae Martin, too, was constructed into another black female stereotype—the welfare queen—by her own brother, Judge Thomas. The essays here examine the various ways these stereotypes appeared in the hearings.

The articles are broad in scope and include an analysis of Thomas's fitness to serve, written by A. Leon Higgenbotham; the use of speech as a form of racism, by Claudia Brodsky Lacour; the evidence of racial stereotypes in the Thomas/Hill hearings, by Nell Irvin Painter; the power of the media to construct the acceptable reality of those who hold power, by Wahneema Lubiano; and a seldom-written about subject: the victimization of black women by black men that Paula Giddings calls "The Last Taboo."

Morrison's genius rests in the fact that she has so many rare gifts. The broad scope of issues that she chose to address and the scholars she selected to address those issues are part of that genius. In addition, Morrison has the ability to capture in language what most of us think but cannot seem to articulate. Moreover, she sees what most of us do not see, until she lights our way. A case in point is her analysis of the hearing as the construction of social reality, when most of us thought we were merely watching Senate hearings. Her knowledge and sense of history are extraordinary. What the historian takes volumes, footnotes, and bibliography to convey, Morrison captures in a word or the turn of a phrase. These gifts make her an indispensable resource for the historian.

The way that race, class, gender, and sex play on each other links this collection together. The result of this interplay creates an American social reality that may or may not be true but instead is a constructed one. As Karl Mannheim put it: "A society is possible in the last analysis because the individuals in it carry in their heads some sort of picture of that society" (p. 323).

This work is a historiographical event in itself. It is the best collection of essays on the Thomas/Hill hearings available, examining the breadth and scope of such controversial issues. Whereas other studies are appearing on the matter, such as Robert Chris-



man and Robert L. Allen's *Court of Appeal* (1992); Timothy M. Phelps and Helen Winternitz's *Capitol Games* (1992); and David Brock's *The Real Anita Hill* (1993), Morrison's edited work is by far the most scholarly and analytical. This collection is bound to be controversial. After all, it is about race, sex, gender, class, and all of their various ramifications. It must be reckoned with, however, by scholars engaged in the Thomas/Hill debate.

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DOUGLAS J. MACDONALD. *Adventures in Chaos: American Intervention for Reform in the Third World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 361. \$39.95.

Douglas J. Macdonald examines past American "reformist" interventions in China (1946–48), the Philippines (1950–53), and Vietnam (1961–63) to discover lessons that can serve American decision makers in future interventions on behalf of unstable client regimes in the Third World. Reformist interventions, he explains, are those aimed at establishing stability through "the devolution of economic, military, political, and/or social power within society" (p. 46); that is, through liberal, pluralist alterations in client governments and societies.

Macdonald contrasts the liberal reforming policies usually favored by Democrats with the militarily "bolstering" policies usually favored by Republicans. He concludes that reformist interventions have been more successful than their critics have allowed, especially in light of the resistance of clients to reform, the American public's naiveté about global politics, and the opposition of bolsterers within American government.

Of his three case studies, the Philippine intervention was, he says, successful. Despite occasional successes at reform, Macdonald argues, the American intervention policy nevertheless has been plagued by "oscillations" between activism and passivity as well as reform and bolstering. These swings have produced a dangerous intellectual and policy "incoherence" in dealing with the "chaos" that accompanies the precarious "political legitimacy" of America's non-European clients, a problem that has been and remains, he insists, "the greatest potential threat to alliance stability and American national security" (p. 2).

Macdonald claims that his appreciation of the dilemmas of commitment to clients and the complexities of intervention, his integration of several decision-making theories, and his examination of three case studies provides a better analytic and comparative basis for policy prescription than previous social science accounts. Interested primarily in prescribing techniques capable of persuading clients to accept reform so as to avoid chaos, he concludes that the best approach is "a comprehensive, sequential reform program aiming at the most likely areas to produce

opposition to the status quo and grievances against the client government, and within the context of a strictly quid pro quo bargaining approach at the promissory and implementation stages of reform" (p. 282).

The author nicely narrates historical events, incorporates documentary evidence, and dissects American decision making in the vernacular of political science. He is much less successful in other ways. His tone is excessively didactic and his text is replete with noncontextual aphorisms, on which he hangs his analysis; for example, "the ideological basis for . . . reform is that most Americans have a philosophical bias against centralized power" (p. 47). Self-evident correlations are put forward as important new findings: liberals tend to be reformers, conservatives tend to be bolsterers. Offering superficial critiques of realist and economic interpretations of the causes of American interventions in the Third World, he declares his belief in the assumption that American decision makers intervene to protect American security, which he never fully defines or substantiates, and to achieve stability, the importance of which he does not explain in terms of American national interest, his main concern.

Although his discussions of theories of cognition and bargaining are valuable, his analysis of domestic politics and the "American mind" are simplistic. Professing objectivity, his own approach has ideological implications: namely, globalist, liberal interventionism. Claiming a large comparative base, he overlooks much of the work of historians, who have long compared the history of numerous American interventions both before and after World War II. He also fails to compare the reformist interventions of other nations; for example, those of Britain and the Soviet Union. These omissions put him perilously close to the camp of those scholars often accused of making claims for American "exceptionalism." Many of his observations are not really new; historians and other observers, for example, have previously concluded that in relations with clients, the tail frequently wags the dog. Focusing on decision making for the purpose of managing clients and chaos, he slights the essential contextual question and the most difficult prescriptive question: what have been the fundamental goals of American policy? Should these goals be changed? As Macdonald concedes, the major reason why undemocratic clients resist reform but retain American support is that policy makers are only committed to required reforms as long as they do not conflict with or endanger their own policy goals.

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DONALD R. BAUCOM. *The Origins of SDI, 1944–1983*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1992. Pp. xix, 276. \$29.95.

The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) survived for barely a decade. Born in 1983, SDI proposed to reorient U.S. nuclear strategy from offense to defense by utilizing sophisticated computer and weapons technology to protect both nuclear forces and the nation's cities from Soviet ballistic missile attack. The Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO) was established to fulfill this "formidable technical task" over "years, even decades, of efforts on many fronts" (p. 196). In 1991 the Bush administration proposed the more limited goal of Global Protection against Limited Strikes (GPALS), and in May 1993 Secretary of Defense Les Aspin canceled the program. The SDIO became the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, which emphasized theater missile defenses.

Few subjects in Cold War history have produced such heated debate. Controversy surrounded the technical feasibility of SDI, its affordability, and its morality. Recent studies—such as those by B. Bruce Briggs, *The Shield of Faith* (1988); Sanford Lakoff and Herbert F. York, *A Shield in Space? Technology, Politics, and the Strategic Defense Initiative* (1989); and *Teller's War: The Top-Secret Story behind the Star Wars Deception* (1992) by *New York Times* science correspondent William J. Broad—exemplify the controversy.

Donald R. Baucom, retired Air Force officer, former professor at the Air Force Academy and Air War College, and official historian of SDIO, has produced a judicious and dispassionate overview of the origins of SDI. Using a wide array of sources, particularly official histories and interviews with key participants in the policy process, Baucom chronicles the political, technical, bureaucratic, and personality considerations that resulted in the speech of March 1983 in which President Ronald Reagan proclaimed his intention to pursue SDI.

Baucom's first seventy pages summarize the background history of ballistic missile defenses from the 1940s through the late 1970s, using new sources to expand on what has previously been written. The remainder of the book describes the many factors, particularly outside the executive branch, that contributed to the SDI decision. Baucom provides an especially useful description of the work of General Daniel Graham's High Frontier research and lobbying organization, Graham's relationship with the High Frontier Panel headed by Karl Bendetsen and funded by such conservative philanthropists as Joseph Coors, and the role of Lockheed engineer Maxwell W. Hunter II in recruiting the support of Wyoming Republican Senator Malcolm Wallop and his assistant, Angelo Codevilla. The most interesting part of the book, however, is the author's reconstruction of the internal dynamics leading to Reagan's speech. Baucom provides the best account yet of how the Reagan administration, and the president himself, came to make the SDI decision. He explores the pivotal role of the joint chiefs of staff, particularly the chief of naval operations, Admiral James D. Watkins, revealing the frustration of the nation's top military

officers with the nuclear strategy options available in the early 1980s. Readers should be sure to read Baucom's extensive explanatory endnotes to fully appreciate his spadework.

This work is not the last word on the subject. It is basically an official history, revised and expanded for a wider audience. The book reads well and quickly, and is set in a broader context, but it is not strongly interpretive. In addition, it addresses only the origins of SDI, not its subsequent history. One hopes that Baucom is working on a sequel, which will discuss the impact and significance of the Reagan initiative. Finally, this book is a political history of what is, at its root, a technical issue. Baucom acknowledges the importance of technology in shaping the SDI decision, but he wisely refrains from evaluating the merits of the various claims and counterclaims that emerged during the debate. A final assessment will have to await the declassification of the relevant documents, as well as SDIO's computer hardware and software. In the interim, however, Baucom's book is the best available record of the political process surrounding the creation of SDI, and it is a valuable resource for scholars seeking to understand U.S. defense decision making in the 1980s.

DAVID ALAN ROSENBERG  
Temple University

DAVID CAMPBELL. *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 269. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$19.95.

The Cold War's end forces us to reexamine the nature of the conflict and to reappraise the role foreign policy plays in shaping American identity. David Campbell's explicit purpose is to inquire whether an alternative interpretation to the conventional studies based on objective dangers "out there" can say something important about the United States. His is a dissident voice in this enterprise.

The first three chapters rethink the theory of foreign policy, the fourth examines the articulation of various dangers, the fifth relates the foregoing to special moments in American history, and the sixth interprets containment theory less in terms of defense policy than in the wish for social control and self-identity at home. The book's last three chapters examine post-Cold War issues that may pose new dangers to U.S. interests.

Throughout American history, the author argues, Americans have gone too far in representing perceived dangers as "alien, subversive, dirty, or sick" (p. 2). Danger is not an objective condition; for example, the manner in which Americans defined the Cold War posed greater dangers to internal stability and civility than the Red Army ever did. Americans were quick to "problematize" communists, using formulaic expressions once reserved for Native Americans,

Catholics, immigrants, and blacks. Moreover, Americans today interpret the Japanese as a national security threat in similar terms.

Campbell's work is useful because it reminds us of the need to reconsider the process by which states define themselves; yet problems remain. Radical skepticism of the sort expressed in this book, based too much on international relations theory and too little on primary documents, at times takes on the tone of one who has never faced a gunman in a dark parking lot. Nowhere is it seriously considered that Soviet control over Eastern Europe and the Baltic states was an oppressive objective reality, or that the conduct of Joseph Stalin was so abnormal as to preclude some traditional ways in which nations conduct business with each other. What the United States should have done in Cold War foreign policy—and what now it should do with drugs, terrorism, and Japanese competition—is not the explicit concern of this book.

Campbell displays great zeal in drawing analogies, but it is a dubious undertaking to insist that the modern state's concern with security replicates the church's concern with salvation, that the church, like the state, employs an evangelism of fear to ward off threats to its legitimacy. To argue thus necessitates a tortuous reading of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*. Moreover, from the angle of the church and of the state, Campbell's reading of the texts is insensitive to genuine religious concern with salvation on the one hand, and to the democratic state's wish to respond to citizens' needs on the other.

Considered as a work of scholarship, this study does not take us into new territory. Its biggest weakness is that it remains largely at the level of generalization, and that when it does consider concrete moments (the treatment of Native Americans, blacks, and immigrants), it offers little that is new in scholarly discourse.

RONALD LORA  
University of Toledo

#### CANADA

ALLEN P. STOFFER. *The Light of Nature and the Law of God: Antislavery in Ontario, 1833–1877*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 273. \$29.95.

There is a one-minute historical vignette, a "heritage moment," currently playing on Canadian television during commercial breaks. It shows a black woman in great distress, being comforted by a white matron who assures her that "he will arrive safely." The black woman runs outside and meets a farm wagon driven by a white man. Boards are removed, and out of a secret compartment leaps a black man. He and the black woman embrace. A voice-over announces that this is part of the Canadian heritage.

Canada's role in freeing American slaves is obvi-

ously a well-established component in Canadian popular culture, but in recent years a problem has been created by scholarship revealing the deep historical roots of racism in Canadian society. How could racism and antislavery coexist? Most answers to this "Canadian dilemma" have suggested that nineteenth-century Canada was drawn into the antislavery struggle primarily by proximity to the United States, by the presence of the fugitives on Canadian soil, or even by an anti-Americanism that provoked support for the slaves only to spite white Americans. Examining the white antislavery movement in Ontario, Allen P. Stouffer finds these explanations unsatisfactory. He has discovered a sincere ideological commitment to antislavery, which he traces to the British abolitionist crusade and in particular to British concern for American slavery following West Indian emancipation in 1833. In meticulous detail, Stouffer produces "group profiles" of antislavery leaders and followers, and he shows quite convincingly that their abolitionism was indeed genuine.

Stouffer's evidence challenges existing interpretations, but in doing so it creates new problems for the "Canadian heritage." Almost all the antislavery leaders were British immigrants, as were most of the followers, and of those who were not British-born a substantial proportion was black. In other words, the white Canadian population was not really involved in antislavery at all. Majority white opinion, as might be revealed in the provincial press or in the stand taken by the churches, was decidedly ambivalent on the slavery question. Furthermore, white Canadian antislavery was starkly ineffectual. Public rallies were held in Toronto for a few years after 1850, aid was given to some impoverished fugitives, black settlements and land ownership were sponsored to a limited degree, but in the final analysis white Canada's impact on American slavery was negligible.

At first glance Stouffer's decision to concentrate exclusively on white abolitionists seems to be a mistake, for most of the interesting and useful antislavery activity was conducted by black Canadians. Further reflection suggests that this book makes a better contribution as a white story. After prodigious research Stouffer has produced something quite significant, although different from his stated intention: his evidence indicates that antislavery was not a native characteristic after all, and that white Canada's response to the fugitives was fully consistent with the prevalence of racism.

This book contains a succinct and readable account of Ontario antislavery from a white perspective, including the Loyalist act for gradual abolition in 1793, and it clearly identifies the personal and ideological motives driving such mainstream organizations as the Elgin Association and the Antislavery Society of Canada. Ironically, in revealing the narrow and almost entirely external roots of the Canadian movement,

Stouffer has solved the "Canadian dilemma" by showing that it never existed.

JAMES W. ST.G. WALKER  
University of Waterloo

IAN BUSHNELL. *The Captive Court: A Study of the Supreme Court of Canada*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 604. \$90.00.

In 1951, Bora Laskin, one of Canada's leading legal scholars and eventually Chief Justice of Canada, described the country's senior judicial institution as "a captive court." For Laskin, this was not just a matter of imperial precedents from England controlling the decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada; it was a matter of colonial mentality, of arrested development. The court had never developed an independent judicial tradition or a body of law that could be thought of as distinctively its own. It was from the Supreme Court of Canada, Laskin suggested, that Canadian jurisprudence in general drew its intellectually shallow character. In his new history of the Supreme Court of Canada, Ian Bushnell takes this idea as his central theme. The idea is an important one and worthy of sustained historical examination.

It is in the nature of such a theme that an analysis of the cases before the court dominates the discussion. Bushnell is at his best in his handling of the myriad of individual cases coming before the court under its diverse jurisdictions. Every period and subperiod of the court is represented by several cases. For the earlier years the selection is very traditional; for the post-1960 period Bushnell's choices are slightly more expansive. This book will surely stand for some time as a valuable handy reference for a summary of most of the important cases and decisions of the court.

At the same time, however, it is this vast amount of material that presents the author with his greatest challenge: how to make sense of all of this information. The theme of the captive court offers the potential for interpretive focus, yet that opportunity is too often missed. Rather than maintaining his focus on the intellectual theme, Bushnell tends to include vast amounts of additional information. The result is distinctly episodic and disjointed. The detail of the cases, of the personnel, and of the court's operation is not integrated into a developed understanding of the court's position in the Canadian polity or judicial culture. Bushnell seems to lack the discipline to sort among the cases and to select the most revealing and telling example. Too often the theme of the captive court is asserted rather than proved, and the detail is allowed to dominate the text. Bushnell has not been well served by his editors, who ought to have employed a blue pencil aggressively. Scholars will certainly refer to this book in the future, but its usefulness has been decidedly limited by its unfocused character.

Bushnell accepts Laskin's depiction of the pre-1949 court, as have most scholars, but his explanations for the court's shallow intellectual character tend to be descriptive. With the post-1949 court, the end of appeals to England opened the possibility of new judicial developments. Bushnell argues that the court's limited role continued, due implicitly to the character of most judges joining the court and explicitly to the now entrenched judicial culture. The often authoritative influences of British and American jurisprudence and ideas are depicted at various times both as models of admirable judicial creativity and as further evidence of the court's derivative intellectual character. In an ineffective conclusion Bushnell points as well to the influence of the country's law schools and bar and attempts to make sense of the various arguments about the captive court.

The only other comprehensive study of the court's history focused on the institution's place in the Canadian polity (J. G. Snell and F. Vaughan, *The Supreme Court of Canada: History of the Institution* [1985]). Bushnell chooses not to discuss this issue at all, rightly deciding instead to concentrate on the court's jurisprudential role. Readers learn a great deal about the cases that passed through the court and are informed repeatedly about the absence of judicial creativity and the presence of intellectual sterility. As far as descriptive history goes, the book is relatively effective. As explanation, it is disappointing.

JAMES G. SNELL  
University of Guelph

B. W. MUIRHEAD. *The Development of Postwar Canadian Trade Policy: The Failure of the Anglo-European Option*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 230. \$39.95.

Many students of postwar Canadian economic policy, especially those of a Left-nationalist persuasion, have suggested that Canadian policy makers in the years following the war deliberately sold out to the United States, aligning the Canadian economy with that of its great southern neighbor for want of the will to retain national independence and integrity. Either deliberately or by default, it is often alleged, the Liberal governments of the 1940s and 1950s pursued a policy of continentalism that resulted in Canada, now free of its colonial dependence on Britain, becoming a subservient client of the United States.

This careful study of Canadian trade policy from the end of World War II to the defeat of the Liberals by the Conservative Party under John George Diefenbaker in 1957 presents a contrary interpretation of these developments. B. W. Muirhead argues that Canadian elected officials and their public servants during this period struggled mightily to reestablish the prewar ties between Canada and the United Kingdom and tried to encourage all its established and potential trading partners to accept multilateral-



ism and non-discriminatory trade policies along the lines implied (if not realized) by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). These efforts were frustrated, however, by Britain's recourse to sheltering in the soft-currency sterling area, which resurrected elements of the old imperial connections and by the Europeans' preference for the protectionism within a trading bloc of their own.

Muirhead claims that Canadian politicians facing an electorate demanding growth and prosperity rather than the dreaded return to prewar conditions had no practical alternative to seeking markets for Canadian exports in the United States. They could not seriously contemplate taking Canada into the sterling area because this would entail accumulating sterling balances that, given the patterns of exports and imports between Canada and the old commonwealth countries, would have been practically worthless. Nor could they exert sufficient pressure to induce the recovering countries of Western Europe to opt for multilateralism in place of the trading bloc approach to which they were committed. Thus, the author concludes, while "Canadian policy was multilateral and non-discriminatory by preference," it was "manifestly North American by default" (p. 182).

Muirhead accepts the assumption (no doubt correctly) that the Canadian economy in the years following the war would necessarily remain heavily dependent on exports rather than evolve to a condition of greater self-sufficiency. From this it follows that markets for these exports were critical. Accepting this, his evidence is compelling: those responsible for Canadian policy had, under the circumstances prevailing, no alternative to North American economic integration. There is, unfortunately, no attempt to uncover the motivation of these policy makers. They are, it is true, represented as being driven by electoral pressures, but the documents Muirhead cites to represent their opinions and objectives are taken fully at face value. Readers familiar with modern theories of public policy making may find this mildly disturbing.

The book is well written, carefully researched, and generally well documented. It is not overburdened by statistics and the treatment is non-technical. Anyone interested in modern Canadian history, not just Canadian trade policy, should read it.

KEN REA  
University of Toronto

#### LATIN AMERICA

IRVING ROUSE. *The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 211. \$25.00.

Irving Rouse is without doubt the best-known archaeologist on the Caribbean. He is also the most outstanding contributor to the literature on the region's prehistory, but, after having devoted well over fifty

years of continuous work, he has also become its most controversial one. His critics, privately or openly, have disapproved of his positivist approach to the discipline, lack of theoretical perspectives, disengagement from anthropology and ethnohistory—and for that matter from the social sciences in general—and insistence on inferring social processes from the microcosm of pottery decorations. Rouse's work represents an undeniable stage in the development of archaeology in the Caribbean, an American stage which, contrary to its continental matrix, has not been superseded after having served its usefulness. The result has been the continuation of a school of thought alienated from the fresh perspectives and the more interdisciplinary-oriented concerns of archaeology elsewhere.

This is the author's first work of synthesis on the subject, and it not only falls short of its expressed purpose but also is methodologically inferior to much earlier attempts. ("The Arawak," *Handbook of South American Indians*, Julian H. Steward, ed. [1948], vol. 4, 507–46.) In reality, it should have been entitled "The Rise and Decline of Ceramic Styles in the Caribbean" because it is more a defense of his pottery typologies than the history of the people who greeted Columbus. As an autobiography it could have served as a final contribution to an outstanding career, but as an attempt at social history it is, in its best aspects, an improvised and anecdotal picture of one Caribbean archaeologist's inability to reconstruct the Tainos' history and development.

The book contains six chapters and an epilogue. The first chapter is an introduction in which diverse matters are raised: natural setting, ethnic groups, historical sources, preliminary historical inferences, and a misplaced survey of the culture of the Tainos, which should have been the subject of the entire work.

In chapters 2, 3, and 4 Rouse discusses the history prior to the Tainos, providing background material that could have been summed up in one chapter. Chapter 5, "The Emergence of the Tainos," begins with an anticlimactic opening: "Unfortunately, the genesis of the Tainos, the most important theme of this book, has been too little studied to do it justice" (p. 105). The reader thus is not spared from more pottery history and a late attempt to embellish it with references to religion and art.

Taino history has always rested on ethnohistorical studies, and for this reason, if no other, Rouse should have provided an archaeological reading of the written sources. But he warns earlier in the introduction that he is limiting himself to Columbus and the first chroniclers (p. 9), sources that are losing favor among ethnohistorians because of their misrepresentations and deceptive discourse. More distressing still is the author's almost exclusive reliance on Carl Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* [1966]) to fill in the historical gaps. Sauer was a convenient secondary work for English-speaking readers some decades ago, but today he is an inappropriate and insufficient source. Because of

his reluctance to consult primary materials, Rouse deprives himself of the rich contributions of contemporary ethnohistorical research, based primarily on administrative archives that are replacing the early writers and enriching the understanding of the last stages of Taino history.

The most disturbing aspect of this book, and of the school of thought that it represents, is its ignorance of theory when handling the past. The point becomes quite visible as one glances over the book's glossary: Archaeology is defined as "(1) Curation of human remains; (2) the use of human remains to solve the problems of another discipline, such as anthropology or art history" (p. 173). Archaeology is thus understood as a craft that could be useful to other disciplines. Culture is defined as "the sum total of a people's cultural traits" (p. 177). This mechanical reductionism prevents communication among most social scientists and runs counter to contemporary movements in both history and anthropology toward an integral understanding of the past. Definitions of other terms, such as chiefdom, ethnic groups, formative age, and so on, reflect a profound unawareness of the intense discussions during the past decades on such subjects as state formation, modes of production, ethnicity, or ideology in the context of prehispanic societies. The book actually belongs in the 1930s and definitely not in the 1990s.

The Taino period is one of the best examples of the emergence of the chiefdom as a social formation. It was characterized as a period of political integration, military expansionism, widening social inequalities, high population concentration, surplus agricultural production and inventiveness, and marked ceremonialism. As a social system its profile is beginning to appear. Nevertheless, archaeological confirmations are lacking, and important aspects that ethnohistory cannot supply are in dire need. The reason is not the scarcity of sites or their difficult access to them, as Rouse argues, but the absence of sufficiently conscientious archaeologists who can go beyond the classification of artifacts and superficial inferences to commit themselves intellectually to the task of returning archaeology to social history, and in the process returning to the Tainos their humanity, which is still in the shadow of myth and colonial distortions.

JALIL SUED-BADILLO  
*University of Puerto Rico*

JORDI MALUQUER DE MOTES. *Nación e inmigración: Los españoles en Cuba (ss. XIX y XX)*. (Cruzar el charco.) Asturias, Spain: Jucar. 1992. Pp. 190.

Much in Cuban history can be understood by considering the migration to the island, forced and free: hundreds of thousands of African slaves, tens of thousands of Chinese contract workers, thousands of

enslaved Yucatán Indians, French planters fleeing revolution in St. Domingue, Jews from Eastern Europe, sugar cane workers from Jamaica and Haiti, North Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Arabs, to mention only some of the more important immigration communities.

Prominent among these waves of immigrants to Cuba were the Spanish: hundreds of thousands of Galicians, Asturians, Catalans, Basques, and Canary Islanders, all through the closing decades of the nineteenth century and through much of the early twentieth century. That Spanish immigration to Cuba continued into the twentieth century, after the establishment of the Cuban republic, was still more remarkable when compared to developments elsewhere in Latin America. Almost everywhere else, the Spanish departed in the aftermath of independence. In some countries—Mexico during the 1820s, for example—Spaniards were persecuted and their property expropriated.

In Cuba, Spaniards stayed, and more. They continued to arrive, decades after their rule on the island had come to an end. This is the subject of Jordi Maluquer de Motes's study, the vast and continuing Spanish immigration to Cuba between approximately the mid-nineteenth century and the 1930s. The book is very much a demographic study, rich with population data and immigration statistics. Maluquer de Motes makes effective use of census data and archival materials to arrive at a thorough profile of the Spanish presence in Cuba. He examines the regional origins of Spanish immigrants, as well as age, sex, and occupation. Where data permit, he locates the distribution of Spanish immigrants within Cuba and analyzes the role of Spaniards in the Cuban economy.

Mostly a compendium of data—tables, charts, and graphs—this book provides a valuable source of information on Spanish immigration. Little is done by way of analysis and interpretation of the data beyond obvious conclusions. The information, for example, that only 6 percent of all Spanish immigrants to Cuba prior to 1862 settled in Oriente province has far-reaching implications in events that occur in the decades that followed. Such analysis is not Maluquer de Motes's concern, however. Here and elsewhere the larger meaning of the data often tends to pass unnoticed.

This is a useful volume. The author has collected and sorted through a vast amount of data bearing on one of the more important migrations to Cuba. Not all scholars will agree with his sympathetic rendering of the Spanish presence in Cuba, but those who henceforth study population and immigration in Cuba will be in his debt. Demographic studies of Cuba have been made considerably richer by the addition of this work.

LOUIS A. PÉREZ, JR.  
*University of South Florida*

MARC EDELMAN. *The Logic of the Latifundio: The Large Estates of Northwestern Costa Rica since the Late Nineteenth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 478. \$55.00.

Marc Edelman's study is a magisterial work that represents both an extremely significant contribution to the historiography of modern rural Latin America and the most complete regional history of twentieth-century Costa Rican history.

Edelman's subject is provocative: *latifundismo* in modern Costa Rica, a country known for its Jeffersonian democracy. He brings powerful methodological tools to his task: an extraordinary interdisciplinary integration of ethnography, economics, and history. His principal aim is to understand the historical evolution and modern survival of a system of land tenure known as *latifundismo*: large ranches of underutilized grazing land, long considered a vestige of precapitalist social relations. The author presents an outstanding array of documentation to sustain his innovative thesis "that the contemporary underutilized *latifundios* of northwestern Costa Rica are in many respects products of contemporary conditions, including the ways in which landowners have succeeded in influencing state policies for rural development and how the region is integrated in the world economy" (p. 19). Moreover, Edelman argues convincingly that the Guanacastecan *latifundio* is quite compatible with modern agrarian capitalism, even with its reformist variants.

Edelman deals with two distinct types of logic that correspond to different historical periods. From the late nineteenth century until the Great Depression, the Guanacastecan peasantry exerted an important degree of control over the large cattle estates owned by a group of interconnected foreign (especially United States and Nicaraguan) and Costa Rican families. The strength and autonomy of the lowland peasantry blocked elite efforts to transform the *latifundios* into modern capitalist enterprises. Peasant resistance during this period included squatting and "inverted debt peonage," whereby laborers pressured advances out of landlords who had little power to enforce the labor contracts.

The Depression, by destroying the export markets for coffee and bananas, created a labor surplus in Guanacaste (whose laborers often had migrated to work in those industries). This change in the labor supply tipped the balance of power in Guanacaste toward the landholders, who were finally able to enclose their haciendas and to discipline a labor force. Yet Edelman shows how, during this same period, national elite reformism and local peasant resistance compelled *latifundistas* to divest themselves of properties and to create a smallholding peasantry. Nevertheless, these reformist measures shored up the economic and political power of the *latifundistas* by converting some land into modernized cattle ranches

and plantations while still allowing for the preservation of large sections of the *latifundios*.

During the 1970s, national elite hostility to *latifundismo* combined with peasant protest to bring about another period of agrarian reformism, which resulted in the decreased size of many *latifundios*. Edelman finds that a new logic of *latifundismo* has allowed for the perpetuation of the system until today. This contemporary logic hinges on high beef prices, favorable credit policies, and the lack of irrigation in much of the region, which forces small ranchers to sell cattle on unfavorable terms to the elite. It also depended on the strategic value of the *latifundio* for the United States during the Contra war. Rather than extirpate *latifundismo*, modern market pressures have instead "contributed to the continued underutilization of increasingly valuable land and to rentier rather than genuinely capitalist strategies of accumulation" (p. 281).

Given the overwhelming archival thoroughness and intellectual rigor of Edelman's work and his skilled use of ethnographic methods, it is somewhat disappointing that he pays insufficient attention to the cultural dimension of Guanacastecan social history. The author seems to have consciously chosen to downplay culture, for he argues that as a corrective to those studies inspired by the work of James Scott, it is necessary "to shift analysis away from an exclusive focus on its romantic or even its undramatic aspects and back toward the structure side of the structure-agency relation" (p. 281). Although Edelman may be correct in calling for more "structure" in studies of popular groups in Latin America, his own lack of balance weakens his analytical thrust. Thus, for example, the author shows that some 35 percent of the population of Guanacaste were squatters on haciendas in 1907. Similarly, he documents subsequent peasant victories in defense of their land rights. Finally, he shows that the elite lacked legitimacy to such an extent that they had to travel around their own haciendas with armed escorts, a phenomenon unmatched even in guerrilla or bandit-infested zones of Latin America. How did the landlords build hegemony in the face of such peasant intransigence? Unfortunately, Edelman's strict structural analysis (despite ample documentation) does not grapple with this crucial realm of social history. Nevertheless, Edelman's book is a masterful contribution to the tradition of anthropological history pioneered by Sidney Mintz and Eric Wolf.

JEFFREY L. GOULD  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

JOHN LYNCH. *Caudillos in Spanish America 1800–1850*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 468. \$76.00.

After offering important contributions to the history of the Bourbon reform era in Spanish America, of

imperial Spain, and of the Spanish American struggle for independence, John Lynch has more recently turned his attention to the murky aftermath of the revolutionary wars. His recent political biography of the Argentine dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas already touched on the issues he examines more systematically in the present book, namely, the idiosyncratic course taken by Spanish American politics after the colonial order broke down amid world-wide revolutionary changes that reduced the ideological legacy of the Spanish empire to a hopeless anachronism. What emerged from its ruins was a set of political practices that, under the cover of newly imported constitutional ideas and institutions honored mostly in the breach, still reflected the deep ethnic and social cleavages of a society borne of conquest and the violent heritage of the recent wars.

In trying to make sense of this ambiguous period, historians have veered between two views of the archetypal political figure of the period, the *caudillo*, that in turn reflect equally opposite views of the transition between Christian monarchy and constitutional republic. According to one of these views, independence had only eliminated the highest and most superficial layer in the network of institutional and social links that had kept colonial Spanish America together, thus rendering visible what had been previously hidden under the veneer of universal obedience to the Spanish king and to his law; *caudillo* rule therefore is characterized by a paternalistic aura and a recourse to patronage that project into the newly created political sphere the defining features of social (and already implicitly political) authority in the colonial era.

The rival view stresses instead the postrevolutionary militarization of administrative and political life, made perhaps unavoidable by the disappearance of the crown and its role as arbitrator, but certainly aggravated by the legacy of fifteen years of war. In this context, in which authority remained close to its violent source, political leadership could not survive without a safe territorial base and a military retinue on which the leader could rely even when out of favor with the state. These are indeed, according to Lynch, the defining notes of *caudillo* authority.

But his position on the underlying issue is much more nuanced than this summary suggests. What he offers under the guise of a search for the *Ideal-typus* of a specific kind of political leader is a masterly portrait of a polity and society in transition toward uncertain goals.

By exploring the individual careers of four *caudillos*—the Argentine Rosas, the Venezuelan José Antonio Páez, the Mexican Antonio López de Santa Anna, and the Guatemalan Rafael Carrera, Lynch is able to do justice to the baffling diversity of situations and experiences in the successor states, as well as to the common problems faced by all the former Spanish lands. In doing so, he not only successfully integrates the colonial legacy with that of the violent transition

to independence but also judiciously assesses the influence of the fears inspired by the new demands for equality among the propertied classes, which may have made it easier for them to accept political mediatization under a frequently capricious *caudillo* rule.

TULIO HALPERÍN-DONGHI  
University of California,  
Berkeley

THOMAS MILLINGTON. *Debt Politics after Independence: The Funding Conflict in Bolivia*. (University of Florida Social Science Monographs, number 79.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992. Pp. xv, 172. \$29.95.

Historical studies of development are often concerned with the road not taken. Policy choices, now forgotten, have important and enduring consequences. Such analyses are inherently structuralist. In the economic historiography of Latin America, they are generally revisionist as well. Dependency thinking offered a tautological perspective and scant notion of the process of underdevelopment. To emphasize errors and miscalculations is the essence of liberal structuralism. Historical actors, for whatever the reason, do not get things right. Here, then, is a proximate cause of underdevelopment.

Thomas Millington's succinct account of the funding conflict in Bolivia in the 1820s embodies a structuralist viewpoint. Public finance makes for difficult, even obscure, history, but Millington knows that the stakes were high. A fully funded debt implies fiscal discipline. Resources must be reserved for repayment, and amortization becomes a long-term commitment. If state obligations are legally enforceable, reasonably secure, promptly paid, and widely held, they help create a stable civil society.

Of course, fiscal discipline is irksome and politically risky. A floating debt is apparently easy to carry and to amortize. Yet, precisely because its expected return is uncertain, real assets must be pledged to liquidate a contingent debt. In Bolivia, these were disentailed clerical holdings, former crown trusts, communal Indian lands, and rural properties seized before independence. The state could partially shift the costs of debt repayment to those for whom the assets were held in trust. Ideology, political pressure, or simple expediency were justifications for doing so.

The Spanish disentailment in the 1790s influenced Bolivian liberals, who believed that church and corporate properties impeded growth. Disentailment freed these properties for use and enhanced their productivity. If state obligations were liquid, they could be used to purchase these properties and pay off their existing mortgages. Millington sees more than doctrinaire liberalism at work here. The powerful *hacendado* class of the province of La Paz clearly benefited from contingent funding. Finally, Bolivia faced large current budget deficits in the 1820s, to



which military spending contributed mightily. Nation-building was a noble ambition, but paying the army kept the peace. The realism of Antonio José de Sucre, Bolivia's first president (1826–28) was critical. Anxious to evacuate the country of Colombian troops, he and loyal subalterns such as Facundo Infante pressed for a floating debt. As Millington observes, "It became for Sucre essentially a matter of squeezing money out of the domestic credit market to cover the costs of evacuation and paying off enough of [what was] owed the soldiers to satisfy them" (pp. 77–78). The proponents of a fully funded debt, such as Juan Bernabé de Madero and the Bolivian émigré community, their congressional followers, and the silver miners in Potosí, were defeated.

For Millington, this defeat had large implications. The system of Indian tribute could have been useful to fund the debt and "to transform the tributary system into a savings organization" that would have incorporated the Indian into national life. Instead, the selling off of rural property accelerated "the disarticulation of the indigenous rural society" (p. 129). This, of course, is sheer speculation if not utter fantasy. But were the liberal shibboleths that Millington dislikes any less so? Historians who doubt that social relations are the product of specific economic and political forces would do well to read Millington's book.

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SABINE MACCORMACK. *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 488. \$39.50.

Complexity and clarity, inclusiveness and selectivity, these are equally attributes of Sabine MacCormack's important book of early modern Peruvian intellectual history. A work of large scope, it deals with indigenous Andean religion as seen by writers who were mainly Spaniards, along with the few Andeans who became writers in the European manner, from the time of the Spanish conquest in the second quarter of the sixteenth century until about the 1660s. After that watershed, in MacCormack's view, indigenous religion ceased to be a public activity, bringing the age she studies to an end.

For the time up to the late seventeenth century, the field of Andean religion offers much unique and fascinating source material, and MacCormack is the first to face them on their own terms. Until fairly recently anthropologists had resisted the imperatives of this large corpus because it was posterior to the time of their primary interest, the preconquest period, and was filtered through a Spanish medium. What the material demands is an approach in which the Spaniards, their ideas, and their motives are not extraneous but rather part of the subject matter; the

same holds true with Andean religion after European contact. MacCormack sees the challenge and rises to it. This is not to say that the preconquest period is in any way neglected, for it is still the *prima facie* focus of most of the writings with which she deals. And even if one maintains that Spaniards and postconquest happenings are devoid of interest, texts generated by Spaniards after the conquest are of great importance, perhaps the primary remaining avenue for study of preconquest Andean culture. With an understanding of the tendencies in Spanish writing and the shape of Andean religion in postcontact times, it is possible to extract from this corpus more sophisticated and reliable conclusions about preconquest concepts and practices.

It is not only anthropologists who have failed to meet this large corpus head on. Historians of Spanish America, once having been denizens of the Archive of the Indies in Seville, and consequently producing Hispanocentric work, have long since declared their independence and devoted themselves primarily to a massive, multidimensional documentation produced and conserved in the New World, with a vast gain in both realism and the ability to generalize meaningfully. Even so, the Spaniards in America were part of a European tradition, and historians have not yet done justice to the ramifications of that tradition in their New World doings. Few indeed are even adequately trained for the task. Here MacCormack's background as an intellectual historian of late-classical times in Europe is invaluable.

The most striking single result of the author's background is her ability to see the discussion of Andean religion by Spaniards and Spanish-influenced Andeans as an outgrowth of longstanding Aristotelian and Thomist doctrines about the structure of cognition. Imagination was seen as an indispensable part of thought; past memories, arbitrariness, and, for some, demonic influence could intervene in the process of absorbing and reflecting on sense perceptions. Thus, demons naturally came to dominate Spanish views of a religion featuring deities to whom speaking (usually through intermediaries) was so prominent. European opinion on cognitive psychology was not perfectly uniform, however, nor was it entirely static over time, and MacCormack in a subtle and convincing fashion is able to guide the reader through the different positions taken by different authors, giving the entire history a coherence we had never realized it possessed.

Although the author's emotional attachment is clearly to the Andean side of her topic, and she is extremely knowledgeable about indigenous religion and its social, ethnic, and political ramifications, it is on the Spanish side that the book makes its greatest immediate contribution. That contribution is not to be restricted to any one theme, not even the guiding one. MacCormack is willing to pursue any avenue of interest, and repeatedly does so. Her writers have concerns beyond epistemology, and she recognizes

them. She has produced a series of penetrating, balanced, and entertaining studies of most of the main figures of early Peruvian intellectual life. She is notably undoctrinaire, does not follow any of the various jargons currently plaguing cultural history, and does not force her European intellectual history onto Peru when it does not fit. She sees Spaniards of Peru departing from European trends in the seventeenth century, reacting to their own cumulative experience of the stubborn persistence of Andean religious modes. I look forward to a second volume of these studies that the author plans to write, concentrating on Andean perceptions of myth and history.

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DANIEL M. MASTERSON. *Militarism and Politics in Latin America: Peru from Sánchez Cerro to Sendero Luminoso*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 111.) New York: Greenwood. 1991. Pp. xiii, 345. \$47.95.

If Peru today is facing its worst crisis in a century from a collapsed economy and a deadly confrontation with insurgency, then the country's armed forces stand at the vortex of the storm. This is paradoxical because the ambitious attempt of the military to radically restructure the country in 1968 was aimed at preventing violent revolution from below. Its subsequent failure, however, in many ways opened the path for the radical revolutionary challenge of the Maoist Shining Path guerrilla movement. Daniel M. Masterson's comprehensive and detailed institutional study of the Peruvian armed forces since 1930 tries to unravel this as well as other complexities that have characterized the relationship between the military and society in Peru.

The core of the book concerns the military's transformation from a traditional, personalistic organization, whose purpose was to act as "guardians of elite privilege," to a modern, professional armed force with a new "nation-building" mission and ethos. The consequences of this transformation suddenly became apparent in 1968, when the armed forces seized power in an "institutional coup" and proceeded to undertake a radical reform program that eliminated the country's forty ruling families and implemented one of the most far-reaching agrarian reform programs in Latin American history. Masterson is intent on explaining the military revolution of 1968, and he does this by carefully tracing the institutional transformation that led up to it.

This agenda takes him back to the doctrines on containing colonial insurgencies through a kind of early civic action introduced into the Peruvian officer corps by French advisors earlier in the century. Although American military influence subsequently replaced the French after World War II, the quest to redefine its mission beyond border defense and pro-

tection of the elites accelerated after the 1950s, as did professionalization and modernization. Masterson shows how the defeat of Castro-inspired guerrillas in the mid-1960s led this increasingly progressive officer corps to embrace the notions of nation-building and civic action designed to diffuse the preconditions for popular revolution by "winning the hearts and minds" of the restless and oppressed peasant masses. The final, logical step in the evolution of this process was for the military to directly assume the task of radical societal reform, which it did under General Juan Velasco Alvarado from 1968 to his death in 1977.

Another important dimension of the book is the author's historical analysis of civil-military relations, which he carefully documents with each administration going back to 1930. This leads him to a close examination of the army's longstanding antagonism toward the populist Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana Party (APRA), which it barred from power until the election of Alan García Pérez in 1985. Skillfully drawing on numerous interviews with both *militares* and party politicians from both sides of this institutional blood feud, Masterson judiciously sorts out fact from fiction. The result is the most dispassionate, if not the best, study of this highly charged historical confrontation.

Surprisingly, despite the obvious importance of the subject, this is the first major historical treatment of the country's armed forces to appear in English. Although the author does not present any overarching interpretation or theory, his solid and balanced historical analysis, careful documentation, and precise exposition make this an important contribution to the literature on the Latin American military.

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DAVID SOWELL. *The Early Colombian Labor Movement: Artisans and Politics in Bogotá, 1832-1919*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 269. \$44.95.

This fine study by David Sowell traces the decline in the material security, unity, and political independence of artisans in Colombia's highland capital during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In a close reading of the press, travel accounts, broadsides and pamphlets, and official documents, Sowell demonstrates that Colombia's slow yet inexorable connection to the global economy over that period undermined the livelihood of Bogotá's cobblers, masons, carpenters, tailors, and printers. Increasing imports also led to the fragmentation of a once quite homogeneous, coherent class into small groups of elite craftsmen and a mass of casual laborers. Most important, for Sowell's purposes, artisans lost their political influence and autonomy. He recounts their initially effective articulation of demands for tariff protection

and expanded political participation in the new republic. Drawn early on into upper-class squabbles, however, Bogotá's artisans became increasingly divided, the more privileged among them eventually creating mutual aid societies and the rest sporadically exploding in riot against the high cost of food and the insults of their betters. By the early twentieth century, according to Sowell, they were eclipsed by an increasingly proletarianized work force led by socialist ideologues. In short, this is a tale of how a class for itself became merely a class in itself in the largest city of the northern Andes.

This major contribution to the growing historiography on Colombia properly places artisans near the center of that country's nineteenth-century political history. Sowell reveals that the jousting of elite clans with strong clientelist bases in the countryside cannot entirely account for the emergence in the 1840s and 1850s of Latin America's most enduring partisan system. Rather, he shows that at the moment of their foundation, Liberals and Conservatives competed for support from the capital's substantial artisanry but united to define, through the defeat and exile of rebel craftsmen in 1854 and repression thereafter, the limits of popular participation in the new nation's public life. At the same time, however, Sowell emphasizes that these workers were hardly passive victims of economic restructuring, elite violence, and political manipulation. His work gives testimony to the ubiquity and variety of their organizations during a century of claims making and their constant efforts to avoid intra-elite conflicts or turn them to advantage. Most important, he explains that artisans fashioned their own version of republicanism set against the exclusionary liberal democracy that became the nation's trademark. Weaving together ideals of liberty, respect for manual labor, social equality, and Catholic solidarity, this artisanal radicalism suggests an ideological landscape far more complex than heretofore acknowledged for much of Latin America during this period and similar to the politics of the urban poor in early republican United States described by Sean Wilentz and others.

With its many unanswered questions, Sowell's book also proffers a major agenda for further research on nineteenth and early twentieth-century Latin America. The political economy and material culture of the artisanry have only a shadowy presence in this and other recent studies that focus on the ideology and politics of craftsmen. The networks of household production and market exchange inherited from the late colonial period and changes wrought by the ever-tightening connection to the world economy are yet to be fully explored. Moreover, as the evidence in this book repeatedly suggests, the stories of craftsmen in a major center such as Bogotá demand comparison with those in the provinces, from the women weavers of Santander to the mulatto artisans of the Cauca Valley where ethnicity set its particular stamp on regional politics. Finally, although Sowell downplays

the role of artisanal republicanism in the making of the modern Colombian working class after the turn of the century, his own work and that of others suggests quite a different interpretation. Indeed, historians following in his bold footsteps will likely discover that the oppositional culture and politics created by artisans under siege in the nineteenth century had a crucial impact on the later struggles of proletarians in Colombia and elsewhere in Latin America.

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DAVID BUSHNELL. *The Making of Modern Colombia: A Nation in Spite of Itself*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. x, 334. Cloth \$42.00, paper \$17.00.

"The Colombian establishment," David Bushnell concludes, "will not consent to be violently overthrown; pretty much anything else is subject to negotiation and indeed *was* negotiated in the recent [Constituent] assembly" (p. 285). Since we can understand that no elite anywhere has or presumably will ever agree to being so unceremoniously disposed of, then politics in Colombia must be much like it is elsewhere. If most everything is up for grabs, then Colombia is a democracy in more than form alone. If so much can actually be quietly contested, then it must be that the establishment is confident that it can protect its class interests by inviting others to play by the evolving rules of the game.

This is Bushnell's provocative idea, argued coherently throughout the book, and explicitly just a few lines from the end: "constitutional government in Colombia has endured at least partly because it has suited the interests of the wealthy and the powerful. It is a political system that they can easily participate in themselves and, through the party and other devices, ultimately control" (p. 285).

Until now, historians of Colombia have been convinced that we either know so little about the country or that its past patterns are so distinct from those in other Latin American nations, or both, that none of us have dared survey its history within the covers of one book. It is only fitting that this first endeavor come from Bushnell. Not only has he written celebrated works on Colombian subjects covering both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries but he is also an expert on the independence period in Argentina and the coauthor of a survey on the nineteenth century. In addition, he has been a successful editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*.

In this highly readable political history, Bushnell manages not only to make Colombia seem normal but also to argue that its past is "better" than that of most of its neighbors. It has been formed by a series of responsible elites who have worked with remarkable success against the forces of a contorted geography

and a fluctuating world market. Its hard-working people are not the pathological entities that many have seen as the cause of the nation's endemic violence. There has been no social revolution, the guerrillas are an anachronism, there have been none of the unobtainable expectations created by populism, and there was only one brief escape into military rule. Cocaine too shall pass, as consumers elsewhere move on to other kicks. And economic growth is a constant.

Bushnell's moderating views are longstanding, but this book is very much in tune with our current political environment. Many have come to accept even extreme forms of inequality and poverty as intractable parts of collective life. My guess is that this work will surprise those scholars who have looked for social alternatives, but it will also be easily understood by the millions of Colombians who have perhaps long been reconciled to the exigencies of daily life ruled by an unfettered market, and who are today working hard so that inequality and poverty will affect them less than it will their fellow citizens.

Whether the Colombian people accept the evolving rules of the game as legitimate, or whether they just want the politicians to leave them to their own devices, is a contestable point. Either way, the establishment is content, for little is being politically negotiated. With this book we can formally recognize that Colombia is part of the contemporary normalcy of bourgeois democracy.

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STUART B. SCHWARTZ. *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery*. (Blacks in the New World.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 174. \$34.95.

This is a volume of five essays on Brazilian slavery. Three are previously unpublished, one has been published only in Portuguese, and one has been published in English but has been updated for this volume. Both individually and collectively, the essays do an admirable job of summarizing, clarifying, and illustrating current debates and advances in research on the New World's largest and longest-lasting slave society.

Stuart B. Schwartz begins with a useful historiographical survey, an earlier version of which appeared in the *Luso-Brazilian Review* (1988). In providing this comprehensive overview of the field, Schwartz notes the influence of recent work on U.S. slavery on the Brazilian literature and suggests that a reverse flow of intellectual influences, through the

diffusion of Brazilian theoretical debates among students of U.S. slavery, could "serve as an antidote to the sometimes rudderless empiricism of North American historians" (p. 8).

Certainly U.S. historians who work on Brazil have been much affected by those debates, as can be seen in Schwartz's essays on plantation labor, on the relationship between export agriculture and agriculture oriented toward local consumption, on slave resistance and *quilombos*, and on godparentage. For example, several of the essays take up the question, much fought over among historians of Brazil and the Caribbean, of the "peasant breach": whether slaves' cultivation and marketing of their own food crops "represented their victory over a brutal coercive labor regime and a potential rupture of the slave system, or if it was allowed to exist principally because it served the interests of the masters" (p. 49). As Schwartz makes clear, planters did in fact use provision grounds, along with other positive incentives, to maintain slavery and increase its productivity. And a focus on slave "victories" can divert attention from the brutal and exploitive realities of the system that formed the basis of Brazilian society and economy for over three hundred years. But Schwartz also argues that to ignore the multiple ways in which slaves seized and exploited the occasional openings provided by slavery—opportunities to sabotage production, to buy freedom, to worship African deities, to choose godparents, to flee and form *quilombos*—is to deny the human agency that is as much a part of history as the macro-level structures within which that agency is asserted. It is also to miss the multiple ways in which those structures were themselves shaped and transformed over time by slave initiatives in an evolving process of negotiation and struggle.

This book does not have the weight or grandeur of Schwartz's magisterial study, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society* (1985). But precisely because of its relative compactness and its close focus on several themes central to current debates on Brazilian slavery, it works well as a summary of recent findings and as an introduction to the present state of knowledge on this topic. Graduate students will find it indispensable, as will historians of slavery in other countries who wish to deepen their knowledge of Brazil. Finally, I should note that Schwartz is consistently generous in acknowledging and crediting the work of others, both published and unpublished. This is a quality not as common in our profession as it should be, and one that should itself be acknowledged whenever it appears.

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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

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# Communications

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*A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."*

## ARTICLES

### TO THE EDITOR:

"Foucault's implicit dictum that law is less odious than discipline" is noted by Jan Goldstein in the *AHR Forum* article, "Framing Discipline with Law: Problems and Promises of the Liberal State" (*AHR*, 98 [April 1993]: 367). A further development might include the principle that law is the result of discipline. Discipline involves the knotty relationships between politics and truth as these principles fall into adjustment with each other. Discipline is the storm that comes before the sunshine of the law. Whether that law emanates from a juridical monarchy or a modern state is not as significant as whether that law emanates from the needs of truth or from the needs of politics.

As part of the *Forum*, Laura Engelstein asks, "Could there be a logic to the double loss" (p. 381) of legality and social justice remarked upon by Nikolai Bazhenov in 1906? That logic can be found in the loss of truth to politics in varying degrees not only throughout Russian history but also throughout the history of Western and Eastern Europe. A more useful and clearer dichotomy for understanding Western and Eastern Europe than that between law and discipline might be that between truth and politics.

Truth is congruence between mental and extra-mental reality. Politics is the exercise of power for the purpose of determining who gets what. Politics based on the merit of truth is the genius of Western civilization. Truth based on the merit of politics is the bane of the rest.

RAYMOND J. JIRAN  
*Thomas Nelson Community College*

### TO THE EDITOR:

In my exchange of letters with Carole Shammas as to whether a right to Social Security should be counted as wealth (*AHR*, 98 [October 1993]: 1392), Shammas derided my suggestion that Social Security benefits were marketable, at least in a derivative fashion.

Some research into the Supreme Court's view of this matter (*Philpott vs. Essex Co. Welfare Board*, 409 U.S. 413 [1972]) suggests that it would be difficult to market Social Security derivatively but only because creditors cannot reach Social Security benefits after the beneficiary has received them (unless the beneficiary has turned them into other assets).

This immunity of Social Security benefits from creditors means that, for many people, a right to Social Security is even *better* than money in the bank.

RICHARD JOFFE  
*New York City*

Carole Shammas declines to reply.

THE EDITOR

### TO THE EDITOR:

I was delighted to read the review essay by James Hoopes, "Objectivity and Relativism Affirmed: Historical Knowledge and the Philosophy of Charles S. Peirce," *AHR*, 98 (December 1993): 1545-55, for two reasons. First, I am glad to see that Peirce, that curmudgeonly philomath, can still provoke heated disagreement between such thorough students of his work as Joseph Brent and James Hoopes. Peirce should have taken his essay "How to Make Our Ideas Clear" a little more to heart! But, more important, it is wonderful to see our leading national professional journal note that Hoopes "sees Peirce's metaphysics and semiotic as a solution for the problems addressed in the *AHR*'s continuing discussion of intellectual history and methodology" (In This Issue, p. vi). The *AHR*'s readers may be interested to know that the same problems have been of interest to semioticians and the historians (few, alas) who travel in their circles. The debate is pursued there in the fine essays of Brooke Williams: "Opening Dialogue between the

Discipline of History and Semiotics," in *The Semiotic Web: 1987* (1988), 821–34, and "History and Semiotics in the 1990s," in a special issue on history and semiotics of *Semiotica*, 83 (1991): 385–417, which also includes a splendid essay by Hoopes himself, "Semiotic and American History," 251–82, he was too modest to mention in his *AHR* essay. Historians interested in attending or participating in the sessions on semiotics and history held annually at the Semiotics Society of America (the next meeting will be in Philadelphia, October 20–23, 1994) should write the Executive Director, Terry Prewitt, Dept. of Sociology/Anthropology, University of West Florida, Pensacola FL 32514. They will find there *not* deconstructionists arguing that history has no meaning (in jargon that itself has no meaning) but a handful of regular historians debating the symbols through which humankind has understood both itself and its history. If Hoopes sees in semiotic a chance to resolve the subjectivity/objectivity debate that has vexed historians, semioticians conversely find in history the opportunity to save their discipline from the literary critics who refuse to recognize that signs are the very real medium through which people interpret their world. May I refer my colleagues who wish an introduction to this form of semiotics to John Deely's short, clear *Basics of Semiotics* (1991), which in its conclusion (p. 118) puts in a major plug for the necessity of a historical perspective in understanding the nature of signs.

WILLIAM PENCAK  
Penn State University,  
Ogontz Campus

## FILM REVIEWS

### TO THE EDITOR:

The *American Historical Review* does not review historical novels or other fiction; why should it review fictional movies? Is it that, as Eva Moskowitz puts it, the film section has "a growing enthusiasm for theories that problematize the distinctions of fact and fiction?" [*AHR*, 98 (October 1993): 1179].

JOSEPH LOSOS  
St. Louis, Missouri

### TO THE EDITOR:

It is utterly astounding that a reviewer of the film *Bob Roberts* [*AHR*, 98 (October 1993): 1186–88] could omit any reference to D. A. Pennebaker's 1967 documentary *Don't Look Back*. Tim Robbins' mock documentary is consciously derivative of Pennebaker's rough-cut masterpiece about Bob Dylan's 1965 British tour. Certainly, *Bob Roberts* can stand on its own merits for the most part, but the structure and many of the vignettes make little sense without reference to Pennebaker's film. Your reviewer, Gil Troy, undoubtedly

never saw *Don't Look Back*, but even the slightest depth of research would have revealed the creative link between the two films.

RALPH HITCHINS  
Poolesville, Maryland

### GIL TROY REPLIES:

The guidelines for *AHR* film reviewers explain that the *AHR* reviews "aim to call attention to and assess the contributions of film to our historical understanding." They also encourage reviewers not to "feel bound by some preconceived notion of what a review is supposed to be." I was attempting, in 1,200 or so words, to place *Bob Roberts* in the broader context of American popular attitudes toward politics. The artistic origins of the film, while important, were beyond the scope of my review. I am sorry that Ralph Hitchins was disappointed, but I thank him for alerting readers to one of Tim Robbins' inspirations in producing *Bob Roberts*.

GIL TROY  
McGill University

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my book *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture* (*AHR*, 98 [April 1993]: 490–92), Robert L. Patten states that I am "vague and sometimes misleading about dates." His only evidence is the mention I make of advertisements for Warren's boot-blackening in a discussion of imagery of the period 1832–1860 (p. 170). Although he is not incorrect in saying that these advertisements appeared in the 1820s, it is more to the point that they had wide circulation in the 1830s. Thus I have again found it useful to comment on them in the new paperback edition of the book.

While it is often helpful to have possible errors identified, a reviewer can be overly zealous in hunting them out and end up falling into his own trap. This perhaps explains the level of error and misrepresentation in Patten's review. Nowhere, for example, do I make the generalization that "verbal literacy preceded visual literacy." In fact, I stress that pictorial imagery was an important form of communication in a time when verbal literacy was not universal (pp. 3, 153–54, 182–83). And, far from labeling working people "visually illiterate," I note several instances of their perceptiveness and interest in the visual (pp. 43–45).

Nor do I claim that there was a "visually bankrupt proletariat before 1840." Rather, in considering the years between 1790 and 1832—not 1840, as Patten incorrectly says—I am at pains to document the imagery most commonly available to working people.

At the same time, I remark on the limitations of certain kinds of visual experience, such as viewing monuments or attending public spectacles (pp. 16–17). Patten seems to have missed the main point that the subject under discussion is the *printed* imagery that was readily and constantly accessible and inexpensive enough to be owned and studied on a continuing basis. His insinuation that I have negligently overlooked the significance of Lord Nelson's sarcophagus and illuminated transparencies celebrating the Hanoverian centenary is therefore misjudged.

Elsewhere in the book, I use sources such as editorial correspondence to reconstruct something of the composition of the mass market for illustrated magazines between 1832 and 1860. For instance, with supporting material, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, groups of letters signed by tailors, factory operatives, servants, unspecified "labourers," and so on, would seem to represent working-class sectors of the market. But I do not, as Patten illogically assumes, "identify occupations and implicitly income as determinants," exclusively, of class itself. This would be inconsistent with one of the book's major premises—that, during the period under consideration, class was fluid and dynamically interactive with diverse cultural and behavioral factors.

Patten has a seemingly incomplete grasp of the book's theoretical content. He does not remark on its incorporation of Walter Benjamin's ideas, Roland Barthes's poststructuralism, and work in cultural studies by scholars such as Tony Bennett and Stuart Hall. He acknowledges its grounding in Gramsci's thought but finds this inadequate: "she never confronts Foucauldian arguments about cooptation." He fails, however, to state precisely how such a confrontation would have changed my argument and offers no counter-argument of his own.

His reference to work done by feminists is similarly vague, as well as largely irrelevant—the book principally concerns the relationship of culture and class, not culture and gender. Nevertheless, I do take into account the participation and representation of women in an emergent mass culture and integrate a feminist perspective with the book's pivotal theories (pp. 124–29, 131–36). Did these passages escape Patten's notice?

I could cite many other examples—indeed, it would take an essay, not a letter, to disentangle the confused skein that is the substance of Patten's review. There is scarcely a sentence that does not in some measure distort central and peripheral issues alike. Accuracy and critical appropriateness, meanwhile, are at a premium.

PATRICIA ANDERSON  
Vancouver, British Columbia

ROBERT L. PATTEN REPLIES:

Patricia Anderson objects to my saying she is "vague and sometimes misleading about dates" and then

admits I am "not incorrect" in noting that Warren's blacking ads appeared in the 1820s. But "it is more to the point that [these ads] had wide circulation in the 1830s" (letter). What she maintains in her book is that "at mid-century and thereabouts, . . . the firm of Warren's, the Strand . . . used handbills" (p. 170, my emphasis). That seems to me both vague and misleading by several decades. Anderson chides me for identifying 1840 rather than 1832 as her turning point in visual literacy, although 1840 is also the date her publisher names in the catalog blurb. On page 170, Anderson twice uses 1840 as a key date. In fact, she sees the 1830s as a transitional decade, picking 1830 (p. 11), 1832 (p. 12 and *passim*), 1836 and 1837 (p. 9), and 1840 as milestones along the way to mass-market publication. I would have pushed the period of transition back into the 1820s; David Kunzle declares that 1824 is the beginning of the "mass press" (*Art Journal*, 43 [Winter 1983]: 339–46).

In rebutting my charge that she labels people "visually illiterate," she refers readers to pages 43–45. Those pages assert that popular visual imagery prior to 1832 was "unsophisticated" or "crude"—lacking the civilizing influences of high art, that most people were not "visually fastidious," that poor households owned little illustrated material, and that people were so hungry for more imagery that they created their own pictures. Don't those pages argue for visual illiteracy? If they do, I disagree. Art and social historians studying revolutionary France and the Georgian period have demonstrated that popular imagery, circulated in many mediums, was complex and influential. Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness*, which Anderson cites in its 1834 *Penny Magazine* version as an instance of Charles Knight's efforts to civilize his readers through imagery (pp. 66–67), had been used in demotic pictures and texts for nearly a century.

Anderson believes that I have an "incomplete grasp of [her] book's theoretical content" (letter). She argues that, prior to 1860, "class was fluid and dynamically interactive" (letter) and that class anxieties did not mold the popular press (pp. 77, 129). She sees the *Penny Magazine* as promoting middle-class values through informal and not conscious or malicious means (p. 78). She believes in the editorial correspondence printed in popular journals. (Some of it was demonstrably bogus [p. 139, n. 4], and letters signed by occupational groups are dubious evidence of anything.) She posits that the "working class" before 1860 consists of a range of occupations from "street hawkers and entertainers" (p. 6) to schoolmasters (p. 143) and that they had in common a yearning for self-improvement (p. 143). She admits that we do not know whether the *Penny Magazine* "attracted a female readership of any significant size" (p. 152). Her notion of a "mass" readership, blurring differentiations of class, gender, income, region, religion, occupation, and other segmentalizing affiliations, stands in contrast to much recent work examining socially and historically specific cultural practices. Self-im-



provement is itself a highly suspect category, one that may conceal and internalize coercion to adopt bourgeois standards and values.

Anderson cites Barthes and Benjamin as guiding her "pictorial analyses" (p. 13, n. 25), but the analyses are, as other reviewers have noted, pretty rudimentary and untheorized. She is puzzled by my reference to Foucault as offering an alternative to Gramsci's notions of "negotiated consent." Why? The debate between consensualists and contestatorians is being waged vigorously in historical journals, especially the *AHR*. (Pierre Bourdieu is another theorist of cultural capital whose arguments about the conservatism of high culture might be addressed.) Then Anderson maintains that she integrates "a feminist perspective with the book's pivotal theories" (pp. 124–29, 131–36), but a glance at those pages will show that, with the exception of a note acknowledging that Gramsci

never developed a theory of "gender hegemony," Anderson does not cite any scholar, from Amy Cruse to Nancy Miller, who studies the ways nineteenth-century women were instructed and constructed as readers and subjects.

I do not want to dwell further on my disagreements with Patricia Anderson. As I also said in my review, in sentences that I hope are exceptions to the inaccuracy and distortions that she finds in virtually every line, her book is important; in its effort to comprehend many disciplines, it deserves consideration, and it makes shrewd points about changes in the nature and extent of visual literacy during the early to mid-Victorian period. The appropriate forums for testing Anderson's arguments are further articles and books, not letters of protest or defense.

ROBERT L. PATTEN  
*Rice University*

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# American Historical Association

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Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889  
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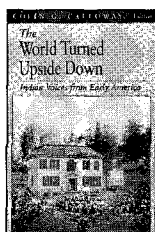
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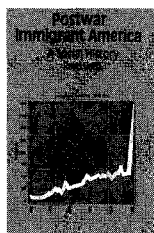
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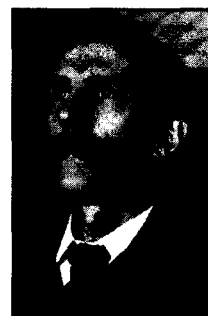
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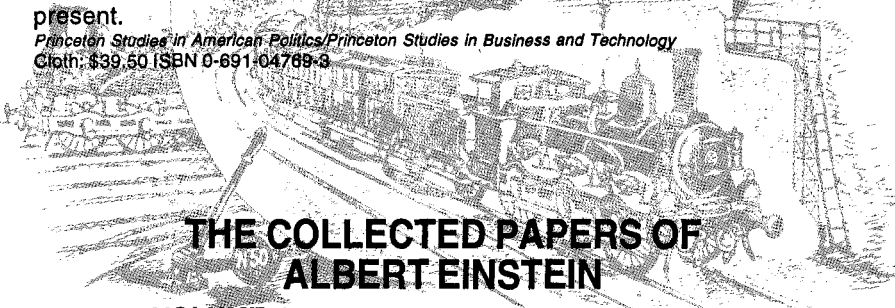
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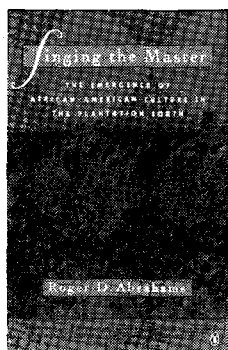
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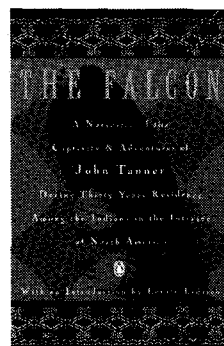
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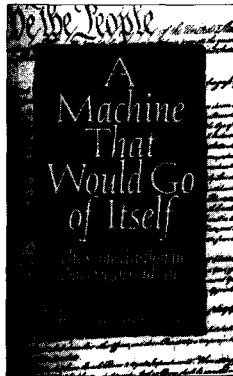
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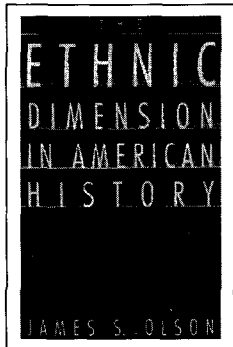


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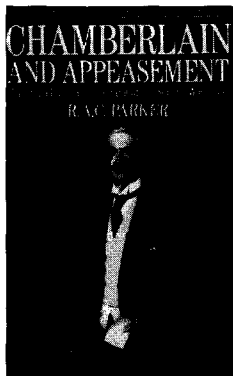
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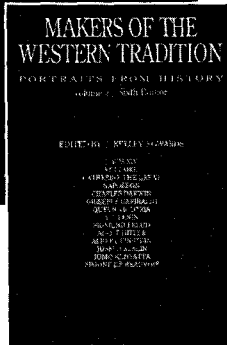
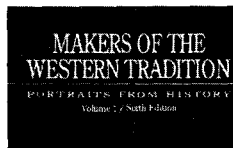
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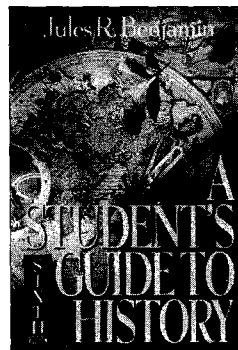
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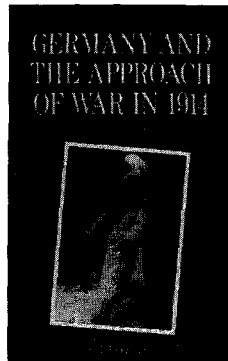
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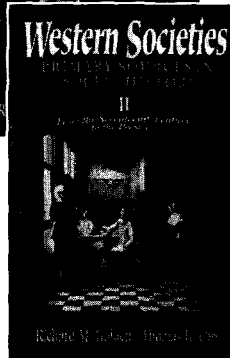
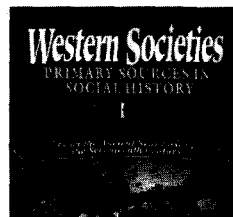
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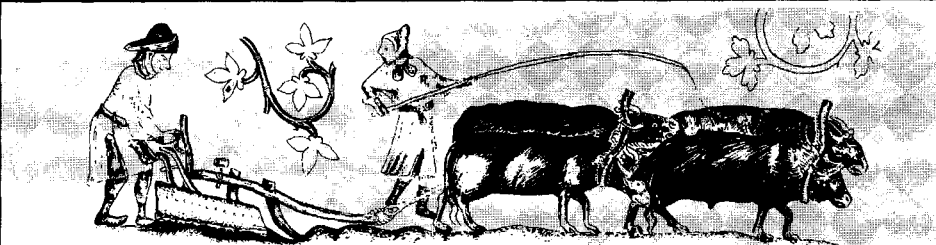
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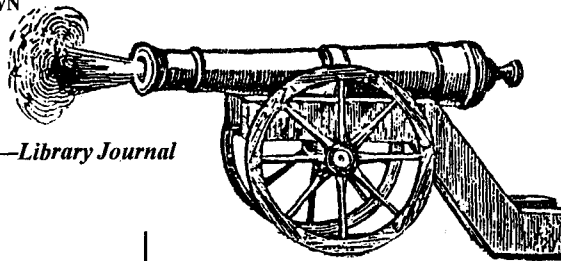
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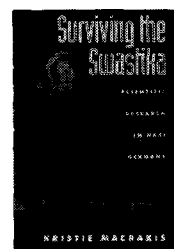
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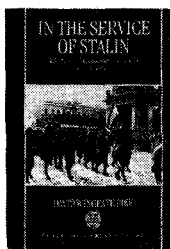


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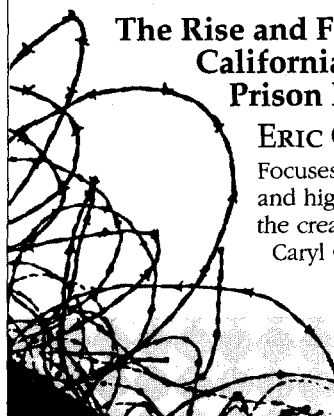
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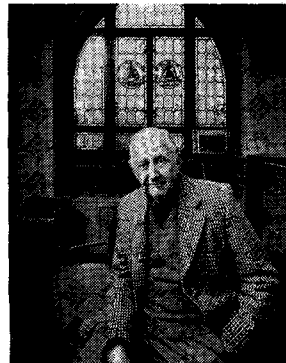
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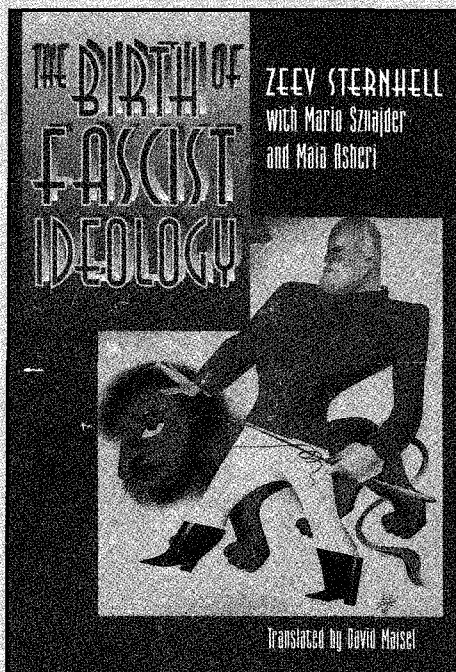
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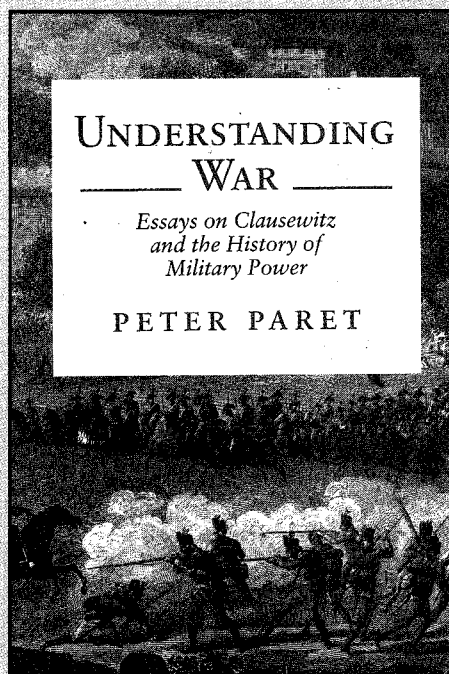
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